

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

FOIA Number:
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Series: Daily Files
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OA/ID Number: 90688
Folder ID Number: 90688-002

Folder Title:
Friday, June 12, 1992

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Handwritten Notes	Re: Presidential Phone Call with Baker (4 pp.)	6/12	(b)(1)	TS

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

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Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, June 12, 1992

Pinksheet Number: cap6142

OA/ID Number: 90688-002

Date Closed: 9/12/2019

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

R2
Finished

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL \ JUNE 12, 1992 \ 3:00 P.M.

PRESIDENT COLLOR, MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, HEADS OF
DELEGATION:

MAY I
~~ALLOW ME TO BEGIN BY EXPRESSING~~ MY ADMIRATION TO
SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI ~~FOR HIS LEADERSHIP OF~~
~~THESE UNITED NATIONS AND~~ MY GRATITUDE TO SECRETARY GENERAL
MAURICE STRONG FOR HIS TIRELESS WORK IN BRINGING THIS
"EARTH SUMMIT" TOGETHER. THIS IS TRULY AN HISTORIC
GATHERING.

- 2 -

THE CHINESE HAVE A PROVERB: IF MAN CHEATS THE EARTH,
THE EARTH WILL CHEAT MAN.

THE IDEA OF SUSTAINING THE PLANET, SO THAT IT MAY
SUSTAIN US, IS AS OLD AS LIFE ITSELF. ~~THE CHALLENGES MAY~~
~~CHANGE WITH EACH GENERATION, BUT THE OBLIGATION DOES NOT:~~
WE MUST LEAVE THIS EARTH IN BETTER CONDITION THAN WE FOUND
IT.

- 3 -

TODAY THIS OLD TRUTH MUST BE APPLIED TO NEW THREATS FACING THE RESOURCES WHICH SUSTAIN US ALL -- THE ATMOSPHERE AND THE OCEAN; THE STRATOSPHERE AND THE BIOSPHERE. OUR VILLAGE IS TRULY GLOBAL.

SOME FIND THE CHALLENGES AHEAD OVERWHELMING. THEIR PESSIMISM IS UNFOUNDED.

TWENTY YEARS AGO, AT THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT, A CHIEF CONCERN OF OUR PREDECESSORS WAS THE HORRIBLE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR -- THE ULTIMATE POLLUTANT. NO MORE.

- 4 -

UPON MY RETURN FROM RIO, I WILL MEET WITH RUSSIAN
PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN WASHINGTON. AND THE SUBJECT WE WILL
DISCUSS IS COOPERATION -- NOT ^{CONFRONTATION} ~~COMPETITION~~.

TWENTY YEARS AGO, SOME SPOKE OF LIMITS TO GROWTH.
TODAY WE REALIZE THAT GROWTH IS THE ENGINE OF CHANGE, AND
THE FRIEND OF THE ENVIRONMENT.

TODAY, AN UNPRECEDENTED ERA OF PEACE, FREEDOM, AND
STABILITY MAKES CONCERTED ACTION ON THE ENVIRONMENT
POSSIBLE AS NEVER BEFORE.

- 5 -

THIS SUMMIT IS BUT ONE KEY STEP IN THE PROCESS OF
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.
THE UNITED STATES WILL WORK TO CARRY FORWARD THE PROMISE
OF RIO. BECAUSE AS IMPORTANT AS THE ROAD TO RIO HAS BEEN,
WHAT MATTERS MORE IS THE ROAD FROM RIO.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT COOPERATION BETWEEN
DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS IMPOSSIBLE.

- 6 -

LET THEM COME TO LATIN AMERICA, WHERE DEBT-FOR-NATURE SWAPS ARE PROTECTING FORESTS IN COSTA RICA AND FUNDING POLLUTION CONTROL IN CHILE.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT IT TAKES STATE CONTROL TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT. LET THEM GO TO EASTERN EUROPE, WHERE THE POISONED BODIES OF CHILDREN NOW PAY FOR THE SINS OF FALLEN DICTATORS -- AND ONLY THE NEW BREEZE OF FREEDOM IS ALLOWING FOR CLEANUP.

- 7 -

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT CHANGE CAN NEVER COME,
BECAUSE THE INTERESTS OF THE STATUS QUO ARE TOO POWERFUL.
LET THEM COME TO BRAZIL, WHERE PRESIDENT COLLOR IS FORGING
A NEW APPROACH THAT RECOGNIZES THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF
SUSTAINING THE RAINFOREST.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT ECONOMIC GROWTH AND
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION CANNOT BE COMPATIBLE.

- 8 -

LET THEM COME TO THE UNITED STATES -- WHERE, IN THE TWENTY YEARS SINCE STOCKHOLM, OUR ECONOMY HAS GROWN BY 57%, YET WE HAVE CUT THE LEAD GOING INTO THE AIR BY 97%, THE CARBON MONOXIDE BY 41%, AND THE PARTICULATES BY 59%. WE HAVE CLEANED UP OUR WATER, AND PRESERVED OUR PARKS, WILDERNESS, AND WILDLIFE.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT THE LEADERS OF THE WORLD DO NOT CARE ABOUT THE EARTH AND ITS ENVIRONMENT. LET THEM COME TO RIO.

- 9 -

MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE COME TO RIO. WE HAVE NOT ONLY SEEN THE CONCERN, WE SHARE IT. WE NOT ONLY CARE, WE ARE TAKING ACTION.

WE COME TO RIO WITH AN ACTION PLAN ON CLIMATE CHANGE. IT STRESSES ENERGY EFFICIENCY, CLEANER AIR, REFORESTATION, AND NEW TECHNOLOGY. AND I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT I HAVE JUST SIGNED THE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE.

- 10 -

TODAY, I INVITE MY COLLEAGUES FROM THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD TO JOIN IN A "PROMPT START" ON THE CONVENTION'S IMPLEMENTATION. I PROPOSE THAT OUR COUNTRIES MEET, BY JANUARY 1ST, TO LAY OUT OUR NATIONAL PLANS FOR MEETING THE "SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS" IN THE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION. LET US JOIN IN TRANSLATING THE WORDS SPOKEN HERE INTO CONCRETE ACTIONS TO PROTECT THE PLANET.

- 11 -

WE COME TO RIO WITH A PROPOSAL TO DOUBLE GLOBAL FOREST ASSISTANCE. WE STAND READY TO WORK TOGETHER, RESPECTING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, ON NEW STRATEGIES FOR FORESTS FOR THE FUTURE.

AS A DOWNPAYMENT, WE WILL DOUBLE U.S. FOREST BILATERAL ASSISTANCE NEXT YEAR. AND WE WILL REFORM AT HOME -- PHASING OUT CLEARCUTTING AS A STANDARD PRACTICE ON U.S. NATIONAL FORESTS; AND WORKING TO PLANT A BILLION TREES A YEAR.

- 12 -

WE COME TO RIO WITH AN EXTENSIVE PROGRAM OF TECHNOLOGY COOPERATION. WE STAND READY, GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR, TO HELP SPREAD GREEN TECHNOLOGY AND LAUNCH A NEW GENERATION OF CLEAN GROWTH.

WE COME TO RIO RECOGNIZING THAT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST PLAY A ROLE IN PROTECTING THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT, BUT WILL NEED ASSISTANCE IN PURSUING THIS CLEANER GROWTH.

- 13 -

SO WE STAND READY TO INCREASE U.S. INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL AID BY 66% ABOVE 1990 LEVELS -- ON TOP OF THE MORE THAN TWO AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR WE PROVIDE THROUGH THE WORLD'S DEVELOPMENT BANKS FOR AGENDA 21 PROJECTS.

WE COME TO RIO WITH MORE SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT THAN EVER BEFORE, AND WITH THE WISDOM THAT THERE IS MUCH WE DO NOT YET KNOW.

- 14 -

**WE STAND READY TO SHARE OUR SCIENCE, AND TO LEAD THE WORLD
IN A PROGRAM OF CONTINUED RESEARCH.**

**WE COME TO RIO PREPARED TO CONTINUE AMERICA'S
UNPARALLELED EFFORTS TO PRESERVE SPECIES AND HABITAT. LET
ME BE CLEAR: OUR EFFORTS TO PROTECT BIODIVERSITY ITSELF
WILL EXCEED THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE TREATY. BUT THE
PROPOSED AGREEMENT THREATENS TO RETARD BIOTECHNOLOGY AND
UNDERMINE THE PROTECTION OF IDEAS. UNLIKE THE CLIMATE
AGREEMENT, ITS FINANCING SCHEME WILL NOT WORK.**

- 15 -

IT IS NEVER EASY TO STAND ALONE ON PRINCIPLE. BUT
LEADERSHIP THAT YOU DO.
SOMETIMES ~~IT IS~~ REQUIRED, NOW IS SUCH A TIME (~~AND I WILL~~
~~NOT YIELD.))~~

LET'S FACE IT: THERE HAS BEEN SOME CRITICISM OF THE
UNITED STATES.

BUT I MUST TELL YOU: WE COME TO RIO PROUD OF WHAT WE
HAVE ACCOMPLISHED, AND COMMITTED TO EXTENDING THE RECORD
OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ON THE ENVIRONMENT.

- 16 -

IN THE U.S., WE HAVE THE WORLD'S TIGHTEST AIR QUALITY STANDARDS ON CARS AND FACTORIES, THE MOST ADVANCED LAWS FOR PROTECTING LANDS AND WATERS, AND THE MOST OPEN PROCESSES FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION.

AND NOW ^{A SIMPLE} ~~FOR SOME~~ TRUTH: AMERICA'S RECORD ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION IS SECOND TO NONE. SO WE DO NOT COME TO APOLOGIZE. WE COME TO PRESS ON WITH DELIBERATE PURPOSE, AND FORCEFUL ACTION. SUCH ACTION WILL

*Demonstrate our Continuing Commitment to
Leadership and to International Cooperation on
the Environment*

- 17 -

WE BELIEVE THAT THE ROAD FROM RIO MUST POINT TOWARD BOTH ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH -- ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT. BY NOW IT IS CLEAR: TO SUSTAIN DEVELOPMENT, WE MUST PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT; AND TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT, WE MUST SUSTAIN DEVELOPMENT.

IT'S BEEN SAID THAT WE DON'T INHERIT THE EARTH FROM OUR ANCESTORS, WE BORROW IT FROM OUR CHILDREN.

WHEN OUR CHILDREN LOOK BACK ON THIS TIME AND THIS PLACE, THEY WILL BE GRATEFUL WE HAVE MET AT RIO.

- 18 -

THEY WILL CERTAINLY BE PLEASED WITH THE INTENTIONS STATED,
AND THE COMMITMENTS MADE. BUT THEY WILL JUDGE US BY THE
ACTIONS WE TAKE FROM THIS DAY FORWARD. LET US NOT
DISAPPOINT THEM.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND MR. SECRETARY GENERAL: THANK YOU
VERY MUCH.

#

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Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
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AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
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THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

FRIDAY, June 12, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Vol. 326, No. 163 a

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Friday, June 12, 1992

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Associated Press

President Bush, surrounded by Secret Service agents, rubs his eyes after tear gas drifted into the area where he was sitting. Unable to deliver a planned speech, Bush was hustled off to a U.S. air base. Once there, he downplayed the incident as a "tiny left-wing demonstration." The tear-gas canisters apparently were fired by local Panamanian police to help control demonstrators.

Continued

Bush routed from Panama square

Explosions rang out, and tear gas rolled in. Gunfire erupted. That was enough for the Secret Service.

By Tom Raum
ASSOCIATED PRESS

PANAMA CITY, Panama — President Bush was forced to flee from gunfire and tear gas yesterday, disrupting a visit to Panama meant to celebrate that nation's progress toward democracy.

Bush, after being rushed from the downtown plaza where he was to have spoken to a nearby American

air base, shrugged off the incident as a "tiny left-wing demonstration."

Bush was seated and preparing to deliver a speech to a crowd of about 3,000 praising the revival of democracy in Panama when the explosions rang out and a dark cloud of tear gas blew in. The President appeared shaken, and Barbara Bush shook her head and rubbed her eyes.

The Secret Service rushed to

Bush's side as the explosions were heard outside the Plaza Porras. One agent held a bulletproof coat around the President's shoulders and offered him a handkerchief, which he did not accept. Bush, grimacing and rubbing his tearing eyes, stood up and appeared to head for the microphone, but agents hurried him away.

John Magaw, the head of the Secret Service, said the decision to move Bush was made when gunfire erupted. "There was local authorities' gunfire and other gunfire we couldn't identify," he said.

The tear-gas canisters apparently were fired by local police to help control the crowd, but there were no immediate details. Magaw said the Secret Service would leave a team behind to investigate the incident and give a report. Bush left later for the Earth Summit in Brazil.

The incident followed a night of anti-American protests over the death and destruction during the December 1989 U.S. invasion to oust military strongman Manuel Antonio Noriega. It also reflected the resent-

See PANAMA on A14

continued - >

Gunfire and tear gas send Bush fleeing a Panama square



Spectators flee the plaza as the tear gas rolls in. About 3,000 guests had gathered yesterday for Bush's speech, under a large banner reading "A Meeting of Friends." Protesters were estimated at 500.

PANAMA from A1
ment still felt by many Panamanians for the U.S.-backed government.

Magaw said he made the decision to encircle Bush once the shots rang out.

Marlin Fitzwater, Bush's spokesman, said, "We don't think the President was in any immediate danger."

"There were gunshots, but the Secret Service thinks they were warning shots fired in the air by the local police," Fitzwater said. He said he did not know if any of the demonstrators fired guns.

"The first thing you do when you have a situation like that is to remove the President from the scene," Fitzwater said.

He said that after the incident and before leaving for Rio de Janeiro, the President was busy phoning wavering members of Congress on the balanced-budget amendment.

Hundreds of helmeted riot police were on guard throughout the capital yesterday in a show of force prompted by earlier demonstrations and an attack that killed a U.S. soldier Wednesday.

About 3,000 people with printed invitations distributed by the mayor's office had gathered in the plaza for Bush's speech, under a huge banner reading "A Meeting of Friends."

Many sang in honor of Bush's 68th birthday today and shouted their approval of the man who ordered the invasion that overthrew Noriega.

But an estimated 500 others with a far different opinion were massed at the plaza's edge. As Mayor Mayin Correa began her introductory remarks, the crowd rushed the barricades. Police fired birdshot into the air and tear gas at protesters.

In the pandemonium that broke out as the President was being whisked off the stage, children in the crowd were trampled and screaming was heard. It was not clear if there were serious injuries.

Bush was led away from the platform with Panamanian President Guillermo Endara, as hundreds of weeping and choking people scattered from the plaza.

While most of the presidential motorcade was whisked to the U.S. Embassy, the Bushes were taken in another limousine that was sent off in a different direction to the U.S. Albrook Air Base with only a few top aides: Bush's doctor Burton Lee, Fitzwater, chief of staff Samuel K. Skinner and the military officer bearing the nuclear codes.

Some of Bush's top aides were left behind in the panic that followed the

incident and made their own way to the air base.

"I am perfect. He is fine," Barbara Bush said after arriving at the air base, where the Bushes were applauded by several thousand servicemen and their families.

Asked later whether she had been concerned for her safety and that of the President, Mrs. Bush said no, that she had been concerned for the safety of the people in the square.

Bush shrugged off the incident. "I wish everyone of you could have seen the welcome we had before a handful of characters tried to disrupt it all," he said.

"We appreciate Panama's move to democracy, and no tiny little left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back," he said.

Bush thanked Endara for his "warm welcome from the minute we arrived. . . . Barbara and I will never forget the warm welcome we got as we drove from the airport."

Bush earlier had joked at a state luncheon about the absence of demonstrations: "They ought to go to San Francisco and get an idea of what a real protest is."

The Panamanian government blamed the disturbances on a small group of Noriega loyalists.

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

New York: Today: Mostly sunny, clear skies. High 83. Tonight, mostly clear. Low 65. Tomorrow, partly to mostly sunny. High 88. Yesterday, high 88, low 61. Details are on page D1.

VOL. CXLI . . . No. 48,995

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

50 CENTS



President Bush dabbed his eyes after leaving the scene of a tear gas attack on protesters in Panama.

continued →

BUSH MADE TO FLEE A RALLY IN PANAMA AS PROTEST ERUPTS

SHOTS AND TEAR GAS FIRED

President Is Unharmed as Trip
to Earth Summit in Brazil
Has a Rocky Beginning

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

PANAMA, June 11 — President Bush's journey to Brazil and the Earth Summit took a harrowing turn in Panama today as gunshots and tear gas were fired at a nearby protest, forcing Mr. Bush to make a hasty exit before he could address a rally.

Mr. Bush and his wife, Barbara, were not injured in the incident, which occurred at midafternoon in downtown Panama City. The gunfire and the gas, which drifted into a crowd of more than 15,000 Panamanians who had gathered to hear Mr. Bush, created a panic that briefly threatened to envelop the platform on which the President sat.

Surrounded by Secret Service agents and dabbing tears from their eyes, Mr. Bush and his wife walked to their motorcade and sped away, abandoning a rally that was to have recalled the glories of the United States invasion of Panama in 1989.

Bush Plays Down Incident

The authorities later said that the gunshots had been warning shots fired by the police to dispel protesters, but that could not be confirmed. Perhaps a score of Mr. Bush's Secret Service agents could be seen with their guns and rifles drawn during the incident, but officials later said that their guns were not used. There were no reports that anyone was hit by the gunfire.

Neither of the Bushes appeared to be more than mildly affected by the tear gas. But the incident was a rocky beginning to Mr. Bush's three-day trip to Brazil and a clear source of frustration among White House aides, who had planned to use the Panama stop to remind Americans at home of an Administration success story.

Before leaving Panama for Rio, Mr. Bush told American military personnel and Panamanian onlookers at Albrook Air Base that the incident was "a little ripple" on an otherwise successful visit.

Resentment Over Invasion

"No tiny little left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back," he told the cheering Panamanians in the crowd.

Even before the President's arrival, the atmosphere in Panama had been soured by violent demonstrations to protest the visit. An attack by gunmen Wednesday on a military vehicle outside the capital that left a United States soldier dead and another wounded.

Anti-American feelings in Panama

Continued on Page A11, Column 1



Associated Press

President Bush and his wife, Barbara, were enveloped yesterday by Secret Service agents in Panama City. The tear gas fired on anti-American demonstrators apparently only mildly affected the President.

Continued →

Bush Is Forced to Flee Rally in Panama

Continued From Page A1

are still high among those resenting the killings and destruction associated with the American invasion in 1989 that ousted General Manuel Antonio Noriega from power.

The rally for Mr. Bush today was planned for the area in and around Plaza Porras, a city square where some Panamanians gathered to cheer the President.

The crowd had just finished serenading him with "Happy Birthday" in honor of his 68th birthday on Friday when loud noises erupted and clouds of tear gas wafted in.

Secret Service agents surrounded Mr. Bush, and soon hurried him away, along with President Guillermo Endara of Panama, who was also at the speaker's platform.

The chief of the Secret Service detail accompanying Mr. Bush, John McGaw, said later that agents had begun moving to evacuate the President from the plaza after Panamanian authorities were seen drawing their weapons at a location he did not identify.

"There was no indication of our agents firing," he said. "There was some local authority gunfire and other gunfire we have not identified."

After the rally, Mr. Bush's physician, Dr. Burton Lee, said that the President was "O.K., absolutely fine." But he said Mr. Bush, whose eyes appeared to be red and swollen during the incident, had suffered minor ill effects from the tear gas.

The rally that Mr. Bush was to address had been carefully assembled under tight security and equipped with thousands of tiny American and Panamanian flags for the event.

'A Symbol of Democracy'

According to prepared remarks released earlier, Mr. Bush was to have proclaimed that democracy in Panama had been reborn under President Endara.

Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, called the matter unfortunate, but added that "in some sense, it is a symbol of democracy that there can be protesters" in Panama.

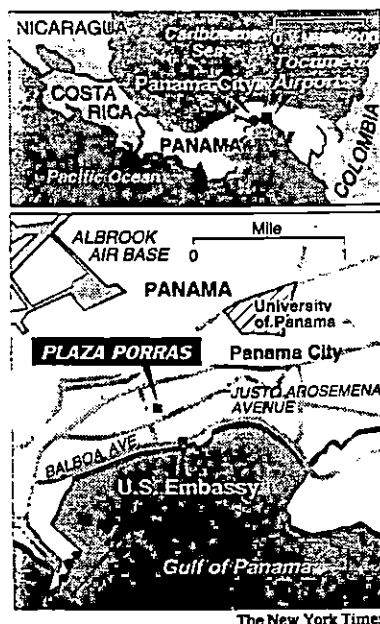
"It's been a very good trip, with the exception of the tear gas," he said.

Mr. Bush left Panama aboard Air Force One at about 5:30 P.M. Eastern daylight time for Rio, where he was expected to arrive about midnight.

After the Bushes left, the Panamanian police waded through streets near the park, arresting protesters and wrestling some who resisted to the ground.

The President's motorcade to downtown Panama City had been given a generally warm reception from thousands of Panamanians who lined the roads of more affluent parts of town, although some signs of protest were seen in some poorer neighborhoods.

The Bushes and President Endara entered the Plaza Porras at about 2:40 P.M. Panama time (3:40 P.M. Eastern



President Bush and his wife fled from Plaza Porras after the police fired tear gas at protesters.

daylight time) and were greeted by cheers from a crowd that spilled into several side streets.

But in the hours before his visit, demonstrators staged protests at several points near the rally, burning tires and chanting anti-American slogans.

Chants of 'Assassin'

Some were heard to be chanting "Assassin, assassin" as the President entered the square, and they quickly began throwing rocks and coconuts from nearby palm trees at riot police.

As Panamanian politicians were beginning their introductions of Mr. Bush, the police fired canisters of a choking gas at the demonstrators, and a breeze carried clouds of the gas into the plaza.

On the dais under the obelisks, Secret Service agents slowly rose and began to calmly surround Mr. Bush, who at first appeared to brush off their advance.

As the gas spread, Mr. Endara, Mayor Omiara Correa and the President all began to show obvious discomfort, removing eyeglasses and wiping their eyes. Mr. Bush at one point drew out a handkerchief and began dabbing at his face.

After about two minutes, during which Mr. Bush and the agents exchanged talk and pointed at the crowd, the agents converged on the President and Mrs. Bush and hustled them off the dais.

Beneath them, only about 10 feet away, the crowd surged past and toward the President, straining at wooden barriers that had been erected to separate them from the speakers' platform.

As the exit was taking place, a squad of uniformed Secret Service agents loaded automatic rifles and donned gas

masks as in preparation for combat. More agents and other unidentified officials, in plainclothes and business suits, surrounded the new convoy, drew revolvers and held them at the ready.

Mr. Fitzwater later said that officials believed that the gunfire heard at the scene came from Panamanian authorities firing warning shots, not from an exchange with protesters.

"We don't believe the President was in any immediate danger," he said.

American Embassy officials asserted that the demonstrations this week in Panama had been somewhat more violent than usual, but that the level of anti-American unrest in Panama has generally been diminishing.

They said that most of the activity has stemmed from remnants of groups that supported General Noriega and from some families who lost their homes or relatives during the United States invasion.

Mr. Endara's press spokesman, Louis Martinz, expressed anguish over the disturbance.

"It was really unfortunate," he said, "and it could have been avoided, in hindsight. They shouldn't have let them get too close to the plaza."

Mr. Martinz said the incident had been triggered by what he called "a small group of leftist Noriega supporters" who have worked to incite local university students against the American presence here.

He also said that no gunshots had been fired until the President was leaving the scene, but this could not be confirmed.

The Washington Times

NATION

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992 / PAGE A5

Panama tear gas puts Bush to rout

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PANAMA CITY — President Bush was hit by a wave of tear gas yesterday and fled to a U.S. air base while Panamanian police fired shots during a pre-speech demonstration.

Mr. and Mrs. Bush were "affected" by the gas but unhurt, White House officials said after he left what was to have been a celebration of democracy brought to Panama in 1989 by "Operation Just Cause."

"Don't let this little ripple out there today that took place in the plaza — a handful of people trying to disrupt this wonderful welcome — don't let it discourage you," Mr. Bush told U.S. troops and civilians at Albrook Air Force Base afterward.

"He's in perfect shape," said White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, who found irony in an incident he called "in some senses a symbol of the democracy here."

After a brief talk to Americans at Albrook, Mr. Bush flew to Rio de Janeiro to attend closing ceremonies of the U.N. Earth Summit and to celebrate his 68th birthday today.

Yesterday's appearance at a park here began with a light touch as the president caught a white chrysanthemum tossed from the invitation-only audience, snapped off the stem and stuck it in his lapel buttonhole.

But he barely sat down before trouble began and he never got to deliver this line in his speech: "After



Secret Service agents, with weapons drawn, stand on the running board of President Bush's limousine in Panama City.

years of being ruled over and held down, Panama is proud. Panama is respected. Panama is free."

At Albrook and a luncheon with President Guillermo Endara before the park visit, Mr. Bush said he was moved by large, cheering crowds along the motorcade route in a country where 70 percent of the people want Americans to stay.

Several hundred demonstrators were identified as relatives of people killed in the El Chorillo slum as U.S. troops destroyed the headquarters of Manuel Antonio Noriega.

When asked in Washington before takeoff if he was concerned about his safety, Mr. Bush said: "No, not at all. We'll do well down there."

The U.S. Army says 23 Americans and 345 Panamanians were killed in the Dec. 20, 1989, toppling of dictator Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Although Mr. Fitzwater first said the firing was entirely from tear-gas guns, Panamanian police in uni-

forms were seen firing rifles.

The president smiled and waved as his car sped away followed by a Secret Service car with six agents, including Secret Service Director John Magaw, standing on the running boards with guns drawn.

Mr. Magaw confirmed later that security guards — mostly Panamanian police in fatigues and civilian garb — fired gunshots. He said none was fired by Secret Service personnel and that he decided to evacuate the president when local police drew their guns.

About 15 agents rushed into the three-story Foreign Ministry building near the park moments after Mr. Bush's motorcade roared away.

Two men who appeared to be demonstrators were handcuffed and thrown into the backs of pickup trucks by local police, who handled them roughly.

Anti-American terrorists fired shots at the air base's back gate ear-

lier yesterday morning, the second such incident there this week.

U.S. Army Cpl. Zak A. Hernandez, 22, of Guayanilla, Puerto Rico, was killed and Sgt. Ronald T. Marshall, 24, of Fordyce, Ark., was seriously wounded Wednesday when three men attacked their humvee with automatic rifles.

After bunting on the speaker's stand was burned Wednesday, Panama's interior minister, Juan Cheverlier, said further disruptions would not be permitted.

Panama City Mayor Mayrin Corrales had complained that police failed to contain earlier demonstrations and sent a letter ordering police to increase protection.

The gas was followed by a retaliatory barrage of rocks from the demonstrators.

Mr. Bush toughed it out for several minutes, smiling while agents moved closer around him and other dignitaries wiped their eyes.

POLITICS & POLICY

Bush Stopover In Panama City Draws Protest

Police Use Gas to Break Up Crowd; President Unable To Give a Planned Speech

By JOSE DE CORDOBA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PANAMA CITY, Panama — President Bush was unable to deliver a planned speech and in a stinging cloud of pepper gas was forced to abandon the platform from where he was about to address a flag-waving crowd of Panamanians.

As Mr. Bush was being introduced as the "man who changed the course of our history by tearing out the cancer of drug-trafficking," police fired pepper-gas canisters to break up a crowd of about 150 demonstrators who were protesting the Bush visit and throwing rocks at the thin police line guarding Plaza Porras in downtown Panama City.

As the gas wafted back into the plaza, the crowd began to panic. Leaving a stage with the banner "Encounter Between Friends," Mr. Bush, his wife, Barbara, as well as Panamanian President Guillermo Endara and his wife, Ana Mae, headed to a small tent protecting the presidential limousine. As a dozen nervous security men drew guns, looking warily at the buildings ringing the plaza, President Bush and his party retreated in a caravan of flashing lights and sirens. As he drove away, the president gave a thumbs up sign.

"No tiny little left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back," Mr. Bush said shortly after in an address at a U.S. military base to the U.S. community in Panama. Thanking the people and government of Panama for the warm welcome he said he had received before the demonstration spoiled his speech, Mr. Bush said: "the day of the dictator is over."

Mr. Bush then continued his trip to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

In Washington, Bush aides played down the incident, noting that the president was unhurt and smiling as he left the stage. White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner phoned back to the White House afterward to inquire about the House vote on the balanced budget amendment and didn't seem alarmed, one official said.

Nonetheless, the image of a teary-eyed president being hustled off stage before his speech was an inauspicious beginning to an international trip in which Mr. Bush hoped to seize back the initiative from domestic and foreign critics of his environmental record. "It shows him to be on the defensive," said media consultant Don Sipple, who helped craft television ads for Mr. Bush's GOP primary campaign.

Aurelio Barria, a Panamanian official who said he was standing about 15 feet away, said Mr. Bush appeared to be slightly affected by the pepper gas. Mr. Barria blamed followers of former strong-

man Gen. Manuel Noriega for disrupting the ceremony. "It is just a minority that has been able to take advantage of this government's tolerance," said Mr. Barria, wiping his tear-streaked eyes.

Tensions were high before Mr. Bush spoke. Columns of black smoke rose from piles of tires set afire by demonstrators just a block from the plaza. A large group of protestors had exchanged taunts and sometimes shoves with Panamanians waiting to get into the plaza to see the president.

Holding a sign that said, "The assassin returns to the scene of the crime," Laura de Casis, a 60-year-old retired educator said, "Panamanians are on the street because they don't accept that the assassin of their sons and daughters is here."

Panamanians who had gone to greet Mr. Bush were disgusted with the demonstrators. "Kill all those hoodlums," one angry man urged police officers.

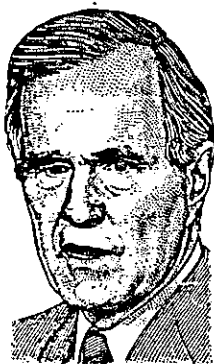
Ending in an undignified exit, the Bush visit had seemed like a good idea.

On the way to the contentious environmental summit in Rio de Janeiro, President Bush would briefly stop in Panama, site of one of his notable foreign policy successes. He could forget Ross Perot for a while and get a boost from friendly crowds grateful for the U.S. invasion that in 1989 toppled Gen. Noriega, restored democracy here after a 21-year period of military-controlled governments, and buried Mr. Bush's problematic "wimp" image.

But Mr. Bush seems to have been unwittingly snared in the conundrum of Panamanian nationalism, whose principal component is a quirky love-hate relationship with the U.S. While the overwhelming majority of Panamanians cheered the U.S. invasion, and remain very happy that the U.S. got rid of the general, the invasion continues to be a traumatic event for many.

"President Bush's visit awakes in Panamanians a mixture of sentiments," editorialized La Prensa newspaper, a staunch Noriega foe that was shut down and vandalized during the general's reign. That mixture includes the heartfelt joy of liberation from Noriega's regime, which La Prensa noted was a creation of the U.S., but also the pain of relatives of "hundreds of innocent compatriots" who perished in the invasion and for whom Mr. Bush's visit is "an insult."

Twice this week hundreds of protesting Panamanian high school and university students had blocked off avenues, snarling traffic for hours. The University of Panama's academic council called Mr. Bush's visit "a not well thought out act to divide the Panamanian family."



George Bush

Bush Flees Tear Gas, Gunshots in Panama

Southern
California's
Newspaper

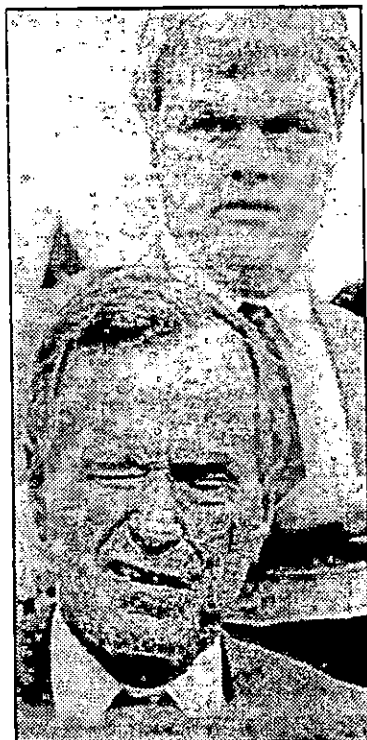
Los

U.S. Angeles Times

FIRST LADY'S PRESS

Times

Friday
June 12
1992



Reuters

President Bush reacts to tear gas as Secret Service agent puts a bulletproof raincoat on him.

■ **Diplomacy:** U.S. agents lead a chaotic evacuation from plaza, where the President was to have spoken, after authorities fire to curb protesters. He and wife are unhurt.

By DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PANAMA CITY—Gunshots and tear gas fired by local authorities and maybe others drove President Bush from a stage in a downtown plaza here Thursday when he was just moments away from delivering a speech in praise of the revival of democracy in Panama.

Secret Service agents carrying automatic weapons led a chaotic evacuation from the plaza, whisking the President and his wife, Barbara, to a nearby American air base for safety.

Waiting for his speech, a joyous, flag-waving throng of about 3,000 Panamanians abruptly panicked at the sound of gunfire and dull explosions apparently caused by the launching of tear gas at protesters demonstrating on the fringes of the crowd.

The throng's enthusiasm turned to pandemonium as a stinging, choking mist of tear gas wafted across the plaza.

As the crowd surged forward, Secret Service agents surrounded Bush, draped him in a bulletproof coat and hustled him and the First Lady rearward away from the stage, amid a stampede of guests and invited dignitaries. Everyone's eyes streamed from the effects of the tear gas.

A second wave of heavily armed Secret Service agents pressed forward to meet the crowd, pointing their weapons and directing the crowd away from the President and his party. Others, brandishing submachine guns and pistols and some wearing gas masks, crouched near Bush's limousine as the Plaza Porras was transformed into something resembling a war zone.

With weapon-toting agents perched on the running boards, Bush and a small party sped away to the air base that was the site of his next scheduled Panama City stop. Unhurt and only a little flustered, Bush described the incident as the result of a "tiny left-wing demonstration."

The White House said it did not believe Bush was ever in immediate danger. But the scare was by far the most serious involving an American President since the attempted assassination of Ronald Reagan in 1981.

John Magaw, head of the Secret Service, said the decision to evacuate Bush to safety was made after shots were fired by local authorities and by unidentified others at the scene. Magaw said there was "no indication" that any of the American Secret Service agents had fired their weapons.

Witnesses saw Panamanian authorities firing tear-gas canisters toward demonstrators on the fringes of the crowd at the plaza, but it was not clear whether tear gas was used before or after the initial gunfire. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said

Please see BUSH, A3

Continued →

Continued →

BUSH: President Flees Gunshots in Panama

(Continued from A1)

at shots fired by Panamanian authorities may have been merely warning shots.

The violent episode served as a sharp reminder of resentment and discontent boiling beneath the surface of some segments of Panamanian society 2½ years after Bush ordered an invasion of this country by U.S. troops to oust military dictator Manuel A. Noriega from power.

An American serviceman, identified by the Pentagon on Thursday as Army Cpl. Zak A. Hernandez, 22, of Guaynilla, Puerto Rico, was killed by gunfire in an ambush Wednesday as tensions mounted in advance of the President's controversial visit. A second soldier, identified as Sgt. Ronald T. Marshall, 21, of Fordyce, Ark., was seriously wounded in the same ambush. In another incident, bullets were sprayed at a U.S. military base.

But Administration officials said no serious consideration had been given to canceling the President's stopover here of a few hours en route to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The Panama stop had been envisioned as a hero's welcome for Bush that might divert attention from his expected frosty reception at the Rio summit.

And despite the events that forced him to flee the scene of his scheduled speech to the Panama crowd, the White House was determined to portray his visit as one marking the triumph of peace and democracy here after the ouster of Noriega, who was jailed and later tried in the United States for drug trafficking and money laundering.

While Bush was not able to deliver the speech planned for the downtown plaza, he incorporated some of his intended remarks into an address to members of Panama's American community at Albrook Air Base, where his limousine and another vehicle carrying senior White House advisers took refuge after the plaza episode.

Members of the Albrook crowd did not seem to have heard about what had happened to Bush downtown, and the President made only passing reference to that scare.

"I must say that the plaza where we came from, there's a history

there of protest and also vigil," Bush said. "But today that plaza is the people's park. And I wish every one of you could have seen the welcome we had before a handful of characters tried to disrupt it all."

Bush told the crowd that he and Mrs. Bush will "never forget the warm welcome you gave us as we drove in from the airport and, indeed, as we drove to this base."

And, in fact, until the first explosions sounded at the edge of the downtown crowd, Bush had unabashedly basked in a demonstrative public show of support for what the U.S. invasion of 1989 had brought about.

Playing to the hilt his reelection-campaign role as the "undisputed leader of the Free World," Bush made a triumphant return to the scene of his Administration's first military victory, driving past thousands of Panamanians who lined the city's streets and left his limousine flecked with yellow chrysanthemums.

Despite reports of gunfire elsewhere in the city, Bush attended a luncheon hosted by Panamanian President Guillermo Endara and extolled the recovery led by Endara, who took his oath of office at a U.S. military base on the night of the invasion in December, 1989.

"For the tiny, tiny handful of people who are protesting," Bush said in a luncheon toast in the ornate Salon de los Tamarindos at the presidential palace. "I say they ought to go up to San Francisco and see what a real protest is like."

For his part, Endara praised Bush as a "friend of Panama."

The enthusiastic throngs of Panamanians who had cheered Bush on his way into town from the airport gave way to more sullen gatherings as the President passed through poorer neighborhoods en route to the scheduled downtown speech. Some held signs protesting the U.S. invasion and its leveling of the Panama City district of El Chorrillo.

There was no sign of discontent for the first few minutes after Bush arrived at Plaza Porras, where he was greeted by a cheering throng of dignitaries and other guests assembled by the Panamanian government. The crowd even sang "Happy Birthday" to mark Bush's 68th birthday today.

But as Bush and Endara sat on



Reuters

U.S. secret service agent rushes to clear area near Bush motorcade.

the stage listening to the words of an introductory speaker, the first of a series of dull explosions could be heard on the fringe of the crowd, and what later proved to be tear gas rose into the air.

Bush at first looked unconcerned, but he and the First Lady appeared increasingly tense as the dull explosions continued and Secret Service agents took up positions at their sides. The agents could be seen clearing an escape path for Bush and beginning to draw their weapons.

Within moments, the effect of the tear gas could be seen on the panicky, damp faces of the members of the crowd and on Barbara Bush. A group of children there to perform for the event was hustled from the stage, and one Secret Service agent stood ready behind the President with a bulletproof raincoat.

Panamanian officials could be seen drawing their weapons and firing tear-gas canisters into the air.

Then amid shouts and screams, Panamanians began to surge forward and to break through wooden barriers that separated the audience from Bush and a buffer zone

set aside for reporters.

In what proved to be a chaotic evacuation, reporters and television crews joined the dignitaries and guests in a rearward flight toward Bush's motorcade, while the President and Mrs. Bush were escorted in protective pockets of agents.

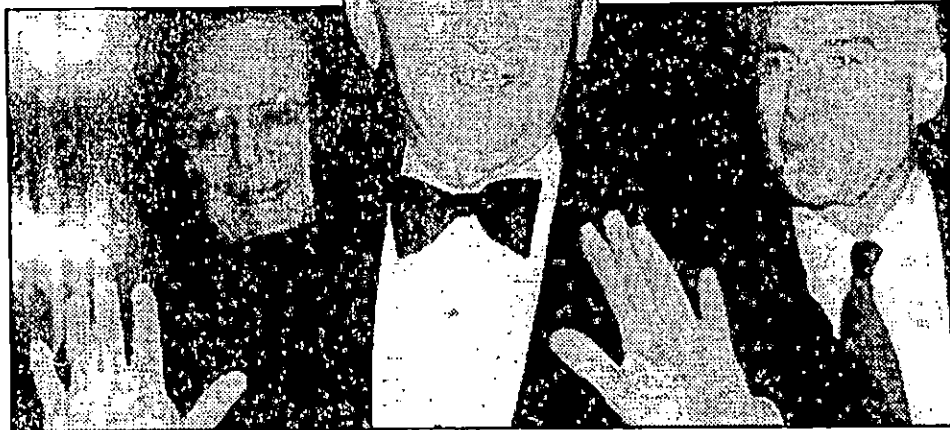
Bush and senior White House officials including Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and Press Secretary Fitzwater made their escape in a smaller "secure package" that included armed Secret Service agents clinging to a vehicle's sides.

Panamanian officials said they believe the demonstration to which authorities responded with tear gas and gunshots was led by students from the nearby University of Panama.

With other details of the incident blurred by the chaos, Secret Service chief Magaw said that a team of agents will be left behind to review what occurred. One senior State Department official, however, suggested that Panamanian officials may have overreacted by firing so much tear gas so near the crowd in the plaza.

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano



Ross Perot: He'd rather be excused.

Ross Perot, the Reluctant Juror

Ross Perot repeatedly exhorts voters to "get in the ring" and become involved in civic affairs. But when Perot himself was asked to perform a routine civic duty four years ago, he was less than eager.

Texas District Judge Tom Ryan recalls threatening to dispatch sheriff's deputies to apprehend the billionaire when he balked at showing up for jury duty in a 1988 Dallas murder trial.

"We had a little difficulty getting him down there," said Ryan, who presided over jury selection. After Perot was notified to appear, Ryan said his office received repeated phone calls from Perot's lawyers saying that the computer magnate was tied up with business and wished to be excused.

Under Texas law, only lawyers for both sides can excuse a potential juror when the death penalty is an option. "I told them, 'No, you can't excuse him,'" Ryan told *The Washington Post*. "I finally threatened

to send the sheriff after him if he didn't appear at a certain day and a certain time."

Judge Tom Price, who actually presided over the trial, also remembers receiving phone calls from Perot's lawyers complaining that their client was planning a trip to Europe. "That kind of thing happens with businessmen and professional people who think their schedules are more important than what we're doing down here—people who think they're too big for the system," said Price.

Court records show that Perot eventually did show—but was quickly dismissed by defense lawyers after he expressed his ardent support for the death penalty in pretrial questioning.

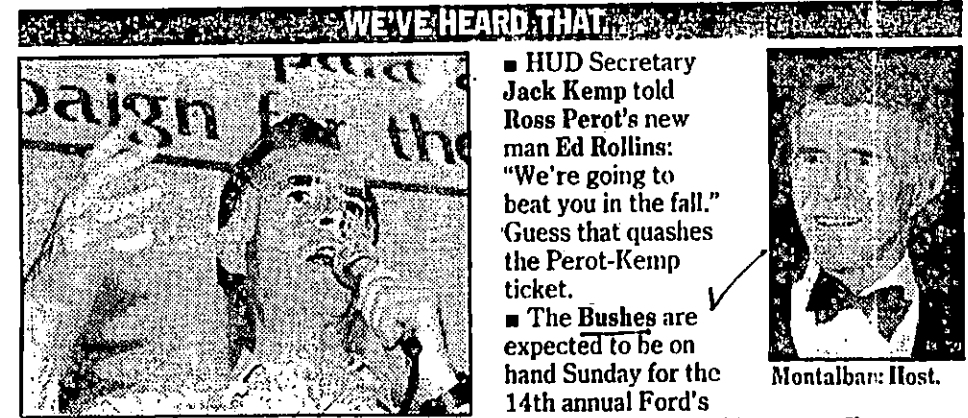
Tom Luce, Perot's longtime chief lawyer and now chairman of the Perot Petition Committee, said he has no recollection of the incident. "What story is next?" he laughed. "His Boy Scout denials?"

The Keynoteless Convention

■ Democratic Party insiders say an unprecedented decision has been made *not* to have a keynote speaker at the convention in New York next month. Instead, DNC Chairman Ron Brown and Bill Clinton have agreed to have three speakers address the convention on opening night for no more than 15 minutes each.

In addition, Brown plans to give prominent women very prominent roles at the convention, including that of convention chair. He also plans to give some of the high-profile women Senate candidates some of the much coveted prime-time speaking assignments.

Not a soul has been officially invited to speak as yet. Brown plans to put the finishing touches on program plans this weekend.



Jerry Brown: Finally getting hot?

■ Jerry Brown more than ticked off some members of Congress at the Rio Earth Summit earlier this week. The incredible shrinking presidential candidate showed up late at a sweltering outdoor ceremony, but still managed to make it to a microphone in short order, and promptly proceeded to bash elected officials.

■ Clothes are pouring in to the annual Super Sale in memory of Washington Post fashion writer Nina Hyde. Anne Klein, Ellen Tracy and Ralph Lauren have donated new garb for tomorrow's Ramada Renaissance sale—not to mention all those once-worn Adolfos. The \$10 ticket can be purchased at The Post and will benefit the Nina Hyde Center for Breast Cancer Research.

■ HUD Secretary Jack Kemp told Ross Perot's new man Ed Rollins: "We're going to beat you in the fall." Guess that quashes the Perot-Kemp ticket.

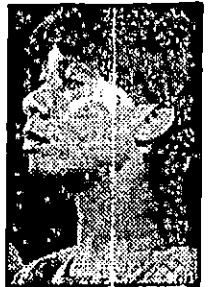
■ The Bushes are expected to be on hand Sunday for the 14th annual Ford's Theatre gala, hosted by actors Jimmy Smits and Ricardo Montalban.

■ Guests attending the Tuesday night book party for Timothy Phelps and Helen Winternitz, authors of the Clarence Thomas tome

"Capitol Games," were startled to see Phyllis Berry, former Thomas special assistant and strident defender at the embattled nominee's confirmation hearing, in the crowd at Politics & Prose. They were further shocked when Berry asked Phelps to sign her copy "To an ultra-conservative fringe radical right-wing zealot," to which he added, "and friend."



Montalban: Host.



Berry: Guest.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992 **A11**

Commentary

So Far, the Campaign Buffet Barely Whets Appetites

■ **Politics:** Perot's edge in polls obscures women's distaste for his patronizing style; they don't like Bush or Clinton much, either.

By ELLEN GOODMAN

The word appears on every political menu. *Leadership*. Leadership, any way you like it. Our national craving has made it the staple of election-year dining.

But this year we want our leadership fresh. Indeed, the opinion polls suggest that the popular Early Bird Special is something just out of the kitchen: Leadership Perot.

Ross Perot, entrepreneur and almost candidate, has thoroughly whetted the American appetite. More people have picked Perot from the pollsters' limited bill of fare than either of the other candidates.

There remains just one huge group of Americans who haven't yet developed as strong a taste for the jug-eared billionaire from Texas. Women.

In the Time-CNN poll, 45% of the men but only 31% of the women chose Perot. That's a gender gap of 14 points, which is about as big as a gap gets. Moreover, it's a difference that's been growing, as men dig into the Perot dish and women just pick at it.

I am not sure exactly what makes Perot less appealing to the female taste buds. It may be the "man's man" thing. As Harriet Woods of the National Women's Political Caucus says, "There is a little nervousness about macho men from Texas."

It may be the "little wife" thing. Partnership marriages may be a female preference, but Ross didn't have long intimate conversations about his life plans with Margot. She found out he might go for President the way the rest of the country found out: by watching Larry King.

Then again, it may be the "absent women" thing. There's a dearth of women in Perot's political inner circle and his business upper crust. He hasn't yet learned to bite his tongue before he says "girl." His company dress code required skirts for women unless it was freezing. He talks about "grown men hiding behind their women." Women have learned to be sensitive to these hints of sexism in the sauce; they get hives.

But I suspect the main difference is in the way we understand leadership itself. Women are just as attracted to "leaders" as the next guy. It's just that women tend to see different ingredients.

Business management gurus such as

Judy Rosener of UC Irvine divide leaders into two fairly distinct styles. Some belong to the command-and-control school. They are the take-charge, top-down people who promise to bring order out of chaos. The others belong to the interactive school. They are inclusive, power-sharing people who believe that the answers come from many sources. The way to get things done, they believe, is to empower people to do them.

Rosener says that Perot, with his promise of town halls, television forums and direct access to the people, "talks interactive, talks about consulting people and bringing them in." But, when you look at his record at Electronic Data Systems, at GM and on Wall Street, she says, he behaves straight out of the command and control textbook. Or, should I say, cookbook.

The command model is, on average, less appealing to women than to men. We are not talking genetic differences here (see Margaret Thatcher) or gender stereotypes. But many women today have reservations about command-and-control figures. The men end up in command and the women end up controlled.

Democratic consultant Ann Lewis hears old alarms go off in women's heads when a man says, "Trust me, I'll take care of it." It's the second generation of phrases like, "Don't worry your pretty little head about it."

At the moment, women are also wary of Bill Clinton and George Bush. They have their own leadership conundrums.

The President, an uncomfortable, would-be command type, has lost some pro-choice Republican women to Perot. But he has lost more Republican men who liked him best and last when he was indeed a commander, during the Gulf War.

As for Clinton, the irony is that his history and style is the model of interactive leader. He's skilled at producing a consensus, finding common ground, including people. But many women still feel uneasy about Clinton's persona: Can they trust him? Many men tend to see his search for consensus as weakness, giving in to others. A lack of, you guessed it, leadership.

This is still—believe it or not—early in the presidential campaign. We're barely into the appetizers. When it comes down to the main course, you can be sure that everybody will be ordering up the same dish: leadership. But we may be very surprised to see how different the plates look when they get to the table.

Ellen Goodman writes a syndicated column in Boston.



WILLIAM NORWICH

ALL things considered in the land of contemporary monarchy and sovereignty — an overwhelmed, stressed-out Princess of Wales burst into tears and had to be ushered to her car when someone toasted her at a charity do in England yesterday — is it any wonder that Prince Rainier of Monaco has decided he needs a new will?

In other words, nothing is safe wherever tiaras twirl, and Rainier, worried about the new men in the lives of his daughters, the princesses Caroline and Stephanie, wants to insure family money and property stay at home when, and if, the ladies' impending marriages fail. As you may know, Caroline is expected to wed French actor Vincent Lindon this fall, and Stephanie has said she will at some point marry Daniel Ducruet, the father of the love child she expects in November.

Rainier, remembering with disdain how Thierry Roussel got rich after Christina Onassis died, has asked his lawyers to put all family monies and properties into a trust following his death. The only things his children could leave to their spouses are funds generated separately from the Rainier firm. This instead of the chunks of family wealth the Rainier children would have inherited outright.

Whether this suits Princess Stephanie is uncertain, except to say that she and Daniel are earning their own money. They were paid exceptionally well for all the interviews they gave in Europe last week. How much? Enough to put their firstborn through Radcliffe or the Sorbonne twice, with plenty left for Chanel.

THE grandest of dollar-green turf types are abuzz with a story concerning Japanese entrepreneur Tomonori Tsurumaki, the owner of A.P. Indy, son of Seattle Slew, and the winner of the 124th Belmont Stakes trophy.

Tsurumaki took exception to the placement of his luncheon table when he arrived at Belmont's exclusive Triple Crown Room before the race last Saturday. So annoyed was he, it's said he threatened to pull A.P. Indy from the race! He was consoled by being given the official table of the NYRA (New York Racing Association.) Tsurumaki, it can be added, actually sought three or four



JESSICA LANGE
Dark glasses.

of the best tables in the place, which are those at the window looking over the track.

"But, sir, those have been reserved for years by some of New York's oldest racing families" the head man at the Triple Crown Room was overheard to say, or words to that effect.

Just give it time and remember Rockefeller Center.

The entrepreneur's comment wasn't available yesterday.

DON'T look for the union label on Margot Perot's frocks when she hits her non-candidate billionaire husband Ross Perot's campaign trail.

Mrs. Perot fancies French clothes; in fact, right after her recent television interview on ABC's "20/20," she ordered the very same Givenchy suit worn by Barbara Walters. You remember it well? Beige windowpane print with a prominent white collar and a pleated skirt? That's the one.

Retailing in the neighborhood of \$2,500 to \$3,000, it did look great on television, and dressing well is the best revenge for folks on the electronic campaign trail.

Stop the presses in the interest of accuracy: The suit doesn't quite fit and Mrs. Perot may return it if it's determined alterations will not take. Whatever, she has been a



ROBERT DE NIRO
Light lunch.

customer at the Givenchy boutique on upper Madison Ave. for over a year, and signifying what?

That New York remains the ultimate mall for most rich Texans, and Japanese, I suppose.

WHAT else? Just that Martha Stewart is holding her second annual cocktail party in East Hampton tomorrow night, and that, speaking of dresses, the British press is reporting Prince Charles bought a Jasper Conran black crepe frock earlier this week, but for whom? That is the question, since his wife's 31st birthday is July 1 and Camilla Parker-Bowes, his supposed consort, turns 45 on July 17.

Yes, I'm certain the dress wasn't for Charles himself. It wasn't his size, but I'm not so sure this isn't a little joke Jasper Conran's unzipped for the wobbling world.

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

JUNE 12th , 1992

[illegible]

WASHINGTON

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

[illegible]

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Urcha, Brazil
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

DATE 12 June 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0023	Arrive Galeao International Airport, Rio de Janeiro
	Brazil
0034	Depart Galeao International Airport via Motorcade
0106	Arrive Sheraton Hotel and Towers
1108	Depart Sheraton Hotel and Towers via Motorcade
1139	Arrive Riocentro Conference Center
1535	Depart Riocentro Conference Center via Motorcade
1600	Arrive Rio National Rain Forest (LOW KEY)
1632	Depart Rio National Rain Forest
	via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1717	Arrive Escola De Guerra Military School
	Urcha, Brazil (LOW KEY)
1753	Depart Escola De Guerra Military School
	via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1813	Arrive Sheraton Hotel and Towers, Rio de Janeiro
	Brazil
2002	Depart Sheraton Hotel and Towers via Motorcade
2035	Arrive Palacio Laranjeiras
2242	Depart Palacio Laranjeiras via Motorcade
2303	Arrive Sheraton Hotel and Towers

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/10/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLLOR TOAST
SUBJECT: FRIDAY, JUNE 12 - RIO DE JANEIRO

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 10, 1992

32 JUN 10 P4:13

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *Much for DD*
FROM: ANDREW FERGUSON *AF*
SUBJECT: COLLOR TOAST

On Friday, June 12, you will deliver a toast at a dinner with President Collor in Rio de Janeiro. Your remarks (2 minutes) pay tribute to President Collor.

(Ferguson/Grossman)
June 10, 1992
TOAST
Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLLOR TOAST
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992
RIO DE JANEIRO

President and Mrs. Collor and distinguished guests:

I rise to salute our host -- host for this wonderful dinner;
host to this grand conference.

The world has seen over the past ten days a stirring example not only of Brazilian hospitality but also of Brazilian leadership. Mr. President, you have taken upon yourself a task of enormous complexity and tremendous importance -- a task any diplomat would find daunting. And you have performed that task with a skill and energy any diplomat would admire.

Here in Rio you have drawn together the leaders of 170 nations and united them in a single purpose. We all recognize that the environment is a concern not of one nation but of all nations. Differences remain, of course -- but they are nothing compared with the determination each of us shares to leave our planet a healthier, more fruitful home for the generations who follow us.

Your leadership here has already produced significant changes for Brazil and for the world. At home you have led your country in a new direction, designed to liberate the energies and initiative of your people with a program of profound economic reform.

Internationally, the world has benefited from your courage and leadership as well -- from expanding open trade among nations, to limiting the proliferation of nuclear arsenals.

It is a record of which both you and your people should be proud. And it has perfectly suited you for the great work of this conference. I raise a glass, then, to the many benefits your leadership has brought Brazil and the entire family of nations, and to the continued close friendship between Brazil and the United States.

#

Friday Follies

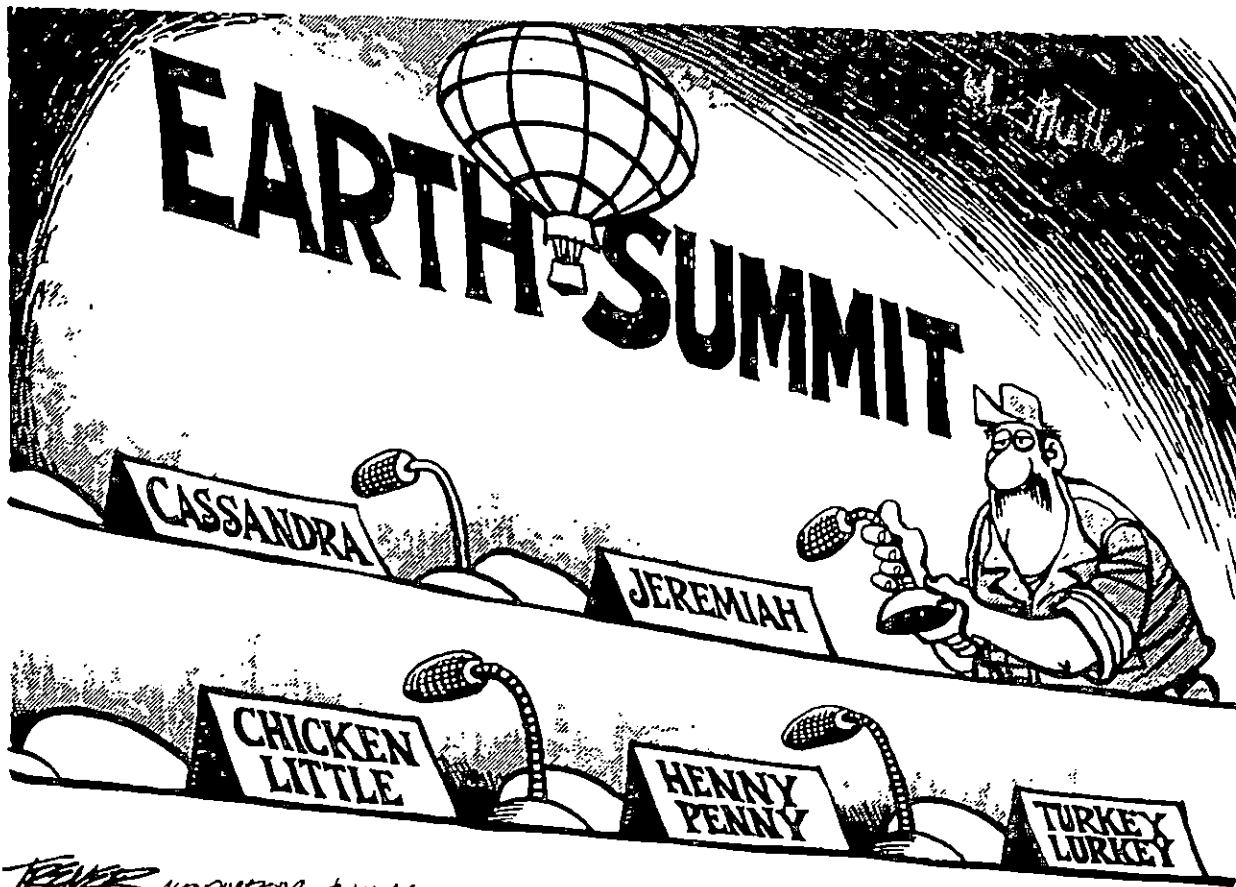


ABRAHAM LINCOLN SEEN HERE IN A RARE PRINT DOING A GIG PRIOR TO
A LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE.

- a look at politics through the eyes of the political cartoonist -

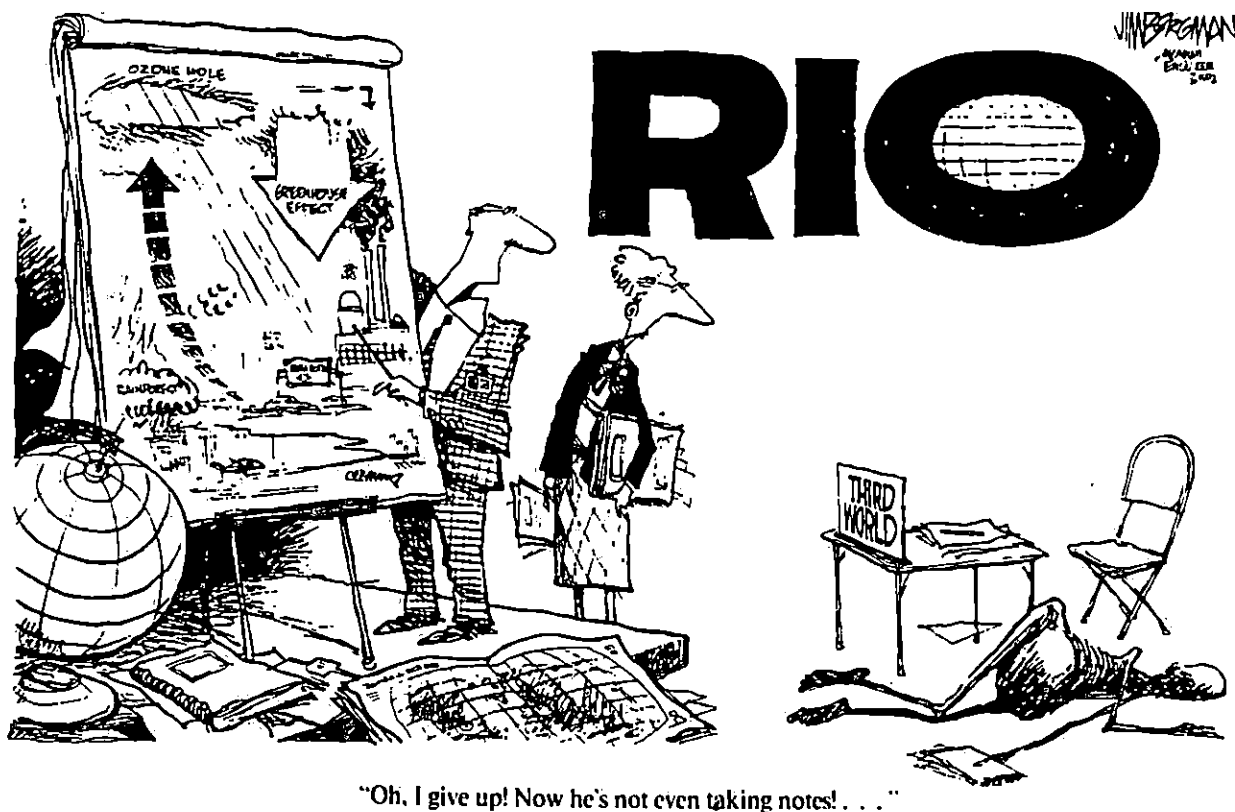
"I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles. My constituents don't
know how to read. But they can't help seeing them damned pictures."
(William Marcy "Boss" Tweed speaking of Thomas Nast, 1871)

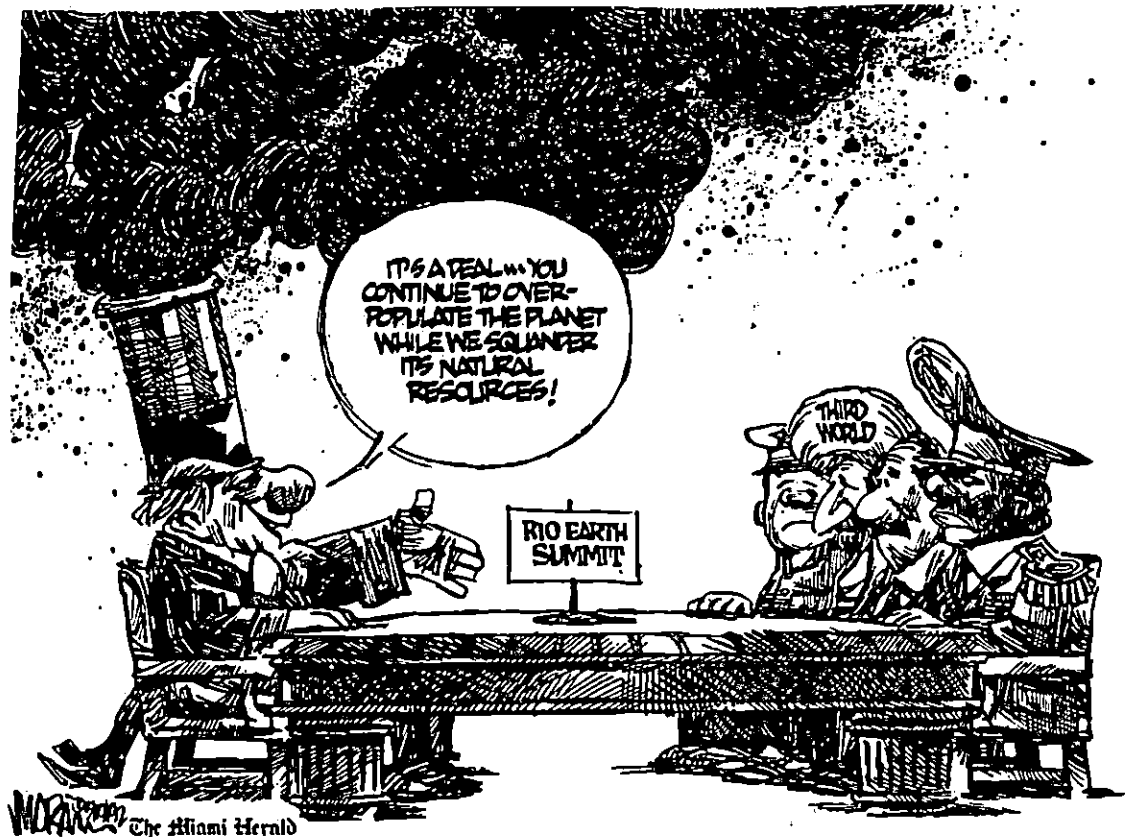
WHITE HOUSE NEWS SUMMARY SPECIAL EDITION
VOLUME IV ISSUE 23 -- June 12, 1992

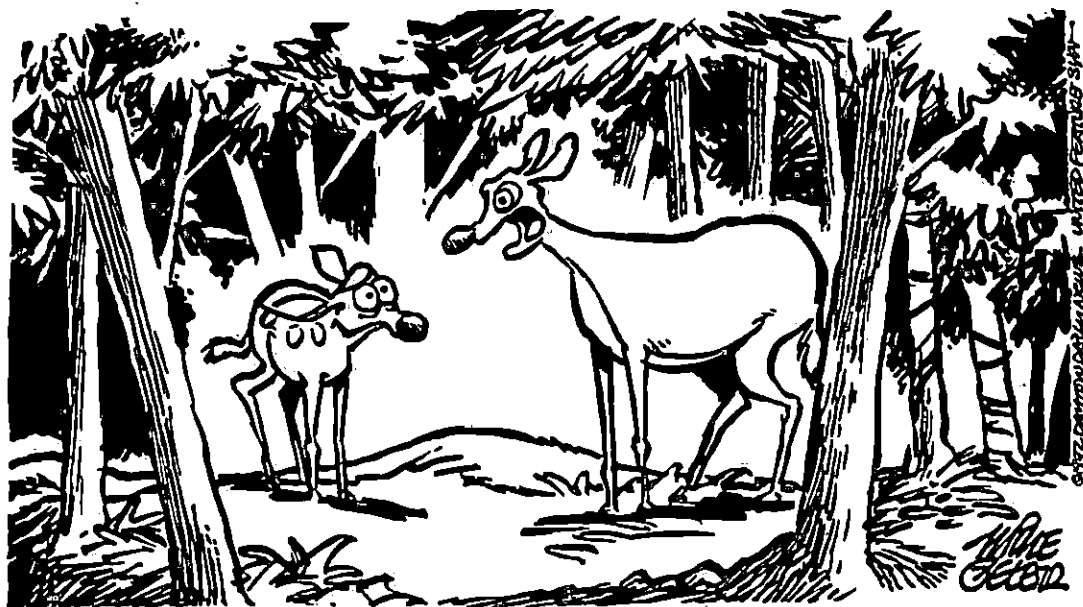
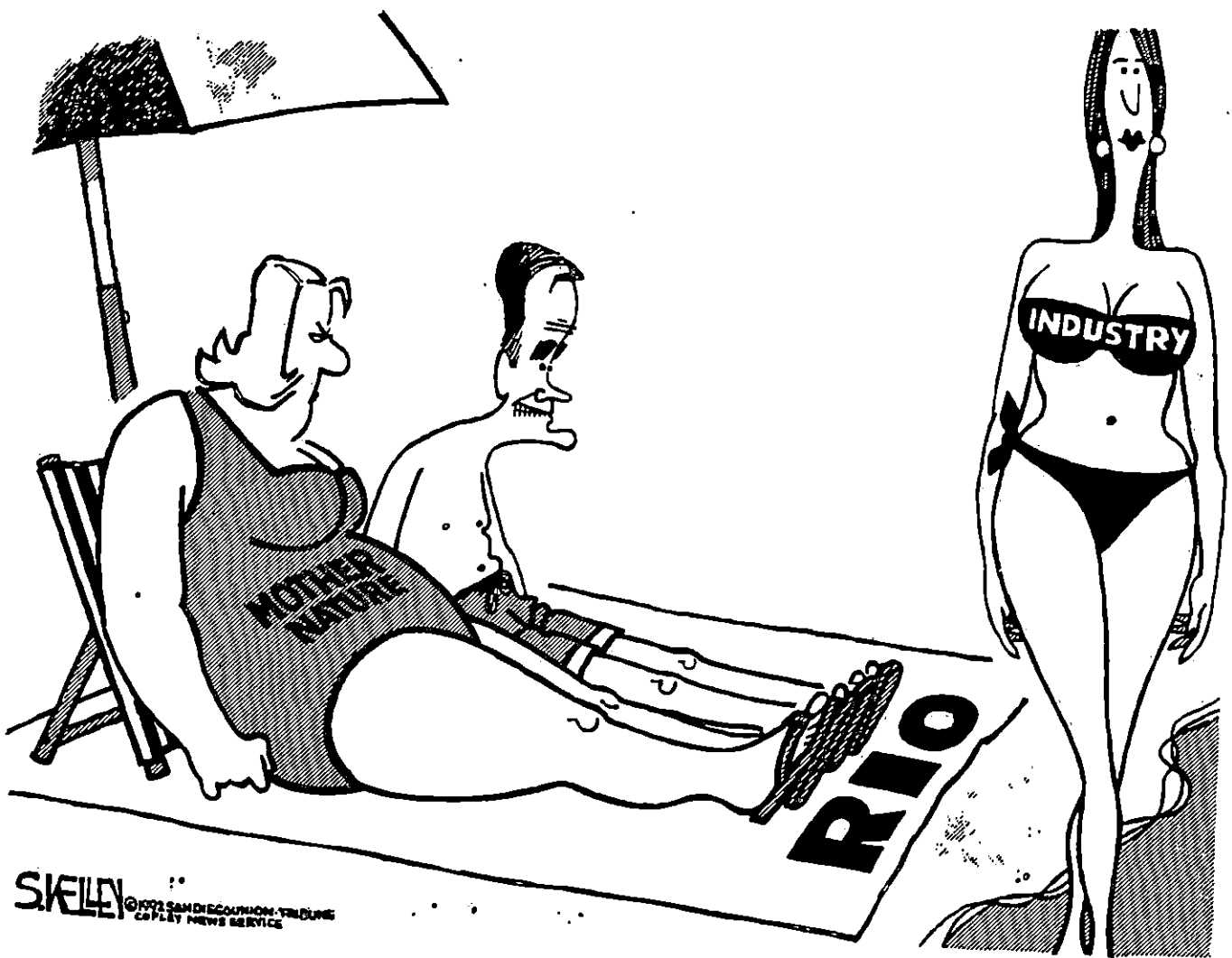




DRAWINGBOARD / BORGMAN







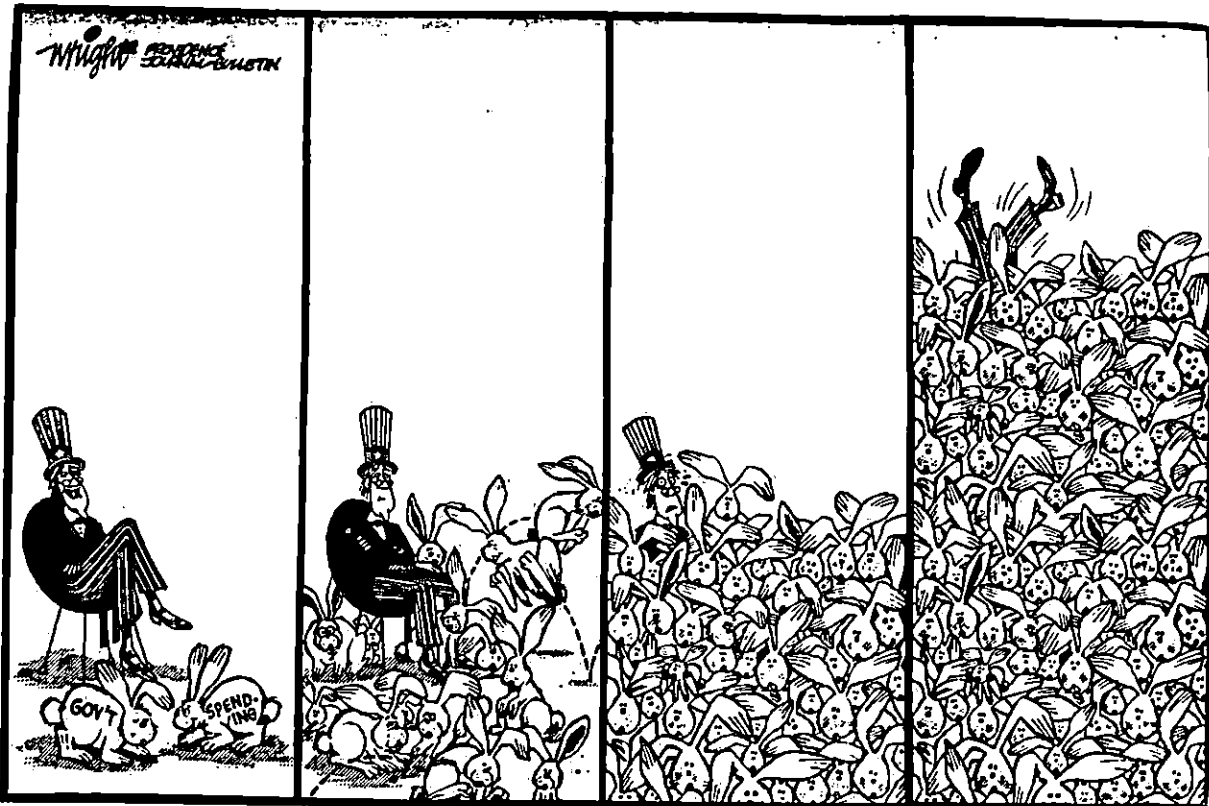
RUN BAMBI GEORGE BUSH IS IN THE FOREST !...

65-72 THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER. UNIVERSAL PRESS SYND.

AUTH

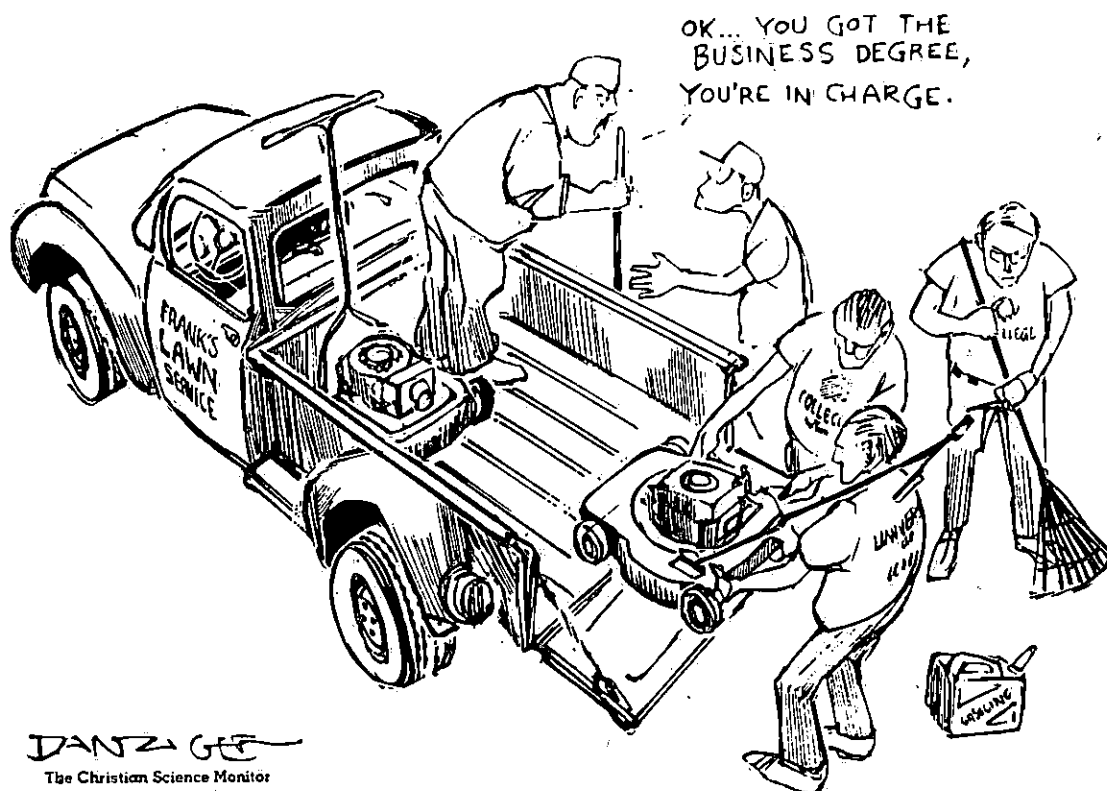


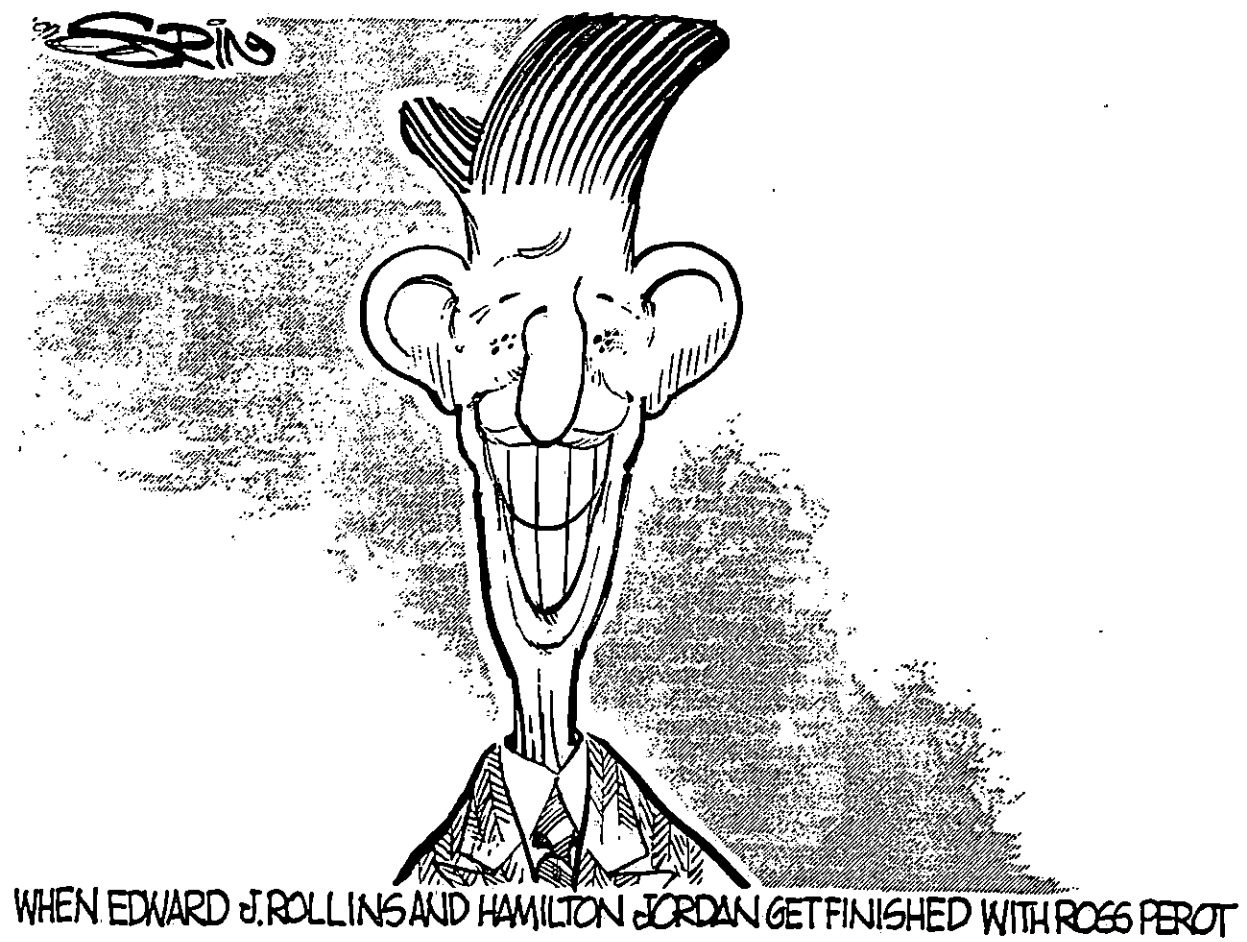
"Then it's agreed. The solution to all our problems is the balanced budget amendment."

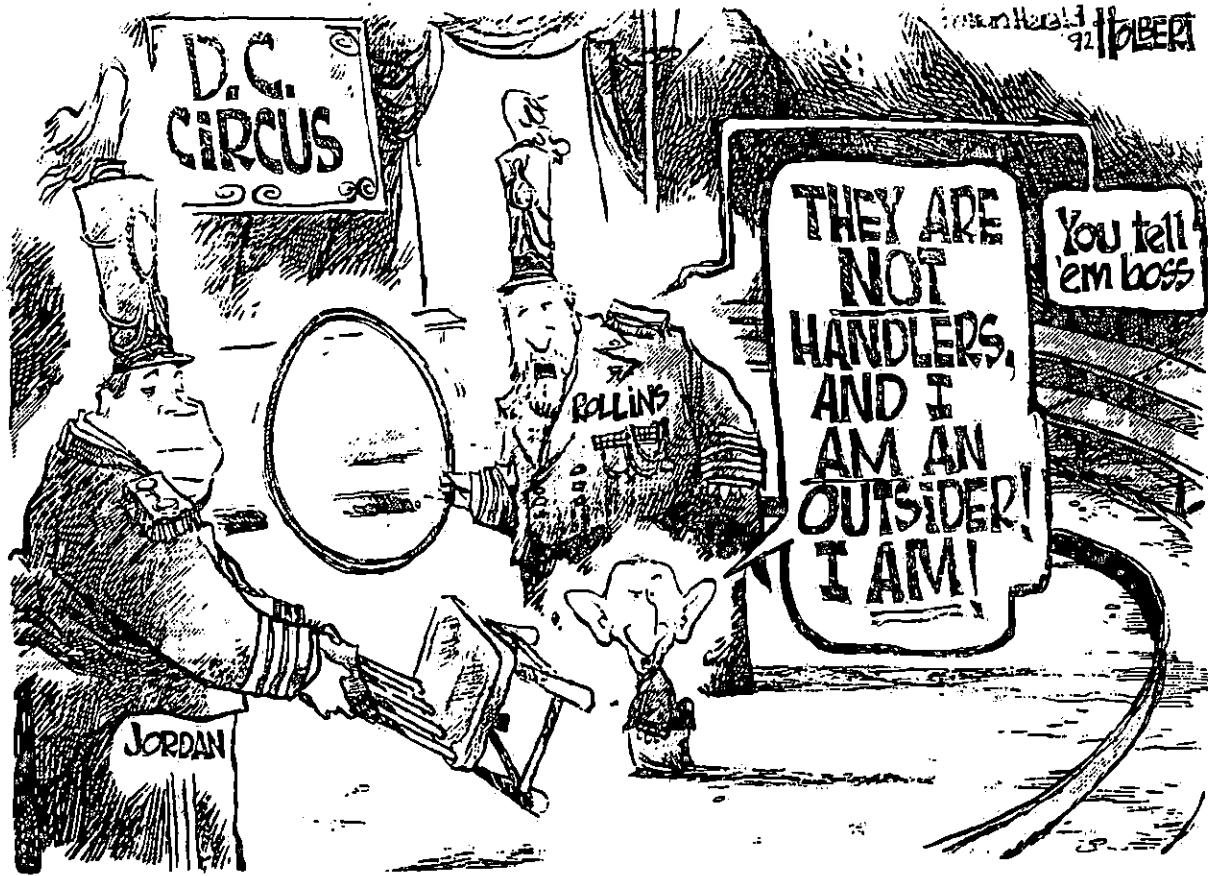




David Catrow Springfield News-Sun







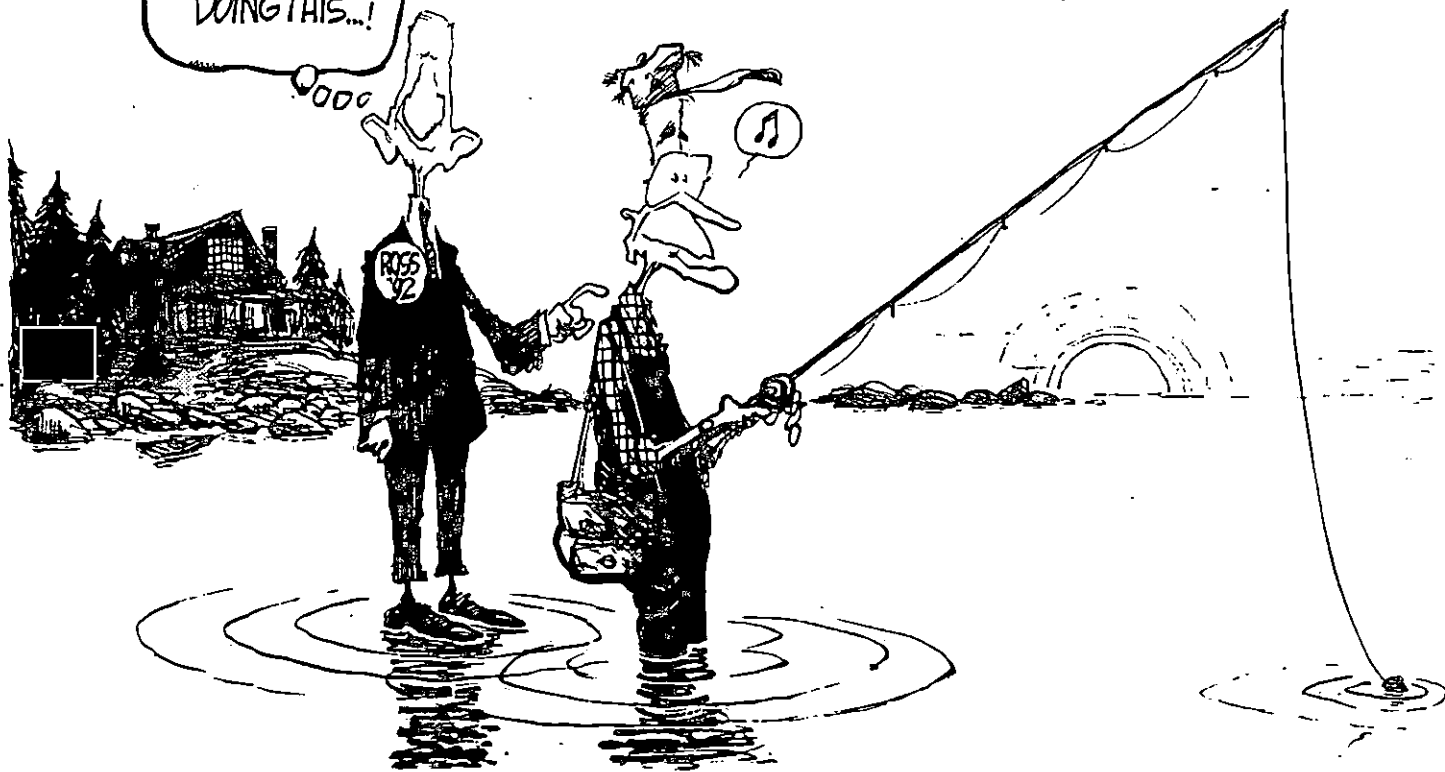
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1992

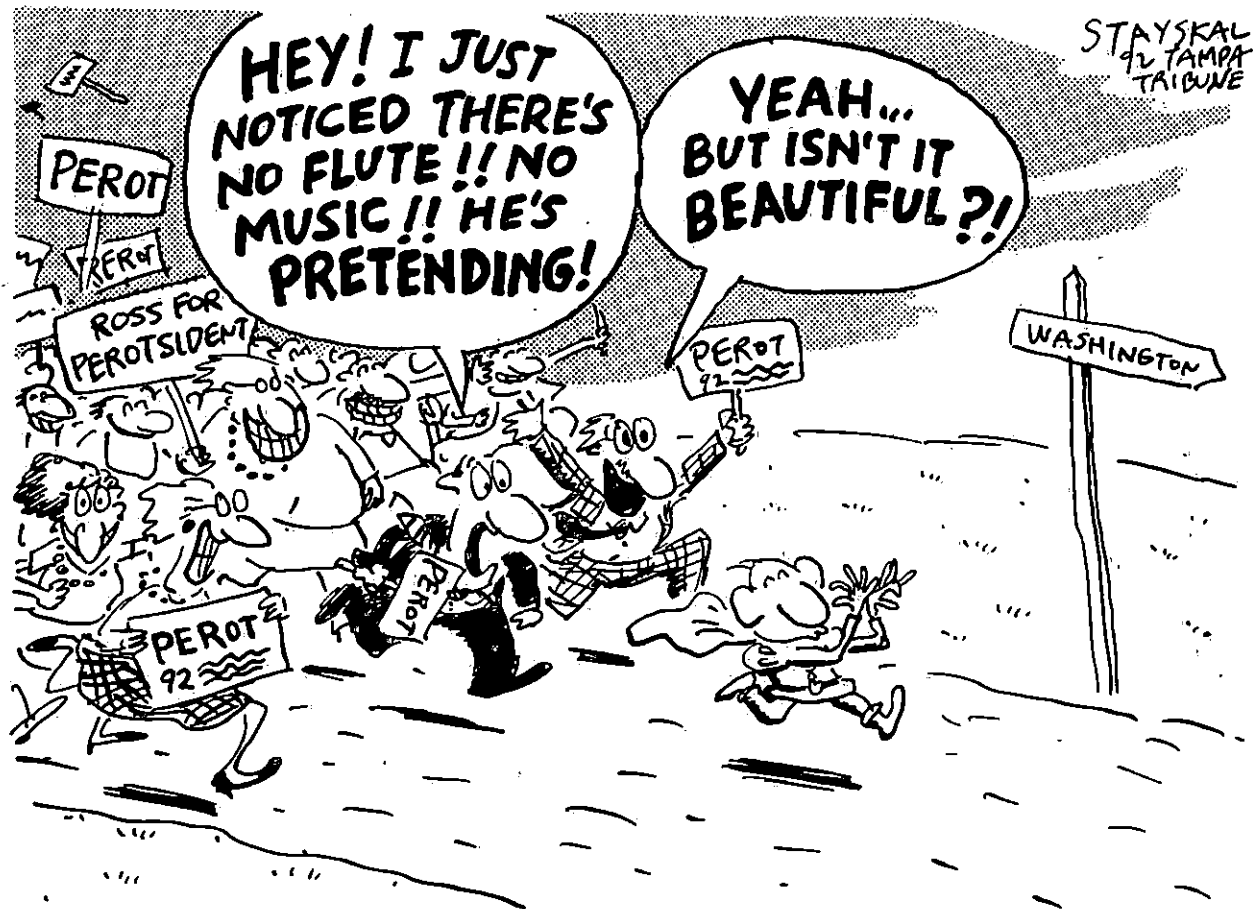
GOD HELP ME,
I LOVE
DOING THIS...!



ANY MINUTE NOW...
GET SET... I'M ALMOST
READY... HERE I GO...
ON YOUR MARK...

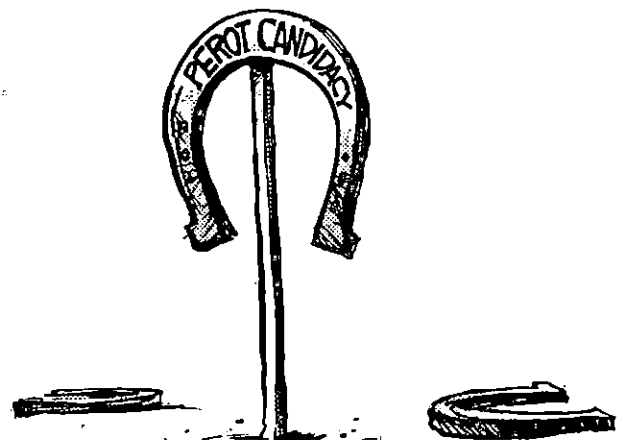
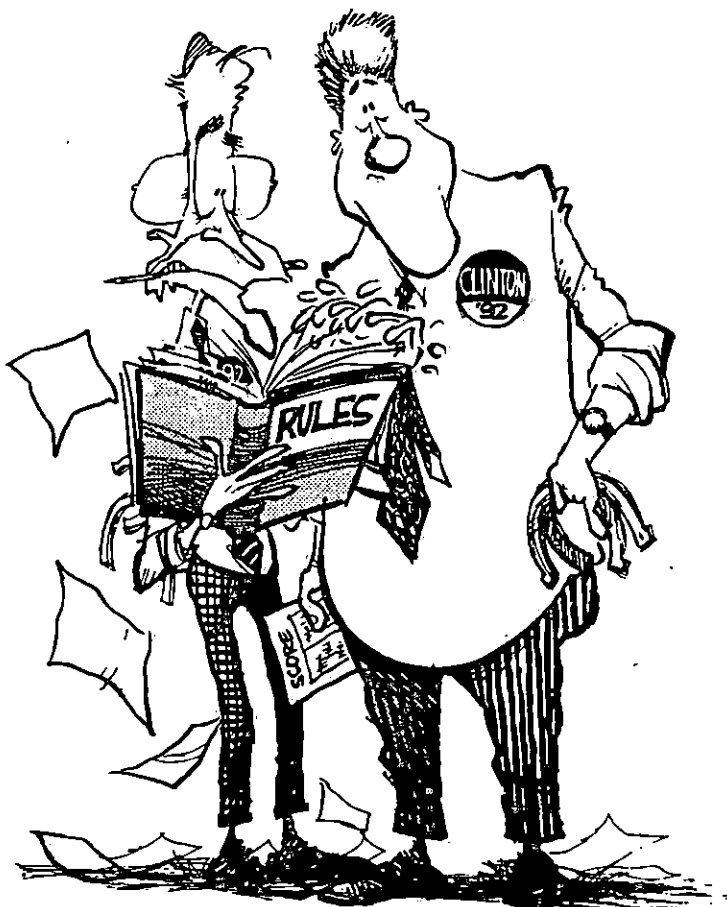
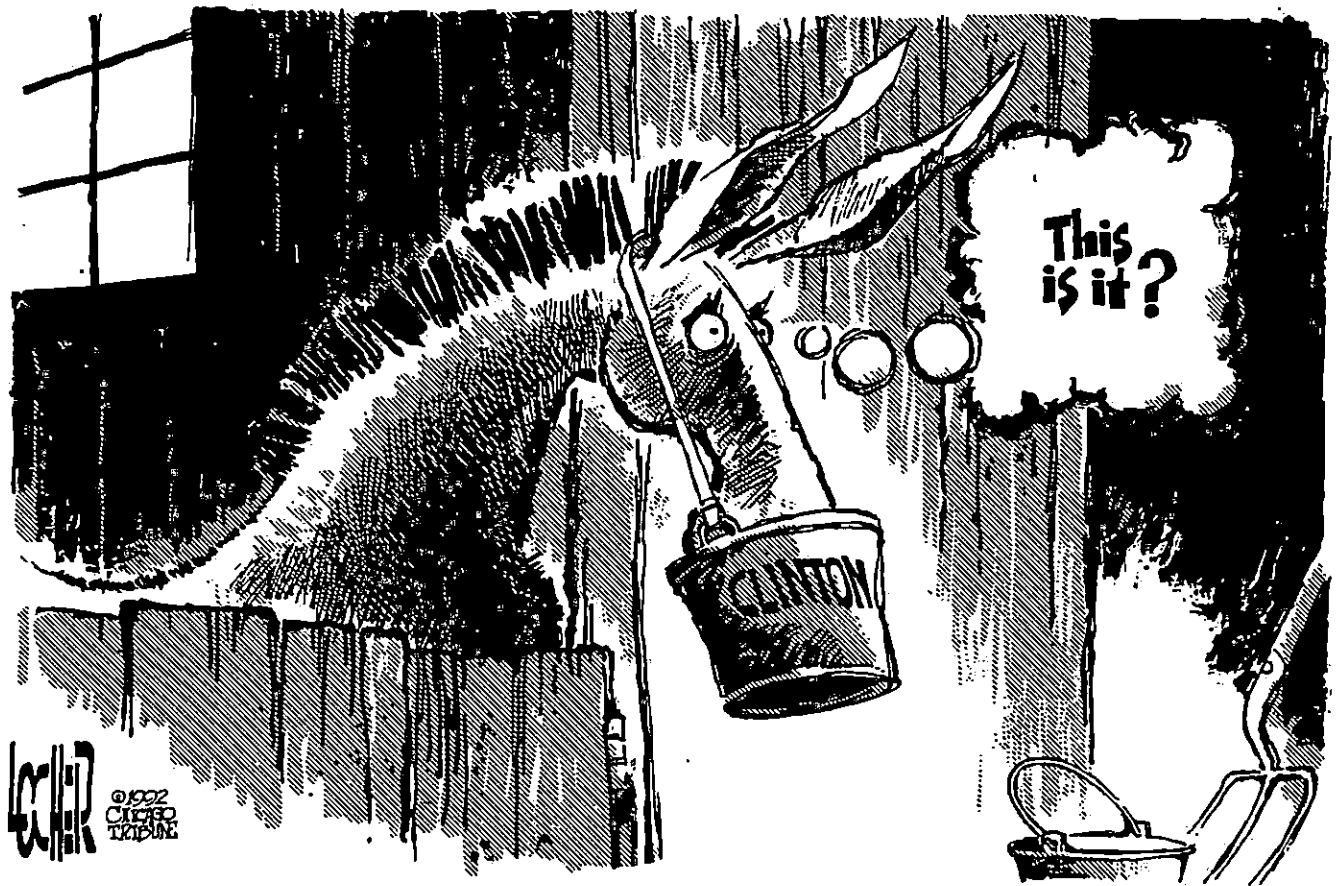


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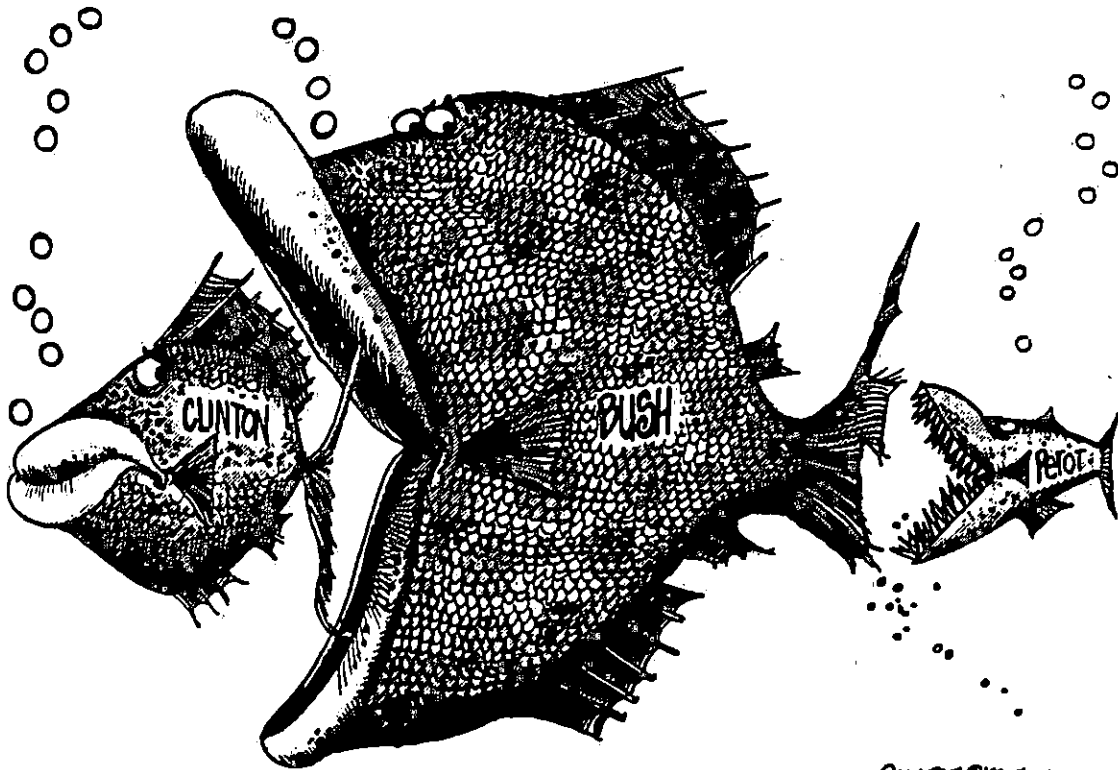


THE PIED PIPER OF PEROTVILLE





Texas Piranha!

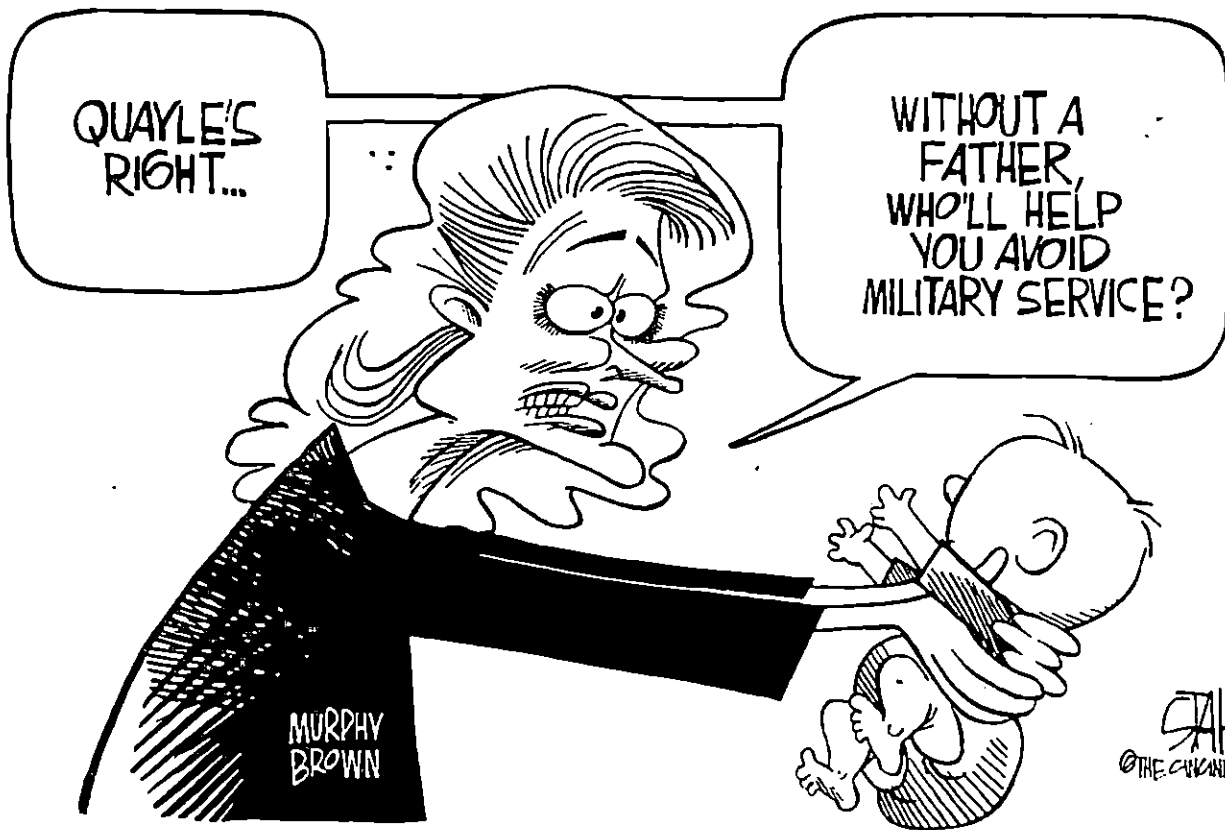


GAMBLE © 1992 THE FLORIDA
TIMES-UNION
A TIME PUBLICATIONS SPECIAL

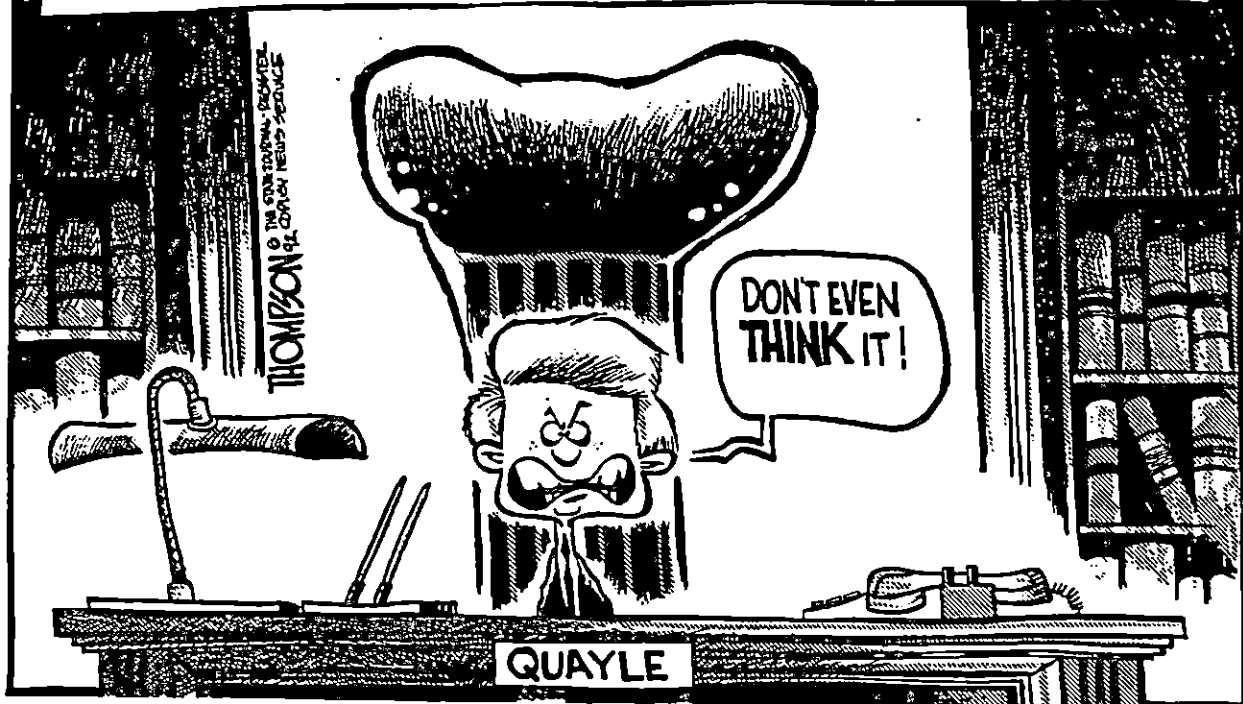
Mike Luckovich ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 6/12

NO, IT IS NOT
AVON CALLING!..





NEWS ITEM: Warner Bros. studios is seeking someone to play the role of "Dennis the Menace," a blond-haired lad whose childlike naivete and knack for getting into trouble is a constant source of controversy...

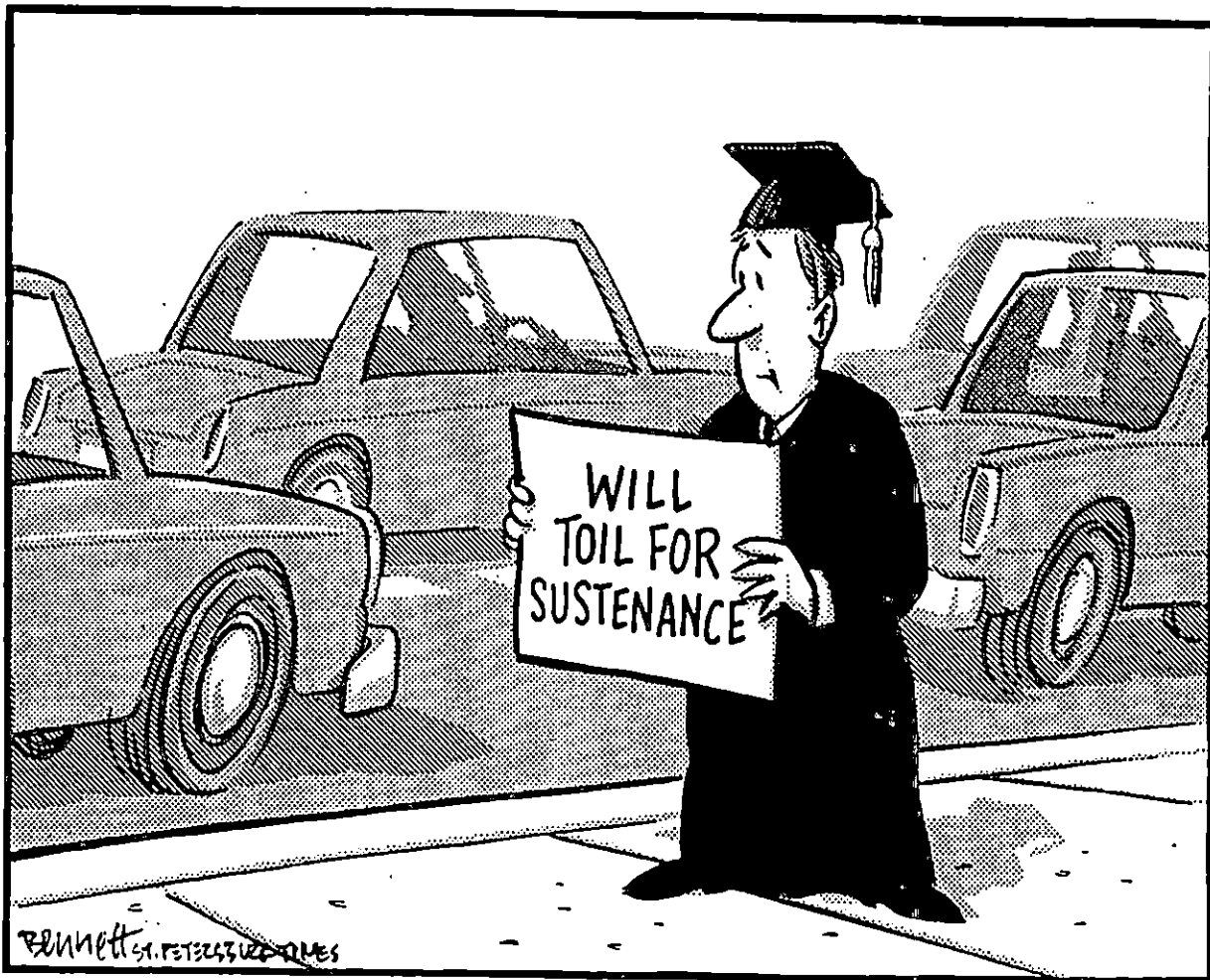


CLASS OF
'92



DUNAGIN
1992 THE ORLANDO SENTINEL

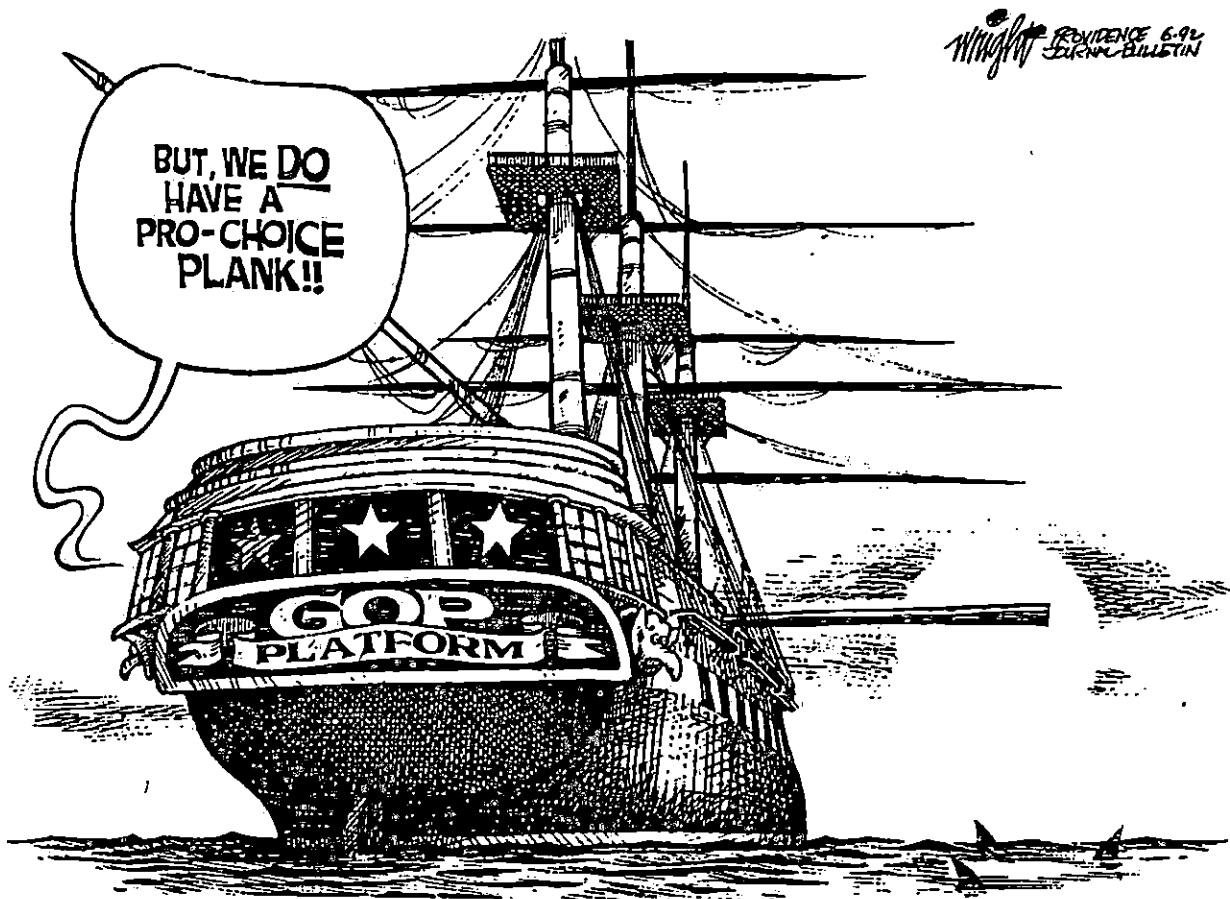
'Don't go out there!'

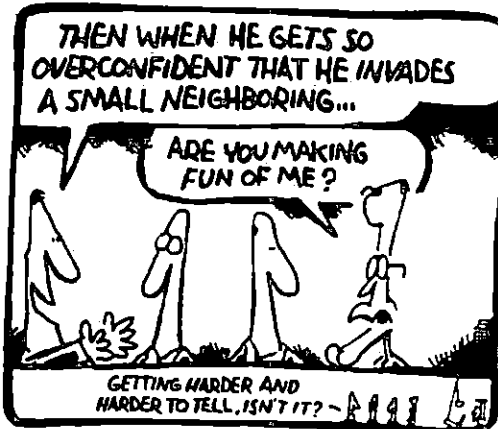
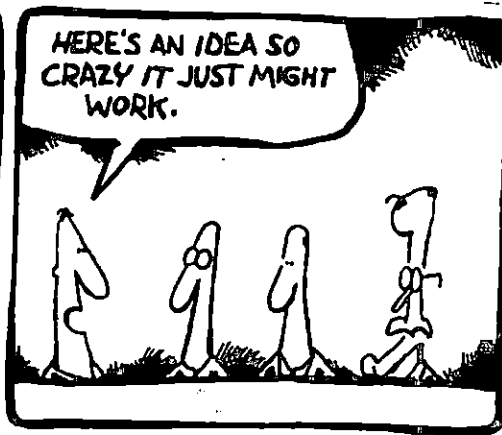
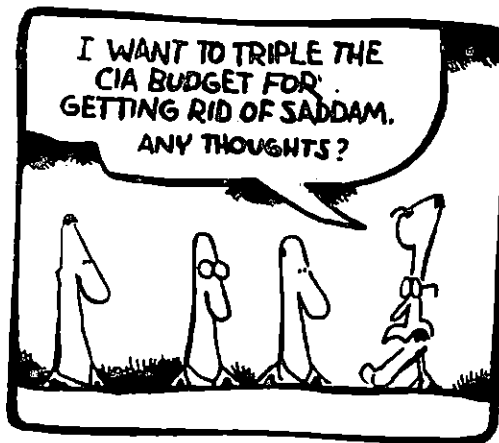


Bennett
ST. PETERSBURG TIMES

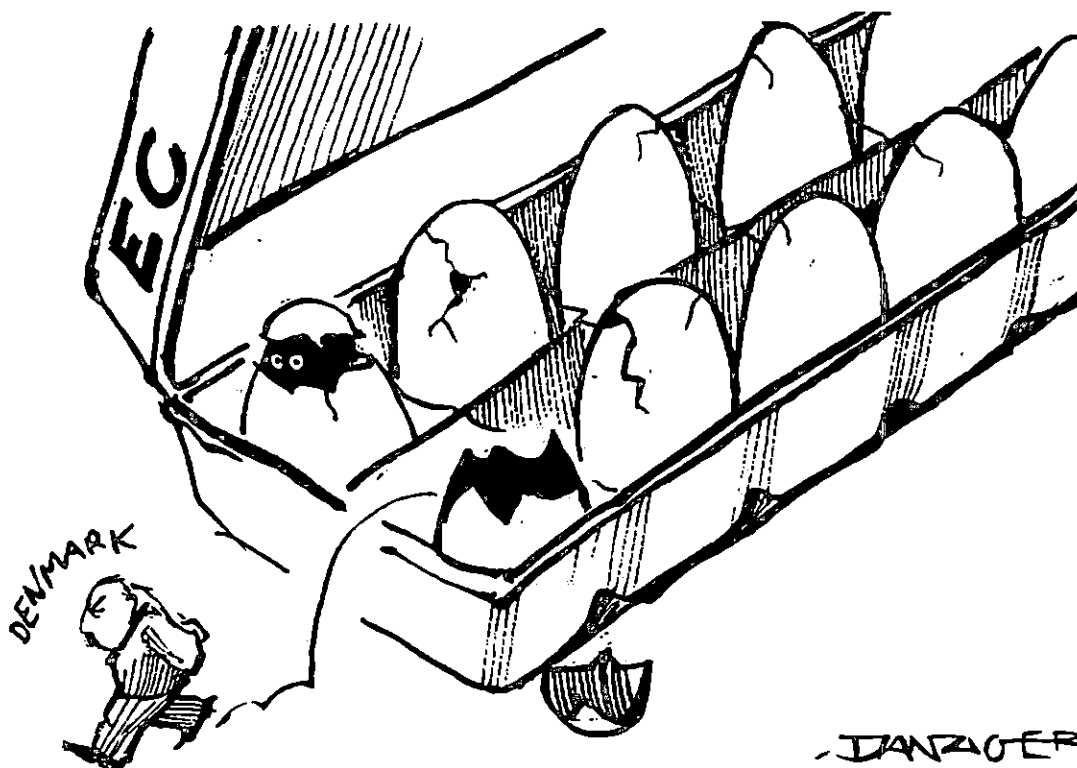


"GOLLY! LOTS OF ABORTION-RIGHTS ADVOCATES OUT THERE, EH KEMO SABA?"

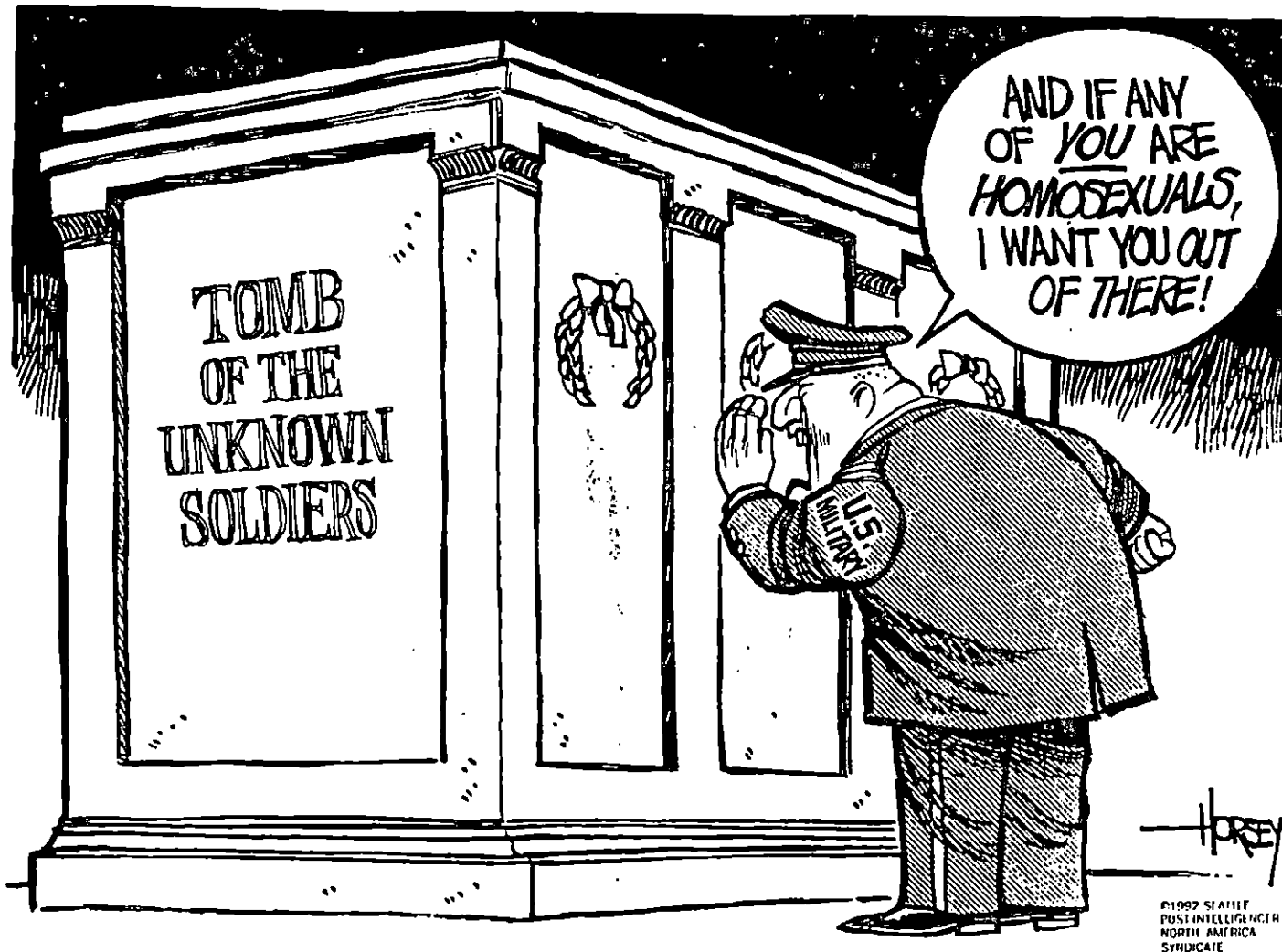




Tom Toles Universal Press Syndicate



IANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor



HOW THE BRITISH PRESS WOULD REPORT THE END OF THE WORLD...



WE ASSUME THAT WHEN THIS IS OVER AND YOU DO
MOVE IN, MR. WILLIAMS, YOU'LL WANT TO REDECORATE?



AND WE'D LIKE TO REMIND YOU
THAT OUR REDUCED AIR
FARES WON'T IN ANY WAY
AFFECT THE SERVICE YOU'VE
COME TO EXPECT FROM US



MIKE SMITH





News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992
5:00 A.M. EDT/6:00 A.M. AST EDITION

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BUSH CAUGHT BY TEAR-GASSING IN PANAMA CITY -- President Bush was rushed from an open-air speech in the center of Panama City to a U.S. air base Thursday after the one public event of his short visit erupted into an angry, surging melee of protesters, audience and Panamanians rushing to escape volleys of tear gas.

(Washington Post, Washington Times, Chicago Tribune)

BUSH: 'WE'RE NOT THE WORLD'S POLICEMAN'-- The Bush Administration acknowledged Thursday that it is looking at ways for U.S. military forces to help the U.N. cease the suffering in Yugoslavia.

(Washington Post)

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH VOWS TO FIGHT FOR BUDGET AMENDMENT -- President Bush vowed to fight on for a balanced budget constitutional amendment after suffering a defeat in the House, but Sen. Simon said he was withdrawing from the field of battle.

(Reuter, Washington Post, Washington Times, Chicago Tribune)

L.A. RIOT AID STUCK IN 'CAPITOL HILL GRIDLOCK' -- Federal aid to rebuild the riot-torn sections of Los Angeles appears likely to be delayed while Congress and President Bush prepare to wrangle over its funding.

(Washington Times)

NETWORK NEWS (Thursday evening)

PANAMA -- President Bush went to Panama where anti-American demonstrators and nervous policemen forced the President to retreat from public with tear gas in his eyes and nose.

RIO -- From Panama, the President is flying to the Earth Summit where he has already been the target of demonstrators.

BALANCED BUDGET -- The House voted against a balanced budget amendment.

**Happy Birthday,
Mr. President!**

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BUSH CAUGHT BY TEAR-GASSING OF PROTESTERS IN PANAMA CITY

PANAMA CITY -- President Bush was rushed from an open-air speech in the center of Panama City to a U.S. air base Thursday after the one public event of his short visit erupted into an angry, surging melee of protesters, audience and Panamanians rushing to escape volleys of tear gas fired by U.S.-trained riot police.

Bush was reported to have been affected only slightly by the gas but otherwise unharmed. The President later gave his address from inside the Albrook Air Base, telling "the Panamanian people" that "no tiny little left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back." In fact, his audience at the base was American.

The White House said the President was removed "really as a result of the tear gas." As Bush was escorted off the platform, he could be seen grimacing and rubbing his tearing eyes. Burton Lee later said Bush was "okay... absolutely fine" despite minor ill effects.

The melee ruined the centerpiece event of Bush's visit here. Several hundred invited and carefully screened guests, including schoolchildren who were caught up in the gassing, were in the park -- which was surrounded by police barricades.

(Ann Devroy & Edward Cody, Washington Post, A1)

Panama Tear Gas Puts Bush To Rout

PANAMA CITY -- President Bush was hit by a wave of tear gas Thursday and fled to a U.S. air base while Panamanian police fired shots during a pre-speech demonstration.

At Albrook Air Force Base and a luncheon with President Guillermo Endara before the park visit, Bush said he was moved by large, cheering crowds along the motorcade route in a country where 70% of the people want Americans to stay.

Several hundred demonstrators were identified as relatives of people killed in the El Chorillo slum as U.S. troops destroyed the headquarters of Manuel Noriega in 1989.

(Frank Murray, Washington Times, A5)

Bush Chased From Panama City Plaza By Gunshots, Tear Gas

PANAMA CITY -- President and Mrs. Bush were chased from a downtown plaza by gunshots and tear gas Thursday as a pro-American rally turned to chaos when Panamanian authorities dispersed several hundred demonstrators throwing rocks and bottles.

Along with the dozens of pops of exploding tear gas canisters, there was also the distinctive crack of gunfire. One policeman was seen firing toward the anti-Bush demonstrators, and people dropped to the ground in fear at what seemed to be the sound of other shots.

"There was local authorities' gunfire, and other gunfire we couldn't identify," said the head of the Secret Service detail.

(Terry Atlas, Chicago Tribune)

BUSH ARRIVES IN RIO FOR EARTH SUMMIT

RIO DE JANEIRO -- President Bush arrived in Brazil early Friday for the Earth Summit that he intends to use to declare limited U.S. aid for protecting the environment. Bush arrived in Rio without fanfare following a brief visit to Panama that was marred by tear gas that disrupted plans for him to give an outdoor address. The President gave no formal remarks upon arrival, but declared earlier in the day that economic concerns must be weighed in reaching environmental decisions. "I am determined to protect the environment," Bush said upon departure from Andrews Air Force Base. "I am also determined to protect the American taxpayer. The day of the open checkbook is over." (Reuters)

Bush Goes To Rio Determined To Stand His Ground

PANAMA CITY -- A defiant President Bush left behind protesters in Panama on Thursday and flew to the tumultuous Earth Summit in Brazil, vowing to face critics of U.S. environmental policy and protect American taxpayers.... "There is a generalized feeling of resentment against President Bush," Brazil's education minister and environment minister, Jose Goldemberg, said in an interview in response to Bush's refusal to sign the biodiversity treaty. Venezuela delegate Alexander Luzardo said, "A feeling of recrimination will prevail when President Bush speaks." (Ruth Sina, AP)

Bush Faces Rio, Lion's Den, Counts On Support At Home

PANAMA CITY -- President Bush headed into the "Lion's den" of the Earth Summit Thursday night expecting the torrent of criticism there to help him with U.S. voters unwilling to send more money abroad. Domestically, when he goes into the kind of lion's den waiting for him in Rio, the opposition is good for him politically," said a White House official. "He does have to keep saying we have better environmental experience, plans, success that the others don't have." (Frank Murray, Washington Times, A7)

EARTH SUMMIT CREEPS TOWARD COMPROMISES

RIO DE JANEIRO -- As heads of state from around the world converged Thursday on the U.N. Earth Summit, delegates to the conference agreed on most issues, but remained divided on some crucial points.

Delegates rebuffed an effort by Arab oil-producing nations to remove a chapter on global warming from the 700-page international environmental plan known as Agenda 21. A compromise was reached to satisfy U.S. objections to references in key documents to Palestinians living under Israeli occupation.

Before departing Thursday morning from Andrews Air Force Base, President Bush struck a firm tone about the meeting here. He praised the U.S. record of environmental achievements as "second to none," but said it would be "counterproductive" to promote environmental programs at the expense of the U.S. economy, which he called the "engine of global economic growth."

William Reilly announced what he described as six U.S. actions in support of the global warming treaty. But three of them -- signing the treaty, funding energy inventories in developing nations and increasing research of climate change -- already had been announced. His promise to monitor carbon dioxide already is required by the 1990 Clean Air Act.

The final two pledges -- to quickly send the global warming treaty to the Senate for ratification and to draft a plan for reducing greenhouse gases six months earlier than the treaty requires -- are not commitments he can guarantee because pro-business White House advisers have final say over such actions and often delay regulations.

(Julia Preston & Michael Weisskopf, Washington Post, A25)

**BUSH HAITI POLICY CONDEMNED,
AIDE SAYS IT'S WORKING**

President Bush's new policy of turning back Haitian boat people drew new condemnation from House members Thursday but a U.S. official said Bush had no choice and that the policy is working.

Rep. Berman, at a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee hearing, called Bush's policy "callous, inhumane and illegal."

"It is simply beyond comprehension that President Bush is forcing these men, women and children back to Haiti to face oppression, imprisonment and death," Berman said.

But Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Brunson McKinley told the subcommittee Bush was forced to order the new policy of returning the boat people to Haiti because the holding camp for them at the U.S. naval base on Guantanamo was being overwhelmed. He said Bush's new policy has succeeded in reducing the flow of boat people to zero in the past four days.

(Reuter)

BUSH: 'WE'RE NOT THE WORLD'S POLICEMAN'

The Bush Administration acknowledged Thursday that it is looking at ways for U.S. military forces to help the U.N. cease the suffering in Yugoslavia. But President Bush played down speculation that such action might be imminent and said the U.S. is "not the world's policeman."

The Administration sent Ralph Johnson, a deputy secretary of state who has acted as a special envoy to the feuding ethnic factions in Yugoslavia, to Capitol Hill to underscore Bush's policy priorities. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Europe, Johnson stressed that the Administration wants to give the economic sanctions imposed by the U.N. Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro a chance to work before turning to other options.

"While we have ruled out unilateral U.S. military action, we are prepared to cooperate with future multilateral efforts to keep the peace and preserve cease-fire agreements when they are reached," Johnson added. "But we have repeatedly stated that we should focus our current efforts on political, economic and diplomatic measures. As the President stated, we will act with prudence and caution when it comes to U.S. involvement in this crisis."

(John Goshko, Washington Post, A29)

**BAKER FLIES TO LONDON FOR
NEW TALKS WITH KOZYREV ON ARMS CUTS**

Secretary Baker flew to London Thursday night to try for the second time this week to hammer out an agreement for deep cuts in nuclear arms with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev.

State Department officials declined to speculate on the chances for success in London, saying that the Russians have not made known the compromise proposal they are expected to table at Friday's meeting. Arms experts outside the government said they doubted Baker would make a high-profile negotiating trip to London on the eve of a summit unless he was convinced the chances were good for a breakthrough....

Arms Control Association director Spurgeon Keeny said Thursday that U.S. military officials, "whose roots are all in the Cold War," were bent on eliminating Russia's most dangerous weapons. He urged a compromise instead, saying it was unlikely the Russians would agree to U.S. demands, particularly in view of Yeltsin's statement Wednesday that the American position was one-sided.

In a speech Thursday at the National Press Club, Sen. Bradley also criticized the U.S. approach, calling Bush the "last Cold Warrior" and urging the Administration to stop focusing on Russia as a military threat. "Russia needs to see deeper cuts in our defense expenditures and larger redeployments of our forces, not continued submarine operations off their northern coast and reluctance to cut long-range bombers and missiles," Bradley said.

(Don Oberdorfer & R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post, A28)

YELTSIN SEES SUMMIT PACT ON ARMS CUTS

MOSCOW -- Boris Yeltsin set the stage Thursday for his first formal summit meeting with President Bush by expressing confidence that he will sign an agreement next week outlining deep cuts in nuclear weapons.

In a wide-ranging interview, Yeltsin said he was determined to push ahead as rapidly as possible with Russia's economic and political transformation. At the same time, he insisted that he would not allow Western governments or the IMF to dictate the pace of economic reform in Russia.

"We have a program, we have principles and a Russia that the IMF does not know, and a Russian people that the IMF does not know," said Yeltsin, interviewed by American and European journalists in the Kremlin. "If the IMF insists that we immediately release prices on energy, we will not agree. We know cases in the world when some countries have followed the advice of the IMF and suffered a fiasco."

U.S. diplomats here expect Yeltsin to use the Washington summit to declare that post-Communist Russia shares common values with the West and to try to establish himself in the American public mind as a more reliable negotiating partner than Mikhail Gorbachev. Yeltsin predicted that at least 20 documents would be signed during his visit, including what he described as "a framework agreement on the principles for deeper cuts in nuclear weapons."

Yeltsin reiterated an earlier offer to take Russian nuclear weapons targeted on U.S. cities off military alert as a first stage toward their destruction. He also expressed interest in the idea of creating a joint U.S.-Russian early warning system to monitor the launching of nuclear missiles anywhere in the world as the first step to a global defense system.

(Michael Dobbs, Washington Post, A1)

ISRAEL REBUFFS U.S.

JERUSALEM -- Israel has rejected a U.S. request to question a jailed former air force officer, Brig. Gen. Rami Dotan, who is at the center of an arms procurement scandal involving American defense contractors, defense sources said. A source said the Defense Ministry stated in a letter that Israeli law bans government workers from divulging information obtained in their work and suggested that a U.S. congressional panel investigating the affair send a written questionnaire instead.

(Around The World, Washington Post, A29)

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH VOWS TO FIGHT FOR BUDGET AMENDMENT

President Bush vowed to fight on for a balanced budget constitutional amendment after suffering a defeat in the House, but Sen. Simon said he was withdrawing from the field of battle.

Bush said the vote showed "we are close" to adoption of the amendment. The 280-153 vote was nine short of the two-thirds majority required for passage of the amendment. Bush, who went to the Earth Summit in Brazil, said that when he returned to Washington he would confer with bipartisan supporters "to determine how we can best move this fight forward." But Sen. Simon said he would abandon the fight until after the fall election.

The amendment's opponents were led by Speaker Foley, who made one of his rare floor speeches a few minutes before a crucial test vote. "Let us summon the courage that rhetorically is so broad in this house today and apply it to the task of reducing the deficit, restoring fiscal sanity to the country," said Foley in an emotional plea. "But let us do it by sparing the Constitution."

Speaking to a call-in audience on NBC's "Today" show, Ross Perot dismissed the amendment as a mere politician's excuse for inaction. "You don't need an amendment," he said. "An amendment is an excuse not to do anything. It takes a long time to get an amendment."
(David Lawsky, Reuter)

Budget Amendment Rejected

The House Thursday voted to reject a proposed balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution, burying for the remainder of this election year a measure that was touted by President Bush as a simple cure for deficit spending. "The biggest factor was the whole gaggle of groups profiting from spending out of an empty pocket," said Jim Davidson, chairman of the National Taxpayers Union. "These guys (in Congress) are hopeless, and the vote was further evidence there won't be institutional change until there is a further sign of economic collapse."

(Eric Pianin, Washington Post, A1)

House Kills Balanced-Budget Amendment

The House Thursday rejected a proposed amendment to the Constitution requiring a balanced budget after Democratic leaders dislodged about a dozen backers of the proposal.

Backers pledged to introduce the amendment the first day of the next Congress. One White House official also said the issue may surface again this year because some Democratic supporters talked about forcing another vote on the House floor.

"I'm very disappointed that many of our co-sponsors switched," Rep. Stenholm said after the vote, but he would not comment on why the votes changed. All of the switches were Democrats. A total of 116 Democrats and 164 Republicans voted for the amendment while 150 Democrats, two Republicans and one independent voted no.

(J. Jennings Moss, Washington Times, A1)

House Narrowly Rejects Balanced-Budget Amendment

The House on Thursday narrowly rejected a proposed amendment to the Constitution requiring a balanced federal budget, killing such a measure for this year and adding another hot-button issue to an already fractious election year.

"This vote should be interpreted as a victory for controlling the deficit," argued Rep. Gephardt. "Most members of Congress are now on record as seeing the deficit as a significant danger to our economic future."

But some sponsors and advocacy groups were skeptical. "It's a very sad day for this institution and the American people," said Rep. Snowe. "It's a victory for the status quo and a repudiation of change."
(Michael Arndt, Chicago Tribune)

SENATE REFUSES TO HALT DELAYING TACTICS ON BILL RESTRICTING EMPLOYER RIGHTS

Despite a last-minute concession to organized labor to limit its ability to strike, the Senate Thursday refused to end delaying tactics that are blocking a vote on controversial legislation to bar employers from permanently replacing striking workers.

The largely party-line vote to impose cloture and clear the way for a vote on the labor-backed bill was 55 to 41, or five less than the 60 required to limit debate.

But the bill's sponsors are expected to pick up the votes of Sens. Gore and Wirth when they return from the Earth Summit, and Sen. Mitchell was weighing Thursday night whether to schedule another cloture vote for next week.

(Helen Dewar, Washington Post, A4)

L.A. RIOT AID STUCK IN 'CAPITOL HILL GRIDLOCK'

Federal aid to rebuild the riot-torn sections of Los Angeles appears likely to be delayed while Congress and President Bush prepare to wrangle over its funding.

"The emergency disaster supplemental appropriations bill... appears to be mired in the same old status quo -- the Capitol Hill gridlock that has the American people so disgusted," Sen. Dole said in a statement.

Congress is expected to approve next week a conference committee report calling for nearly \$2 billion in emergency spending for not only Los Angeles' restoration, but also social programs such as Head Start.

"The President is going to have to veto it, and there's no question about the fact that the veto is going to be sustained," Sen. Phil Gramm said.
(Carleton Bryant, Washington Times, A4)

COMPETITIVENESS COUNCIL IS CRITICIZED ON HILL

At a spirited closed-door session of a House Appropriations subcommittee, Rep. Skaggs this week offered an amendment to eliminate the \$86,000 staff budget for the Council on Competitiveness run by Vice President Quayle.

After Republicans promised a presidential veto of the appropriations bill and Democrats argued over tactics, Skaggs withdrew the amendment and said he will reintroduce it in the full committee, which is scheduled to meet early next week.

"In my opinion, what the council has been doing is illegal and unethical," Skaggs said in an interview. He said the council's "deliberate subversion" of the regulation process was illegal, and he called unethical the participation in council meetings of persons with financial stakes in matters the body takes up.

(Dana Priest, Washington Post, A6)

QUAYLE VOWS TO PRESS ISSUE OF ABORTION

Addressing an antiabortion rally that resembled a Republican campaign event, Vice President Quayle Thursday vowed to "speak up for life" throughout the coming political contest. The address to the National Right to Life convention at a Crystal City hotel continued Quayle's heavily publicized assault on the "cultural elite" that he accuses of undermining "family values" in America.

In Thursday's appearance, Quayle said, "the overwhelming emphasis on the national media has been in favor of abortion" and in opposition to "the fundamental value of American society: the value of human life."

Quayle praised the "pro-life movement" as being "committed to tolerance... committed to compassion." The "real intolerance in contemporary society is to be found on the other side" among those "who have tried to silence religious leaders when they speak out in defense of children before birth."

In a meeting with reporters Wednesday, Charles Black provided a clear rationale for making abortion a part of the 1992 Republican race. "In any campaign," he said, "the first task is to solidify the base. In a three-way race, that 38 to 40% base may be enough." Later, Black said that surveys showed that within that Republican base, "there are very few single-issue, pro-choice voters." Referring to Bill Clinton and Ross Perot, Black said, "In a three-way race with two pro-choice candidates, I believe the one pro-life candidate (Bush) has an advantage."

(David Broder, Washington Post, A16)

PEROT ATTACKS BUSH, OPPOSES BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT
ON 'TODAY' SHOW

Ross Perot Thursday intensified his criticism of President Bush, contending the President doesn't understand business, botched the deregulation of S&Ls, is afraid to debate and initially tried to "burp, diaper and pampers" Saddam Hussein. Perot blasted several times when pressed for clearer answers on gun control, Social Security, national health care and affirmative action. Perot blamed Bush for the nation's S&L scandal, noting he oversaw deregulation in the Reagan Administration and "just doesn't understand business." He said Bush went to war in the Persian Gulf only when "our manhood was questioned and off we go into the wild blue yonder with the lives of our servicemen at risk because of 10 years of stupid mistakes and billions of dollars of taxpayer money." (George Condon, copy)

Candidate Tells TV Call-Ins He Has No 'Sound Bite' Solutions

NEW YORK -- Ross Perot, fielding questions from callers for two hours on national television, said Thursday that President Bush was to blame for the S&L debacle and the Persian Gulf War. Perot also said repeatedly that he would not offer "sound bite" answers to complex problems nor, if elected, would he perpetuate a "regal presidency."...

Perot said American small business cannot get the credit and capital it needs because Bush's management of deregulation caused "the banking fiasco we just went through." Those remarks angered the White House, where C. Boyden Gray said, "I don't understand what Perot is talking about because the reverse is true."

Gray laid the blame on Congress, saying a Reagan-appointed task force led by then-Vice President Bush developed regulatory reform proposals in 1984 that, if adopted, would have lessened S&L problems. "Congress just ignored it," he said. (Rayner Pike, AP)

PEROT TARGETS AFFLUENT RETIREES

Ross Perot said Thursday he would tackle rising Social Security costs by asking prosperous retirees to give up their benefits voluntarily.

Fielding phone calls for an unprecedented two hours on network television, Perot offered to set an example by forgoing his own Social Security and Medicare entitlements as well as working without pay if he is elected president....

Salted among Perot's amiable responses were a number of broadsides against the President. Just months before the Persian Gulf War started, Perot charged, Bush "was sending delegations over to burp and diaper and pampers Saddam Hussein and tell him how nice he was." Perot blasted Republicans who leave government jobs to lobby for foreign governments and companies. And he blamed the crisis among banks and saving and loan institutions on "you-know-who.... Or maybe if you don't know who, it was Vice President George Bush. He was in charge of deregulation during the savings-and-loan banking problems."

(David Von Drehle, Washington Post, A1)

DEMOCRATS PLAN BASH FOR STRAUSS

It's confirmed. To Republicans, Bob Strauss will be consorting with the enemy next month. The Democrat appointed ambassador by President Bush is set to attend the Democratic National Convention in New York. Friends of Strauss are throwing a New York party in his honor July 12, the first day of the convention week.

"What a hoot," said Torie Clarke. "Clearly, this is recognition that the Democratic Party has the ultimate respect and appreciation for President Bush's foreign policy leadership."

All this raises a key question: Will Strauss vote for Bush or for his party's standard-bearer? "He's rooting for us," said a confident Clarke.

But Ginny Terzano, spokeswoman for the Democratic National Committee, said, "He's a Democrat at heart and he's coming to see the next president get nominated."

(Susan Feeney, Dallas Morning News)

WHOLESALE PRICES ROSE 0.4% IN MAY

Wholesale prices, propelled by higher costs for gasoline, tobacco and clothing, rose at their fastest clip in 19 months in May as consumers managed only a tiny 0.2% increase in retail purchases, the government said Thursday.

The Labor Department said the 0.4% increase in its producer price index was the biggest advance since a 1.1% surge in October 1990. Meanwhile, the Commerce Department said that retail sales edged up a barely noticeable 0.2% in May as declines at clothing and hardware stores blunted a pickup in auto sales. In addition, the government slashed its estimate of April sales by more than half, now saying the increase was just 0.4%.

The Labor Department also reported Thursday that the number of Americans filing claims for unemployment insurance remained stuck at 407,000 for the week ending May 30, a disappointment to economists who had hoped the jobless number might finally drop to below 400,000.

(AP, Washington Post, B2)

NETWORK NEWS

(Thursday evening, June 11)

PANAMA

ABC's Peter Jennings: President Bush went to Panama today where the combination of anti-American demonstrators and some nervous Panamanian policemen, who didn't seem to know which way the wind was blowing, forced the President to retreat from public with the very bitter sting of tear gas in his eyes and nose. Had the President stayed in Washington today he would have been there for a very bitter defeat in Congress on the question of a balanced budget amendment. We begin in Panama.

ABC's Brit Hume: Until the afternoon rally the President had seen only friendly crowds, despite anti-American violence here in recent days that had left one U.S. serviceman dead.

(**TV coverage** of President Bush waving to a crowd.)

But when Mr. Bush's name was heard on the public address system a small but raucous crowd of protesters began to throw rocks and coconuts. They were not close to Mr. Bush but Panamanian security forces fired pepper gas to disperse them. The President seemed in no immediate danger, but watchful secret service agents gathered close to him. As the tear gas drifted back over the rally it clearly affected both Mr. Bush and those around him.

Then shots were heard in the area. An agent had Mr. Bush's bullet-proof raincoat at the ready though the President did not put it on as the agents began to hustle him away.

(**TV coverage** of President Bush leaving the speakers' platform.)

Behind the platform meanwhile U.S. security men drew weapons just in case. The Secret Service put into effect what's called the secure package: the President and Mrs. Bush were taken away. Their car and a couple of others broken out from the rest of the motorcade. Mr. Bush was quickly driven to nearby Albrook Air Force Base. In the chaotic scene thereafter numerous U.S. officials could be seen with guns drawn, though the only gunfire apparently came from Panamanian forces trying to disperse the crowd. A short time later the President made previously scheduled remarks at the U.S. base here. He insisted his reception here had been mostly warm and praised Panama for its turn toward elected government after years of dictatorship.

(**President Bush:** "We appreciate Panama. We appreciate Panama's move to democracy, and no tiny, little, left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back.")

That may well be true, but the purpose of this visit was to celebrate Panama's democratic government brought to power by the U.S. invasion that toppled Manuel Noriega three years ago. This afternoon can only embarrass that government, and it certainly didn't convey the image of the President as Panama's liberator the White House had hoped for.

Jennings says these anti-American demonstrations in Panama today lead to the following question: Three years after the U.S. invaded Panama in pursuit of General Noriega, an operation during which more than 300 Panamanians were killed, just how widespread is anti-American sentiment? Is what we saw today an aberration?

ABC's Mark Potter reports the two to three hundred protesters included left-wing university students, relatives of Panamanians killed in the U.S. invasion, and supporters of Noriega.

(TV coverage of President Bush on stage after tear gas hit.)

But earlier in the day Mr. Bush also saw thousands of Panamanians who were glad to welcome him here, which seems to be a more accurate reflection of Panama's attitude toward the U.S. A recent Gallup shows that 67% of the people here want the U.S. military to stay in Panama even though the U.S. has agreed to pull out at the end of the decade.

(ABC-Lead)

NBC's Tom Brokaw: President Bush is fine tonight, but it was unsettling in Panama today when gunfire was heard at a rally that he was about to address, and tear gas drove the President from the stage. This was not the triumph the White House envisioned for the stopover in Panama where President Bush installed democracy with the 1989 military invasion.

NBC's John Cochran: The President's aides had hoped he would leave Panama looking like a liberator. But demonstrators spoiled that hope for him. The President's visit to Panama began cheerfully enough as his motorcade glided through well-protected streets. Panamanian police and troops kept demonstrations far from the President's view at this point. Bush even joked that he was unimpressed by the few protesters that he did see.

(President Bush: "And for the tiny, tiny handful of people that are protesting, I said they ought to go up to San Francisco and get an idea of what a real protest is like.")

But soon there was a real protest, and it turned ugly. Some of the demonstrators were relatives of Panamanians killed during the American invasion here two-and-a-half years ago. Panamanian officials say the protesters, including many students, broke an agreement that they would not come near the plaza where President Bush was scheduled to speak. Security forces relied on tear gas to disperse the demonstrators, but the gas wafted toward the speakers' platform. Still, that was not considered enough reason for President Bush and Panama's President Endara to leave. But then American Secret Service agents heard gunfire -- some from local police but some shots could not be accounted for. That was enough.

(TV coverage of Presidents Bush and Endara leaving speakers' platform.)

Agents moved the President to his limousine, putting him in what they call a secure package -- just his limo and other cars with agents. Other White House aides were devoted to another location while the President and Mrs. Bush were taken to an American air base. Scuffles continued in the streets of Panama City. But the President was miles away. Bush downplayed the protest.

(President Bush: "Handful of radicals.")

Speaking to American troops, Bush said as far as he was concerned the people of Panama gave him a warm welcome.

(President Bush: "Thousands of people along the road expressing their appreciation for our great country. And let me say to them we appreciate Panama. We appreciate Panama's move to democracy.") But despite the President's upbeat talk, his trip is off to a rocky start, and there will be more anti-Bush protests at his next stop -- the Earth Summit in Rio. (NBC-Lead)

CBS's Dan Rather: A high-risk election-year presidential trip got off to a shaky start today. President Bush had to cancel the set-piece event of his visit to Panama and make a quick exit when security forces clashed with nearby protesters. There was tear gas and panic.

CBS's Susan Spencer: The welcome had been warm -- the President, sticking to his decision not to change his schedule -- when suddenly from an area about 150 yards from the park where he was to speak, a small crowd of anti-American protesters got ugly. They hurled rocks and bottles. Gunfire broke out a few blocks away. Edgy Panamanian riot troops didn't wait for more. Tear gas by the canister made its way to the podium where Secret Service agents calmly ushered a pale President and Mrs. Bush off the stage.

(TV coverage of President leaving the podium.)

And then, guns drawn, made sure they were safely whisked away to the security of Albrook Air Force Base. Until the trouble, the crowds had been very friendly -- waving American flags along the route. But anti-American demonstrators who accuse the U.S. of not adequately compensating Panama for damage done during the '89 invasion had stepped up their protests all week. Speaking at the air base, Mr. Bush was clearly angry.

(President Bush: "And no tiny, little, left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back.")

But he said the experience only strengthened his faith in Panama.

(President Bush: "Democracy doesn't come easy. But I could sense in that crowd today and amongst the leaders today the determination to perfect and see Panama's democracy come to total fulfillment.") Mr. Bush is safely on his way to Rio now. He apparently never was in any real danger. But this is clearly not the way the White House envisioned the first foreign trip of the '92 campaign. And it may very well raise questions as to the wisdom of continuing with such a public schedule in light of the recent anti-American protests here. (CBS-Lead)

RIO

Jennings: From Panama, as you may know, the President is flying to the Earth Summit in Rio where he has already been the target of demonstrators unhappy with the U.S. position on the environment. Mr. Bush says that U.S. environmental policies are, in his words, second to none. He says that when he gets there he will stand up for both American interests and the cleaner environment. (ABC-2)

Rather: Mr. Bush will be joining other world leaders in Rio for the Earth Summit, and there was trouble there as well today. U.N. security forces broke up a sit-in by an international group of students. They called the conference a farce, blaming President Bush and the U.S. for blocking strong measures on global warming and endangered species. (CBS-2)

BIODIVERSITY

Brokaw says President Bush is refusing to sign the biodiversity treaty at the Earth Summit this week, but at least one biodiversity plan already is at work. This one involves the governments of Costa Rica and an American pharmaceutical company.

NBC's Robert Bazell reports Merk [phonetic] Pharmaceuticals spends more than a billion dollars a year in its high-technology pursuit of new medicines. A successful drug can bring enormous profits and more jobs to this New Jersey company. A tiny portion Merk's research budget helps pay for a low-tech operation in Costa Rica. It enables Katrina Rina Martinez [phonetic] and Norman Abondo [phonetic] to collect bugs in a Costa Rican rain forest. It's part of an effort both to search for new products for Merk and to save the plants and animals in the rain forests. The species collected go to the Indio [phonetic] lab where biologists catalogue this vast wealth of biodiversity. If one of these creatures does yield a new drug, Merk has agreed to pay royalties to Costa Rica. The U.S. has refused to sign the biodiversity treaty at Rio in part because of a blanket demand for such royalties, but the Costa Rican agreement does demonstrate that it's possible for American companies to help save tropical rain forests while they try to find products and jobs for the U.S. (NBC-6)

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Jennings: We've already referred to it in that it was a major political defeat for the President today. The House of Representatives voted against a balanced budget amendment which the President and his allies have been pushing as the only way in their view to eliminate the federal deficit, which Ross Perot and Bill Clinton say, incidentally, is not necessary. Two-hundred and seventy-nine representatives voted for the amendment. One-hundred and fifty-three voted against it. But while the majority clearly supported the amendment, they could not make the two-thirds margin needed for final passage.

ABC's Cokie Roberts reports the President kept on the pressure for the amendment right up to the end.

(TV coverage of President Bush at morning cabinet room meeting.)

(Rep. Joe Barton, stakeout: "He's made dozens of phone calls. He's invited numerous members up here to the White House.")

Democratic opponents of the amendment pursued a strategy: first, of scaring some voters about what programs would be cut and second, of scaring the Congress that voters would see the idea of amending the Constitution to outlaw the deficit as a gimmick -- passing an amendment that would take years to become effective instead of making the hard choices now to erase the debt.

(Rep. Mel Levine: "The American people want leadership not false promises. This balanced budget amendment will eventually be seen as exactly what angers the American people.")

The defeat of the balanced budget amendment in the House means that it is dead. The question now: Are the President and Congress ready to deal with the deficit the old fashioned way -- by making the spending cuts and raising the taxes necessary to bring the budget into balance?

(ABC-4)

Brokaw: The President was 0 for 2 today, lobbying the Congress for an amendment to the Constitution requiring a balanced budget. That didn't work either. NBC's Andrea Mitchell tonight on the votes, the debates and the election-year posturing.

NBC's Andrea Mitchell reports balanced budget supporters fell nine votes short of what they needed, killing that constitutional amendment for this year. The President delayed his departure for Rio to bring in undecided congressmen for breakfast.

(President Bush: "It'll make all of us do what the people want and that is to get this deficit under control once and for all.")

Many Democrats bolted and voted with Bush and the Republicans.

Opposed to the amendment: an unusual coalition of the elderly worried about Social Security cuts, the Chamber of Commerce worried about higher taxes, the conservative Heritage Foundation, legal scholars. Supporting it: the National Taxpayers' Union and other interest groups. Opponents argued that it would require \$600 billion be slashed from vital programs.

(Rep. Panetta: "We're saying we're weak, we're so cowardly, we're so helpless that we've got to amend the Constitution of the U.S. to give us a little spine.")

At the last minute the Republicans pushed back the effective date to 1998, lifting any burden of compliance from Bush if he were reelected.

(TV coverage of President Bush walking to Marine One.)

(Bill Clinton: "I think there's an argument for greater discipline in this process, but this one, I think, is more a gimmick that allows George Bush some more time to be irresponsible.")

Ross Perot agreed.

(Perot, "Today": "You don't need an amendment. An amendment is an excuse not to do anything.")

The amendment was enormously popular; so while Democrats won the vote today, they may have handed the President a powerful election-year issue.

(NBC-2)

Rather: President Bush lost one in Congress today. The House rejected the balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It fell two votes short of passage. Opponents said it was a political gimmick in an election year. They pointed out that President Bush has never himself submitted a balanced budget. Mr. Bush said that this amendment is needed to cut the huge national debt.

(CBS-7)

PEROT

NBC's Lisa Myers says during two hours on the "Today" program, Perot called for pain and sacrifice to get this country back on track. But when a viewer pressed him about proposed cuts to politically sensitive Social Security and Medicare, Perot played loose with the facts. Perot continued to claim that he won't say anything negative about his opponents but then came this scathing attack on President Bush's handling of Iraq before the Gulf War.

(Perot: "Our President was sending delegations over to burp and diaper and pamper Saddam Hussein and tell him how nice he was.") Perot also blamed gridlock in Washington on former government officials now lobbying for foreign governments.

(Perot: "Foreign lobbyists in key positions in the Republican Party campaign -- this is why all this is so fouled up.") Perot failed to mention that his own campaign manager -- Ed Rollins -- was, until last week, part of a lobbying firm which was a registered foreign agent for Colombia, Ecuador and the Philippines. (NBC-3)

Rather says Perot took questions from a national TV audience again today. Among the points Perot made, he said that he's against affirmative action because, as he put it, it "increases the level of stress in society." Perot said he would ask the wealthy to voluntarily give up their Social Security benefits. And Perot said he would raise taxes only as a last resort. (CBS-9)

QUAYLE

Rather reports Vice President Quayle was out on the campaign trail again today attacking those who support a women's right to an abortion. As Wyatt Andrews reports, it's all part of a Bush-Quayle reelection strategy.

(Quayle: "Our opponents treat God's greatest gift -- new life -- as an inconvenience to be discarded.")

Andrews says it's not just Murphy Brown anymore. Vice President Quayle is punching up his rhetoric on family values and broadening his attack on what he calls a cultural elite -- Hollywood, academics and media -- which he says are ridiculing him for defending the traditional family.

(Quayle: "I had the audacity to suggest that the breakdown of the family was at the root of many of our social problems. And I proposed that the entertainment industry should bear its share of responsibility for setting norms of behavior.")

Politically, Quayle knows what he's doing. For much of America the fading two-parent family is an issue. But Quayle's office also admits he's trying to seize a no-lose icon to help define the White House's listless campaign. He's clearly on to something. Being for family values though is just like George Bush being for the flag in 1988; there's almost no controversy and it suggests your opponents are against it.

(Clinton: "The thing that bothers me is that there are so many people in America who believe in family values and hard work and who play by the rules, and they're still getting the shaft.")

Quayle insists he truly believes in family values, but this is also a tactic that's been around before: when you're on the ropes as to how you'll actually govern, change the subject to Mom and apple pie. (NBC-7, CBS-8)

ECONOMY

Jennings reports the latest overall government statistics on the economy don't make for very cheerful reading. Wholesale prices rose 0.4% last month. That is the biggest jump in 19 months. One reason is higher oil prices -- imported and domestic.

ABC's Stephen Aug reports the price of energy was up nearly 1% last month and wholesale prices have already led to immediate increases at the pump. But higher oil prices mean a lot more than just rising gas prices. Oil goes into chemicals and plastics and almost everything we use. So economists say Americans can expect to pay higher prices for a wide range of goods this month and next.

(Donald Ratajczak, price forecaster: "We're going to have price increases next month which will be two to three times as large as the ones we've seen this month on energy.") (ABC-6)

Rather reports retail sales, a key to any economic recovery, rose just 0.2%. (CBS-5)

BOSNIA

Brokaw reports five days of heavy bombardment on Sarajevo ended today, but no one doubts that the Serbian attack will resume.

(NBC-5)

Rather reports a convoy of U.N. peacekeepers finally arrived today in Sarajevo. They had been stalled for 24 hours when U.N. escort vehicles came under fire from the hills overlooking the city.

(CBS-11)

-End of News Summary-

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Friday, June 12, 1992

Volume 28, Number 94

News From the Hill

HOUSE FLOOR: Balanced-budget amendment rebuffed.

The movement to add a balanced-budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution came to a screeching halt yesterday when the House rejected a measure (H J Res 290) that would have required that the federal books be balanced by the end of the decade.

The 280-153 tally was nine votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to approve a bill proposing a constitutional amendment and came after weeks of intense lobbying for the measure by President Bush and against it by Democratic leaders.

After the House vote, Paul Simon, D-Ill., the chief Senate sponsor of a balanced-budget amendment, announced that he would not ask for a Senate vote. "I see no point in bringing it up here in the Senate this year," Simon said. "My intention is to bring it up early next year when there will be a new composition of the House and the Senate."

All but two House Republicans supported the measure, while 150 Democrats voted against it.

Bush and other supporters said a constitutional amendment was the country's last hope to rein in federal spending. "If you think the American people are mad now, just defeat this one ray of hope we have now for finally reducing the federal deficit, and you will see a real revolt," said Rod Chandler, R-Wash.

Opponents of the measure called it an election-year ploy to boost approval ratings and warned of dire economic consequences. Les AuCoin, D-Ore., said the measure would lead to a "staggering tax increase" and would "leave us with a wrecked economy."

An all-out lobbying campaign by Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., turned the tide in the last days. Foley met or talked with dozens of members his staff said and was able to win over some undecided members that Charles W.

Stenholm, D-Texas, the chief sponsor of the proposal, was counting on.

The vote on final passage came after consideration of four competing substitute proposals. The House rejected three of the plans, including a leadership proposal that would have excluded Social Security from budget cuts.

Members then approved, 279-153, a proposal by Stenholm that would have mandated a balanced federal budget unless three-fifths of the House and Senate voted to approve deficit-spending.

SENATE FLOOR: Striker-replacement bill debate to continue.

The Senate yesterday rebuffed a Democratic effort to limit floor debate on the striker-replacement bill (S 55).

Members voted 55-41 to invoke cloture on the bill, short of the 60 votes required to limit debate.

The measure would prohibit employers from permanently replacing unionized workers who go on strike.

The bill is strongly opposed by the administration and congressional Republicans, who argue it will encourage strikes and damage industry's ability to compete.

Leading the Senate opposition is Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, who said the bill would give union representatives an unfair advantage over employers during negotiations of collective bargaining agreements.

But bill backers, such as Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, and Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, said workers who have spent decades with a company should have their jobs protected if they choose to walk the picket line.

Bob Packwood, R-Ore., plans to offer a compromise amendment that would allow employers and unions to submit unresolved contract disputes to a federally appointed fact-finding panel.

Under the proposal, if the employer agreed with the panel's recommendations and the union rejected them, the employer could hire permanent replacement workers

for the strikers. If, however, the strikers assented to the mediator's proposals, the employer would be barred from hiring permanent replacements.

JOBLESS BENEFITS extended further by Senate Finance action.

Following the lead of the House, the Senate Finance Committee yesterday approved, by voice vote, a draft measure that would extend a federal program providing emergency benefits to the long-term unemployed.

The current program provides up to 33 weeks of emergency benefits and is due to expire July 4.

The Finance panel bill would provide up to 26 weeks of extended benefits, which would be available until March 6, 1993. The measure is expected to cost \$5.4 billion.

The House on Tuesday passed a \$5.8 billion unemployment extension bill (HR 5260) also providing up to 26 weeks of extra benefits for those have exhausted their state assistance. That bill would make permanent changes in the unemployment system so that extended benefits would kick in automatically during periods of high unemployment.

The administration opposes the House bill, arguing that the permanent changes would cost too much.

The Finance Committee bill would pay for the extended benefits by tightening tax treatment of lump-sum pension distributions, accelerating advance payment of corporate taxes, and requiring most securities dealers to pay tax on their inventories.

WEAPONS TEST ban included in energy and water spending bill.

The House Appropriations Committee approved its first fiscal 1993 regular spending bill yesterday, readying the measure for floor action next week.

By voice vote, the committee endorsed a draft \$21.8 billion bill that would provide funds for a variety of civilian energy research programs, water projects and the nuclear weapons complex.

The bill would hold funding for the superconducting super collider even at

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\$484 million. The administration requested an increase of \$166 million.

The giant atom-smasher, located in Waxahachie, Texas, has come under repeated attacks from lawmakers who say it is crowding out other vital scientific research. It is expected to cost \$8 billion in all.

Members approved, 24-21, an amendment by Vic Fazio, D-Calif., that would impose a one-year ban on nuclear weapons testing in the United States, provided that former Soviet states do not conduct nuclear tests.

Opponents said tests are required to make sure weapons are safe, and they also complained that the amendment amounted to "legislating on an appropriations measure".

Energy and Water Development Subcommittee Chairman Tom Bevill, D-Ala., said the legislation will be taken up on the floor next Wednesday.

BASE CLOSURE funds boosted by Appropriations subcommittee.

The House Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee yesterday approved an \$8.6 billion draft spending bill that would sharply increase funding for military base closures, while providing less money for base construction.

Total funding in the fiscal 1993 measure is about the same as the current level. President Bush requested a \$290 million cut.

The subcommittee approved a 168 percent increase, to \$2.0 billion, for base closings, \$150 million less than sought by the president.

The committee backed sharp cuts in military construction spending, although the cuts were considerably less drastic than those requested by the president. The committee approved \$2.4 billion for military construction, \$1.6 billion less than in 1992. The president had requested \$500 million more in cuts.

The committee also earmarked \$444 million for the environmental cleanup of bases slated to be closed.

Members adopted an amendment by Steny H. Hoyer, D-Md., that would direct the Defense Department to review the potential for using closed bases for a civilian conservation corps, vocational training centers or "boot camps" that would serve as an alternative to prisons.

Transportation Spending. Members of the House Transportation Appropriations Subcommittee were working late into the evening yesterday on their fiscal 1993 draft spending bill. The subcommittee's fiscal 1993 spending allocation is \$12.8 billion, \$1 billion less than appropriated for fiscal 1992.

The markup was expected to go late because the panel had received about 300 requests to fund various demonstration projects from House colleagues.

EARNINGS LIMIT raised for retirees on Social Security.

The federal limit on the amount of money that older Americans can earn before their Social Security benefits are reduced would be revised under a draft bill approved yesterday by the Senate Finance Committee.

Under present law, an individual age 65 to 69 can earn wages of \$10,200 or less and still draw full Social Security retirement benefits. For each \$3 earned above that level, the retiree loses \$1 of Social Security. There is no limit on the amount those over 70 can earn.

The earnings limit, which is adjusted each year to reflect wage increases, is due to rise to \$10,680 next year, \$12,720 by 1997 and \$15,360 by 2001.

The bill approved by the committee would raise the limit to \$11,100 next year, \$21,000 by 1997 and \$51,000 by 2001.

To pay for the higher earnings limit, the bill would raise Social Security taxes on high-income workers, their employers and the self-employed. The tax increase would affect the estimated 8 million workers who in 1992 will earn wages of more than \$55,500, and their employers.

"The earnings test is neither equitable nor designed to meet the requirements of retirees," committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, said. But he added he will continue to fight any expansion of Social Security benefits that is not accompanied by a way to offset the costs.

Other Action. By voice vote, the committee approved a draft measure that would make the Social Security Administration (SSA) an independent agency. Currently, the SSA is part of the Health and Human Services Department.

Members also gave voice vote approval to a draft measure that would reauthorize the budgets of the U.S. Customs Service, the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative and the U.S. International Trade Commission.

YUGOSLAVIA ACTION downplayed by Bush, despite Lugar's call.

With the ethnic civil war in Yugoslavia showing no signs of easing, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday approved, 18-0, a resolution (S Res 306) calling on the United Nations to make contingency plans to step in to stop the fighting.

But President Bush yesterday played down the possibility that he would commit U.S. forces to help with relief operations in the fractured country. "We're not the world's policeman," Bush told reporters; but he did not rule out the possibility of U.S. military action.

Sen. Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., earlier this week called on President Bush to take the lead in forging a U.N. ultimatum against Serbia to end an offensive against the newly independent republic of Bosnia-

Herzegovina or face military consequences.

But at a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee hearing today, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Ralph Johnson said that U.N. sanctions would be given a chance to work. And European Affairs Subcommittee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., was skeptical about U.S. military action, saying a long-term operation "would not be sustained politically by the American people."

KURD SAFETY zone should be extended, Senate panel says.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday approved, 18-0, a resolution (H Con Res 299) calling on the United Nations to continue to provide a safe haven for Kurds in northern Iraq.

The United Nations established a security zone to protect the Kurds after the minority group revolted against the rule of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein near the end of the Persian Gulf War.

But the United Nations' presence in the area is scheduled to end in June, and U.S. forces are also slated to begin leaving Turkey, just north of the security zone.

The resolution urges that U.N. and U.S. troops remain in place.

The panel also approved numerous international agreements, including a U.N. treaty to protect the environment in the Antarctic, and more than a dozen ambassadorial nominations.

REFUGEE ASSISTANCE bill OK'd by Judiciary Committee

The Senate Judiciary Committee approved, by voice vote, legislation (S 1941) that aims to increase the efficiency of federal refugee assistance programs.

The bill would make a number of

Not As Scheduled

The Senate Judiciary Committee again delayed marking up legislation (S 1521) that would allow victims of sex crimes to sue producers of hard-core pornography.

Markup of the controversial legislation has been put off several times as bill backers seek to shore up support. Supporters say the measure will deter violent crimes against women, but opponents argue that the bill would infringe on the First Amendment right of free speech.

The committee began initial work on the bill, but sponsor Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, withdrew the measure from consideration after a number of amendments were offered that he said would weaken the bill.

Aides said the committee may return to the bill at the next markup session, allowing Grassley more time to lobby panel members who want to offer amendments.

changes to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1980 to ensure wider assistance for refugees, such as requiring that the federal government reimburse states within one year for providing cash and medical assistance to refugees.

The bill would also require the president to indicate in his annual budget the exact number of refugees he intends to cover under the budget. If the administration revised refugee admission levels upward, it would be required to find the additional funding.

The bill would elevate the Office of Refugee Resettlement in the Department of Health and Human Services to the Administration on Refugee and Migration Affairs.

JUDICIAL IMMUNITY to be extended by House Judiciary bill.

A House Judiciary subcommittee gave voice vote approval yesterday to a bill that would protect judges from having to pay court costs if they were sued because of actions taken within the scope of their duties.

The Supreme Court interprets the doctrine of judicial immunity as shielding judges and other court officers from personal liability for damages that may result from their professional duties. But in 1984, the Supreme Court ruled that such judicial immunity did not extend to the awarding of court costs.

The bill (HR 3206), approved by the Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee, would provide judges and court officers with this protection from court costs.

Panel member Barney Frank, D-Mass., said he had some concerns about the bill arguing that it is not good to immunize people from their actions. But he said he would save his comments or amendments for full committee action.

In other action yesterday, the subcommittee agreed to give the California counties of Riverside and San Bernardino a new federal district court under a bill (HR 3795) approved by voice vote.

In a hearing on the bill before the markup, Rep. George E. Brown Jr., D-Calif., who represents the area and is sponsoring the bill, told the panel that 2.6 million people now live in the two counties. The closest federal courts for the area are in Los Angeles and Santa Ana, each about 50 miles away. However, it takes a three-hour drive to reach the courts because of the traffic.

Brown said that the distance makes it almost impossible for some county residents to serve as jurors.

PATENT EXTENSIONS subject to standards under Judiciary bill.

A House Judiciary subcommittee yesterday agreed to a draft bill that would establish standards for the consideration of

future patent extension requests.

William J. Hughes, D-N.J., chairman of the Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee, said the panel has received a number of requests from patent owners wanting extensions because of government regulatory delay.

The measure approved yesterday, by voice vote, would set a standard specifying that mere delay in the regulatory process is not sufficient basis for a patent extension.

A patent is granted for 17 years, sometimes before the product is fully developed. Often a patent can be approved for a product while the product is undergoing tests for effectiveness and safety by a government agency.

While this testing is underway, the patent can expire. The owner then turns to Congress to gain an extension.

Under the standards outlined in the bill, government action or inaction must constitute "misconduct" before lawmakers would agree to review the case for an extension.

Hughes, who is sponsoring the bill, said the measure tries to spell out various types of government action that might constitute misconduct, such as deceitful, vindictive or retaliatory action or grossly negligent performance of governmental duties.

The bill also would grant a two-year patent extension for two nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs.

FBI AUTHORIZATION bill OK'd by Judiciary subcommittee.

Legislation that would reauthorize the Federal Bureau of Investigation for fiscal 1993 won the voice vote approval yesterday of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.

The bill (HR 5285) would authorize \$2 billion, \$103 million less than sought by the bureau but \$90 million more than appropriated for fiscal 1992.

Of the funds requested for the Foreign Counter-Intelligence Division, \$50 million would be rechanneled to those parts of the FBI charged with fighting violent and white collar crime. The division's total budget is classified. Bill sponsor and subcommittee Chairman Don Edwards, D-Calif., said the end of the Cold War has lessened the need for counter-intelligence activities.

The bill would authorize half of the \$100 million requested by the FBI for the Identification Division. The panel decided not to authorize the \$50 million sought for a multiyear program to convert the bureau's fingerprint records to a computerized system.

MARSH-BILLINGS National Park bill approved by House panel.

A number of non-controversial public lands bills were approved yesterday by the House Interior National Parks Subcommittee, including a bill (HR 4030) to

create a national park to honor the leader of America's early conservation movement.

The measure, approved by voice vote, would establish the Marsh-Billings National Park on land once owned by George Perkins Marsh, a Civil War-era author who led the nation's conservation movement.

Panel members also gave voice-vote approval to a measure (HR 3898) that would authorize the Interior secretary to accept a donation of 5.2 acres of land to add to the Harry S Truman National Historic Site. The area includes a farm that Truman lived and worked on during his youth.

EDUCATION BILL conferees work late to resolve differences.

Conferees were working late yesterday on legislation that would reauthorize programs providing financial aid to college and trade school students.

The bill (S 1150) would reauthorize the 1965 Higher Education Act. The Senate version provides for a seven-year reauthorization, while the House bill is for five years.

Both bills would raise the maximum family income level needed to qualify for Pell grants, the government's basic aid

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Published by Congressional Quarterly Inc.

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The *Congressional Monitor* is published Monday through Friday when Congress is in session and is available only by subscription for \$1,258 per year. Each additional copy delivered to the same address is \$375 per year. This fee includes hand-delivery in downtown Washington or first-class mail beyond the delivery area. To subscribe, call (202) 887-6279.

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program for students, allowing for more students from middle-income families to qualify.

The House version would raise the family income ceiling from the current level of \$30,000 per year to \$47,000, and the Senate bill would increase it to \$42,000.

Conferees will have to resolve a difference between the two bills, as the Senate version would increase the annual limit on how much each student could borrow under the federally guaranteed student loan program, and the House version would not increase it.

BUSH'S HAITI policy slammed by House members.

The Bush administration's decision to send Haitian refugees back to their country was attacked by lawmakers during a hearing yesterday by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations.

Stephen J. Solarz, D-N.Y., likened President Bush's decision to return the refugees to Haiti to the denial before World War II of German Jews into the United States.

"The new U.S. policy announced last month sends a strong signal around the world that a nation need not observe basic humanitarian standards when it is inconvenient to do so," said Solarz.

Solarz and other lawmakers have introduced legislation (HR 5360) that would prevent U.S. officials from returning refugees to countries where they could be persecuted.

Brunson McKinley, deputy assistant secretary of State, said that the U.S. Coast Guard has returned 2,887 Haitians since Bush's order went into effect. "There have been no reports of mistreatment of returnees," McKinley told the panel.

EPA FAULTED for slow progress on 'superfund' cleanups.

Government investigators and members of Congress criticized the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) management of the "superfund" toxic waste cleanup program at a House Ways and Means panel hearing.

EPA Inspector General John C. Martin told the Oversight Subcommittee that there are delays in cleaning up superfund sites, problems with contract management and lax enforcement of penalties.

Peter Guerrero of the General Accounting Office, the congressional investigative agency, added that cleanup and administrative costs need to be better controlled. "Considering the time and resources consumed, the number of sites cleaned up has been disappointingly small," he said.

Don R. Clay, assistant administrator at the EPA office that oversees superfund, said that the program had "a checkered past" but that the agency had improved its

management practices. "The record shows in the last couple of years we have turned the program around," said Clay.

But panel members disagreed. Jim Bunning, R-Ky., called EPA to task for the lack of progress on a superfund site in Kentucky. "It doesn't seem like we are getting as much bang for our superfund buck as we should."

The superfund trust fund was created in 1980 to clean up the nation's most dangerous hazardous waste sites. There are 1,275 sites currently slated for cleanup.

MARTIN LATEST to call it quits after 102nd Congress.

Rep. David O'B. Martin, R-N.Y., yesterday announced he will retire from Congress at the end of the year. Martin's

decision brings to 70 the number of House lawmakers who will not be returning next year, either by choice or because they lost in a primary.

Martin, 48, also becomes the fourth member from New York to give up his seat this year.

New York is slated to lose three of its 34 House seats this year because of reapportionment but has yet to come up with a final redistricting plan.

"I have often stated my opposition to mandated term limitations but have promised not to abuse the privilege, and I haven't," Martin said in a statement.

Martin was first elected in 1980 and has served on the House Armed Services panel. The northeastern 26th District he represents is the state's largest by area. ■

Meetings & Events Today

House Committees

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPS House Appropriations Committee

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

9am H-140 Capitol Bldg. June 12

Joint Committees

TELECOMMUNICATIONS INFRASTRUCTURE

Joint Economic Committee

Technology and National Security Subcommittee (Chairman Bingham, D-N.M.) will hold continue 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

News Events

RAINBOW COALITION CONFERENCE

The National Rainbow Coalition/Citizenship Education Fund holds a conference, "Rebuild America...92 and Beyond." Second of three days.

8am, Sheraton Washington Hotel, 2660 Woodley Road N.W. June 12

★ New listing

Contact: Jakki Dennis or Lavonia Perryman, 202-745-7390, or the hotel press room, 202-588-5741

Congressional highlight

10:15am to noon: Plenary session titled, "Financing the Rebuilding of America: Building an American Investment Bank," featuring remarks by House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), New York City Finance Commissioner Carol O'Leireacain, Felix Rohatyn of Lazard Freres & Co., and American Express Vice President Lamond Godwin.

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

EARLY INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

National Health/Education Consortium will sponsor a briefing on a recently completed study "At Risk Does Not Mean Doomed" that shows that early intervention to deal with educational and health-related problems can prevent and sometimes reverse environmental, physical and mental damage experienced by at-risk infants, young children and their families.

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 12

Contact: Madalene Milano or Kelli Wilkerson, 202-472-1364

Participants: Rep. Schroeder, D-Colo.; Craig Ramey - director and professor of psychology and pediatrics, University of Alabama; Rae Grad - executive director, National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality

■ Revised listing

News Events continued...**SOVIET AID
NEWS CONFERENCE**

Rep. Dave Nagle, D-Iowa, and a coalition of business, environmental and religious organizations hold a news conference to announce their support for President Bush's proposed package of U.S. economic and food aid for the Commonwealth of Independent States. The coalition includes the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Committee for U.S.-Soviet Relations, the Council for a Livable World, the Environmental Defense Fund, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Foreign Service Association, the American Soybean Association, and the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

10am, Capitol Bldg. House Triangle **June 12**
Contact: Barry Piatt, 202-225-3301

**ANCIENT FORESTS
NEWS CONFERENCE**

A delegation from the Audubon Society, the Oregon Natural Resources Council, the Siskiyou Project and Earth First holds a news conference to urge Congress to "reverse the Bush administration's policy of accelerated forest destruction." The 10-member delegation will be dressed as forest creatures.

10am, Capitol Bldg. East Front steps **June 12**

Contact: Anne Watanabe, 202-939-3324

Note: In case of rain, the news conference will be held in Longworth Building, Room 1336-A

FEDERALISTS CONFERENCE

The Federalist Society holds its Sixth Annual Lawyers Convention. This year's conference is titled, "The Congress: Representation, Accountability and the Rule of Law." First of two days.

Noon, Mayflower Hotel; 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW, Ballroom

Contact: Pat Korten, 703-734-1776, or the hotel, 202-347-3000

Congressional highlight

2pm to 4pm: Panel discussion on "The Legislative Role in the American Republic" with Robert Bork of the American Enterprise Institute and Reps. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.) and Barney Frank (D-Mass.)

HEALTH CARE SPEECH

Sen. Jay Rockefeller, D-W.Va., addresses a conference of Grantmakers in Health, an orga-

nization that represents private philanthropic groups involved in health. Rockefeller will discuss improving health care for children.

12:30pm ANA Westin Hotel, 2401 M St. NW, Roosevelt Room **June 12**

Contact: Jeff Kimball, 202-224-6101, or the hotel, 202-429-2400

**Campaign:
General****LA ROUCHE
NEWS CONFERENCE**

Debra Freeman, spokesman for the Lyndon LaRouche in '92 campaign, holds a news conference to declare LaRouche the winner of the June 9 North Dakota presidential primary. According to the LaRouche campaign, LaRouche received 29.6 percent of the vote. They say the Associated Press falsely reported Ross Perot as the winner.

Noon, National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW, Lisagor Room **June 12**

Contact: Dana Scanlon, 202-547-1492 or 703-777-9451

**Campaign:
Candidates****DEMOCRATS****Jerry Brown**

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 12

In Santa Fe, N.M.

Attends Platform Drafting Committee meeting. Picacho Plaza Hotel, 750 N. Saint Francis Drive.

Bill Clinton

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

June 12

In Washington, D.C., and Pittsburgh, Pa.

10:45am: Holds a news conference. Washington Court Hotel, 525 New Jersey Ave. NW, Washington, D.C.

3:30pm: Photo opportunity. Greater Pittsburgh International Airport, AV Center.

6pm to 6:30pm: Holds the first of a series of "America Speaks" town meetings to field questions from an audience made up of undecided voters picked by an independent research firm. The forum will be taped at WQED TV Studio,

4802 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. The forum will air on NBC at 8 p.m. The program will be available via satellite at 6 p.m. on Telstar 301, Transponder 12V, or G-Star 1, Transponder 15V. The audio portion will be available at 5:55 p.m. by calling 202-833-0860.

REPUBLICANS**Pat Buchanan**

Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292

June 12 (indefinitely)

In Washington, D.C.

No campaign-related events are scheduled.

Bush-Quayle

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

June 12

PRESIDENT BUSH

In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

All times local

Midnight: Arrives Rio de Janeiro International Airport, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

12:10am: Boards motorcade and departs. Rio de Janeiro International Airport en route Sheraton Rio Hotel and Towers.

12:35am Arrives Sheraton Hotel.

10:05am to 11am: Meeting with U.S. Non-Governmental Observers. Pool coverage.

11:05am: Boards motorcade and departs Sheraton Hotel en route Riocentro Conference Center.

11:30am: Arrives Riocentro Conference Center.

11:45am to 12:30pm: Attends opening session of the United Nations Conference on Environmental Development. Open press.

12:40pm to 2:15pm: Lunch with environmental leaders. Demoiselle Restaurant. Pool coverage.

3pm to 3:07 pm: Addresses the conference. Open press.

3:25pm: Boards motorcade and departs Riocentro en route Sheraton Hotel.

3:50pm: Arrives Sheraton Hotel for private time.

8:05pm: Boards motorcade and departs Sheraton Hotel en route Palacio Laranjeiras.

8:30pm: Arrives Palacio Laranjeiras and is greeted by Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello.

8:35pm to 10pm: Dinner with President and Mrs. Collor. Pool coverage.

10:00pm: Boards motorcade and departs Palacio Laranjeiras en route Sheraton Hotel.

10:30pm: Arrives Sheraton Hotel.

RON Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

INDEPENDENTS**Ross Perot**

Contact: 214-716-6500

June 12

No campaign events scheduled

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 SH-216 Hart Bldg. June 18

Appropriations

224-3471

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 DEFENSE APPROPS

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. Date TBA

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for July 21

FY93 D.C. APPROPS

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-138 Dirksen Bldg. June 17

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. June 24

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

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 INTERIOR APPROPS

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

10am SD-128 Dirksen Bldg. June 16, 18

Agenda:

June 16: National Park Service

June 18: Fish and Wildlife Service

FY93 LABOR APPROPS

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

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

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

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

Armed Services

224-3871

BOMBER PROGRAMS

Strategic Forces and Nuclear Deterrence Subcommittee (Chairman Exon, D-Neb.) of

★ New listing

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 17

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

224-7391

★ STATE OF THRIFTS & BANK INSURANCE FUND

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

Time & room TBA June 16

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: LIMITED PARTNERSHIP ROLLUPS

Senate Banking, House and Urban Affairs 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 - to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 with respect to limited partnership rollups.

NOMINATION:

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

Note: This meeting was originally scheduled for June 3.

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

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

FOREIGN & COMMERCIAL SERVICE

Foreign Commerce and Tourism Sub-

committee (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

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

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

STATE REGULATION OF NATURAL GAS

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

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

hold a hearing on state regulation of natural gas production.

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

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 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

BLM REAUTHORIZATION

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) of Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 1096) to reauthorize the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) for fiscal 1992-95.

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. **July 1**

Environment & Public Works

224-6176

WILDLIFE REFUGES

Environmental Protection Subcommittee (Chairman Baucus, D-Mont.) of Senate Environment and Public Works Committee will hold a hearing on the administration of the National Wildlife Refuge System by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and on legislation (S 1862) to improve the management of the Na-

★ *New listing*

tional Wildlife Refuge System.

10am SD-406 Dirksen Bldg. **June 19**

Finance

224-4515

STATE HEALTH-CARE**ACCESS & COST-CONTROL PLANS**

Health for Families and the Uninsured Subcommittee (Chairman, Riegle, D-Mich.) of Senate Finance Committee will hold a hearing on various state plans for enhancing access to health care and controlling health care costs.

10:30am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. **June 15**

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Finance Committee (Chairmen Bentsen, D-Texas) will mark up pending legislation.

Time TBA SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. **June 16**

Agenda:

HR 776 - Energy bill

S - Extension of expiring tax provisions

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 17 & 18**

Agenda:

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

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

COMPETITIVENESS

Senate Finance Committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will continue a series of hearings on ways to improve the competitiveness of U.S. industry.

Time TBA SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. **addl dates TBA**

Foreign Relations

224-4651

NORTH PACIFIC SALMON TREATY

Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will hold a hearing on the North Pacific Salmon Treaty (T Doc 102-30).

10:30am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. **June 17**

Witnesses scheduled: David Colson - deputy assistant secretary of State; Richard Lauber - chairman, North Pacific Fisheries Management Commission

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

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**

ARMY AUDIT

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on an audit of the Department of the Army as required by the Chief Financial Officer (CFO) Act of 1990.

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

Indian Affairs

224-2251

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.

2:30pm SR-485 Russell Bldg. **June 16**

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for June 4.

NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee

■ *Revised listing*

Senate continued...

(Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing 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

NEWS REPORTING AND THE FAIR USE EXCEPTION

Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee (Chairman DeConcini, D-Ariz.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1805) to clarify news reporting monitoring as a fair use exception to the exclusive rights of copyright owner.

10:30am SD-562 Dirksen Bldg. **June 16**

★ JUDICIARY NOMINATIONS

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

2pm SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. **June 18**

★ CONSUMER DISCLOSURE

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

9:30am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. **June 23**

★ New listing

PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 13.

Labor & Human Resources

224-5375

★ HARASSMENT ON CAMPUS

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on the response by universities to racial and sexual harassment on campus.

10am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **June 16**

★ LABOR COMMITTEE BUSINESS

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will meet to consider pending business.

10am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **June 17**

Agenda:

MARKUP:

S 2571 - Amend the Social Security Act to assure universal access to long-term care in the United States

S 2060 - Revise the orphan drug provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, the Public Health Service Act, and the Orphan Drug Act

NOMINATIONS:

TBA

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

Witnesses scheduled:

June 24 & 25: TBA

June 30: H. Ross Perot - undeclared presidential candidate

July 1: TBA

Rules & Administration

224-6352

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. **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 24**

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

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

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 2515 - Authorize the establishment of job training programs for unemployed veterans and persons who have been recently separated from the armed forces, to pay certain assistance and benefits to employers of such veterans and persons, such veterans, and such persons to defray certain costs relating to the provision of such training

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 continued...

Committee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will mark up pending legislation.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 16

Agenda:

HR — to reauthorize the programs administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Farmers Home Administration.

HR 4300 - to amend the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act.

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

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

D.C. JUDICIAL REVISION

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

Time & room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for March 17.

■ Revised listing

House Committees Future Listings**Aging****CORPORATE ELDERCARE**

Human Services Subcommittee (Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a hearing on state and local aging agencies and corporate funding for care of the elderly.

9:30am 345 Cannon Bldg. July 9

Agriculture

225-2171

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 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

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

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. Date TBA

Appropriations

225-2771

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:**FY93 COMMERCE APPROPS**

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

★ New listing

■ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:**FY93 DEFENSE APPROPS**

Defense Subcommittee (Chairman Murtha, D-Pa.) of House Appropriations Committee will mark up its fiscal 1993 spending bill.

1pm H-140 Capitol Bldg. (closed) June 15

★ FY93 D.C. APPROPS

District of Columbia Subcommittee (Chairman Dixon, D-Calif.) of House Appropriations Committee will hold a hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 1:30pm H-301 Capitol Bldg. June 17

Agenda:

10am: Human Support Services

1:30pm: Public Works; Public Safety and Justice

■ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:**FY93 INTERIOR APPROPS**

Interior Subcommittee (Chairman Yates, D-Ill.) of House Appropriations Committee will mark up its fiscal 1993 spending bill.

10am B-308 Rayburn Bldg. June 16

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:**FY93 LABOR APPROPS**

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Natcher, D-Ky.) of House Appropriations Committee will mark up its fiscal 1993 spending bill.

Time & room TBA date TBA

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:**FY93 VA, HUD APPROPS**

Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies Subcommittee (Chairman Traxler, D-Mich.) of House Appropriations Committee will mark up its fiscal 1993 spending bill.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs

225-4247

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:**HOUSING PROGRAMS**

House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs

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

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

Time & room TBA Date TBA

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

Education & Labor

225-4527

■ 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.

10am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. June 16

Agenda:

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

9:30am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. 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

★ New listing

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.

Energy & Commerce

225-2927

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.

Time & room TBA Date TBA

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.

Time & room TBA Date TBA

SAFE DRINKING WATER

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 9.

Foreign Affairs

225-5021

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 Fasseell, 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

Government Operations

225-5051

★ TOYOTA & DISCRIMINATION

Employment and Housing Subcommittee (Chairman Lantos, D-Calif.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on charges that Toyota discriminated against blacks and other minorities in awarding car dealerships.

9:30am 2154 Rayburn Bldg. June 18

Witnesses scheduled: Yukiyo Togo - president, Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A.; Dennis Puskarcic - former official, Toyota; Joe Washington - former player, Washington Redskins; William Armstrong - president, Hollywood Ford; Hollywood, Fla.; Chandler Lee - president, Classic Cadillac, Winston-Salem, N.C.; Willie Brewington - general manager, Raeford Automotive Center, Raeford, N.C.; Rep. Collins, D-Mich.

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.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. June 16

10am room TBA June 23

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. June 30

Agenda:

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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

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 Management

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 mark up pending legislation.

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

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 mark up pending legislation.

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

Judiciary

225-3951

★ REVOLVING DOOR RESTRICTIONS

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

★ New listing

a hearing on legislation (HR 3966) to prohibit certain officers and employees of the government from representing foreign entities after their government service terminates.

10am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. June 17

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

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

Follows subcommittee hearing (above) 2226 Rayburn Bldg. June 17

Agenda:

HR 3966 - Prohibit certain officers and employees of the government from representing foreign entities after their government service terminates

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

HR 1206 - Confer jurisdiction on the US Claims Court with respect to land claims of Pueblo of Isleta Indian Tribe

HR— - Granting congressional consent to a compact between Pennsylvania and New Jersey concerning the Delaware River Port Authority

Note: This mark up was originally scheduled for June 11.

Merchant Marine & Fisheries

225-4047

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

Narcotics Abuse & Control

226-3040

CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES & MEDICAID FRAUD

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

10am Room TBA July 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

WAGE GARNISHMENT

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 continue 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

Public Works & Transportation

225-4472

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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

Regional Development Act of 1965.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 14.

Science, Space & Technology

225-6371

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

Small Business

225-5821

★ FRANCHISE REFORM

House Small Business Committee (Chairman LaFalce, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing on new studies about franchise earnings claims and other representations used in the marketing of franchise outlets to the public.

9am 2359 Rayburn Bldg. June 17

Witnesses scheduled: Les Rager - president, Rubinoff Rager; Warren Lewis - attorney, Lewis and Trattner; Jack Hadder - president, Franchise Analysis

Veterans' Affairs

225-3527

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

Ways & Means

225-3625

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: TRADE

House Ways and Means Committee (Chairman Rostenkowski, D-Ill.) will mark up legislation (HR 5100) revising trade laws.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Note: The Trade Subcommittee approved HR

★ New listing

5100 June 9. Full committee markup may be as early as the week of June 15

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 1100 Longworth 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

Conference Committees**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

Joint Committees**Joint Economic****★ HOSPITAL INDUSTRY IN 21st CENTURY**

Investment Jobs and Prices Subcommittee (Chairman Stark, D-Calif.) of Joint Economic Committee will hold a hearings on the hospital industry in the 21st century.

10am 2359 Rayburn Bldg. June 17

10am room TBA June 24

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

June 17: Overview of the structure of the hospital industry and the role of public hospitals

PANEL: Stuart Altman - dean, Florence Heller Graduate School for Social Policy, Brandeis University and chairman, Prospective Payment Assessment Commission; Gerard Anderson - director, Center for Hospital Finance and Management, Johns Hopkins University; James Scott - president, American Health Care Systems Institute; James Kimmey - dean, St. Louis University School of Public Health

PANEL: Larry Gage - president, National Association of Public Health; Ophelia Long - chief executive officer, Highland General Hospital, Oakland, Calif.; Edward Renford - administrator, LAC King/Drew Memorial Center; Donna Fraiche - chairman, Medical Task Force of the Downtown Development District of New Orleans; Michael Morrisey - professor, Lister Hill School of Public Health, University of Alabama at Birmingham

June 24: Hospital mergers and joint ventures

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EDUCATION REAUTHORIZATION

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 1150)

■ Revised listing

Conference continued...

to reauthorize the Higher Education Act of 1965,

Time & room TBA addl dates if needed 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: Fascell, 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: Fascell, 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 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., Synar, Fish, Campbell of Calif.

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

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACT

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

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

House Conferees: TBA

CFTC REAUTHORIZATION

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

Time and room TBA addl dates TBA

Note: Conference began November 6

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

House conferees:

From the Committee on Agriculture, for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: de la Garza, English, Staggers, Stallings, Nagle, Sarpalis, Johnson, Huckaby, Glickman, Penny, Espy, Long, Stenholm, Tallon, Coleman, Smith of Ore., Gunderson, Combest, Allard, Barrett, Nussle, Boehner, Roberts

From the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, for consideration of section 263 and title III of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Gonzalez, Annunzio, Neal, Hubbard, LaFalce, 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, Synar Eckart, Slattery, Lent, Moorhead, Rinaldo, Ritter

Other Events Future Listings

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.

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 18**

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

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

University of California will sponsor a briefing on how partnerships between government and industry can contribute to national competitiveness.

HOUSE SIDE: 9:30am to 11am 2325 Rayburn Bldg. **June 18**

SENATE SIDE: 2pm to 3:30pm SR-188 Russell Bldg. **June 18**

Contact: Kathy Boyer at 202-785-2666

★ SURFACE WATER QUALITY

Environmental and Energy Study Institute will sponsor a briefing on the success of the Clean Water Act in achieving its primary goal of "fishable and swimmable" waters. The session will examine new threats to groundwater that should be considered in drafting the re-

★ *New listing*

authorization of the clean water act.

10am SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. **June 18**

Contact: Donna Downing at 202-628-1400

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 TRADE ISSUES

Washington International Trade Association will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear Gary Edson, the new general counsel of the U.S. Trade Representative, discuss the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Uruguay Round of talks on revising the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the trade bill recently approved by the House Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee.

Noon to 2pm, Hotel Washington-Sky Room, 515 15th St. N.W. **June 18**

Contact: 202-293-4193

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$30 for members and \$35 for non-members. For reservations send a check to:

Washington International Trade Association

1900 L St. N.W.

Suite 250

Washington, D.C. 20036

★ ALCOHOL ABUSE

Congressional Biomedical Research Caucus will hold a briefing on the impact of alcohol abuse on the brain.

Noon, B-338 Rayburn Bldg. **June 19**

Contact: Garth Fitzgerald at 202-225-4315

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 & COMMERCE 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

FACING AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY FUTURE

The Atlantic Council will sponsor a panel discussion on reshaping the nation's foreign policy to reflect an altered world situation.

4pm, National Press Club, 524 14th St., N.W. **June 23**

Contact: 202-347-9353, ext. 6840

★ HEALTH ISSUES

National Health Council will sponsor a breakfast meeting to hear Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., discuss various health-care issues.

8am to 10am, Hyatt Regency Capitol Hill, 400 New Jersey Ave. N.W. **June 24**

Contact: 202-785-3910

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$20 for members and \$30 for non-members. Pre-registration is required

HEALTH FORUM

Health Task Force of Women in Government Relations will sponsor a forum on health issues.

8am to 10am, Washington Court Hotel, 525 New Jersey Ave. N.W. **June 24**

Contact: Terri Gaffney at 202-554-4444, ext. 323

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$15 for members, \$25 for guests and \$30 for all others. For reservations send a check, made payable to WGR, to:

WGR

1325 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.

Suite 510

Washington D.C. 20005-4171

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.

★ REVOLVING DOOR

Capitol Hill Chapter of the Federal Bar Association will sponsor a program on "The Myth of the Revolving Door: Lawyering In and Out of Government."

Noon to 2pm, SR-385 Russell Bldg. **June 25**

Contact: 202-862-4383

Note: There is a \$10 charge for this event, which includes a lunch sandwich. Call the number listed above for reservations.

WRITING EFFECTIVE CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

Communications Skills and Congressional

■ *Revised listing*

Other continued...

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. **June 30**

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.

★ SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Washington Foundation for Psychiatry will sponsor a panel discussion on sexual harassment in the workplace.

8:30am to 10:30am, Washington Foundation for Psychiatry, room 302, 1400 K St. N.W. **July 9**

Contact: Carole Berke at 202-789-0442

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$30 in advance and \$35 at the door, for reservations call the number listed above.

Campaign Events continued...

June 12 (indefinitely)

In Washington, D.C.

No campaign-related events are scheduled.

Bush-Quayle

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

June 12

PRESIDENT BUSH

In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

All times local

Midnight: Arrives Rio de Janeiro International Airport, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

12:10am: Boards motorcade and departs Rio de Janeiro International Airport en route Sheraton Rio Hotel and Towers.

12:35am Arrives Sheraton Hotel.

10:05am to 11am: Meeting with U.S. Non-Governmental Observers. Pool coverage.

11:05am: Boards motorcade and departs Sheraton Hotel en route Riocentro Conference Center.

11:30am: Arrives Riocentro Conference Center.

11:45am to 12:30pm: Attends opening session of the United Nations Conference on Environmental Development. Open press.

12:40pm to 2:15pm: Lunch with environmental leaders. Demoiselle Restaurant. Pool coverage.

3pm to 3:07 pm: Addresses the conference. Open press.

3:25pm: Boards motorcade and departs Riocentro en route Sheraton Hotel.

3:50pm: Arrives Sheraton Hotel for private time.

8:05pm: Boards motorcade and departs Sheraton Hotel en route Palacio Laranjeiras.

8:30pm: Arrives Palacio Laranjeiras and is greeted by Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello.

8:35pm to 10pm: Dinner with President and Mrs. Collor. Pool coverage.

10:00pm: Boards motorcade and departs Palacio Laranjeiras en route Sheraton Hotel.

10:30pm: Arrives Sheraton Hotel.

RON Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

INDEPENDENTS**Ross Perot**

Contact: 214-716-6500

June 12

No campaign events scheduled

June 20

In Boston, Mass.

June 24

In Annapolis, Md.

TBD: Receives voter petitions and addresses rally.

June 30: Testifies before the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs. (Deborah DeYoung, 202-224-2306)

Campaign Future Listings

--from Reuters

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

Candidates

DEMOCRATS**Jerry Brown**

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 12

In Santa Fe, N.M.

Attends Platform Drafting Committee meeting. Picacho Plaza Hotel, 750 N. Saint Francis Drive.

Bill Clinton

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

June 12

In Washington, D.C., and Pittsburgh, Pa.

10:45am: Holds a news conference. Washington Court Hotel, 525 New Jersey Ave. NW, Washington, D.C.

3:30pm: Photo opportunity. Greater Pittsburgh International Airport, AV Center.

6pm to 6:30pm: Holds the first of a series of "America Speaks" town meetings to field questions from an audience made up of undecided voters picked by an independent research firm. The forum will be taped at WQED TV Studio, 4802 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. The forum will air on NBC at 8 p.m. The program will be available via satellite at 6 p.m. on Telstar 301, Transponder 12V, or G-Star 1, Transponder 15V. The audio portion will be available at 5:55 p.m. by calling 202-833-0860.

June 13

In Washington, D.C.

Noon: Addresses the National Rainbow Coalition/Citizenship Education Fund conference, "Rebuild America...92 and Beyond." Sheraton Washington Hotel, 2660 Woodley Road NW. Contact Lavonia Perryman, 202-745-7390.

June 16

In Los Angeles, Calif.

Morning: Participates in a one-hour MTV forum. Clinton will take questions from a group of 200 18 to 24 year olds. The program airs at 10 p.m. Contact Caroline Vincent or Carolyn Rauch, 818-505-7871 or 818-505-7859

REPUBLICANS**Pat Buchanan**

Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292

Primaries & Caucuses

June 18: Washington State Republican convention

June 26: Missouri and Utah Republican conventions

Status of Appropriations — Fiscal 1993

Week of June 8

FULL COMMITTEE

House: 225-2771; Senate: 224-3471

House full cmtte markup scheduled: **June 11**

Agenda:

Subcommittee allocations
Energy & water

AGRICULTURE

House: 225-2638; Senate: 224-7240

House subcmte hearings completed: **April 29**

House subcmte markup completed: **June 10**

Senate subcmte hearings completed: **April 7**

COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, & THE JUDICIARY

House: 225-3351; Senate: 224-7277

House subcmte hearings completed: **April 7**

Senate subcmte hearings completed: **May 9**

DEFENSE

House: 225-2847; Senate: 224-7255

House subcmte hearings completed: **May 7**

Senate subcmte hearings completed: **June 3**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7236

House subcmte hearings scheduled: **June 10**

ENERGY & WATER DEVELOPMENT

House: 225-3421; Senate: 224-7260

House subcmte hearings completed: **March 31**

House subcmte markup completed: **June 4**

FOREIGN OPERATIONS

House: 225-2041; Senate: 224-7209

House subcmte hearings completed: **May 1**
House subcmte markup scheduled: **June 12**

INTERIOR

House: 225-3081; Senate: 224-7233

House subcmte hearings completed: **May 27**

Senate subcmte hearings completed: **May 27**

LABOR/HHS/EDUC

House: 225-3508; Senate: 224-7283

House subcmte hearings completed: **May 19**

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7338

House subcmte hearings completed: **January 29**

House subcmte markup completed: **June 10**

Senate subcmte hearings completed: **February 7**

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

House: 225-3047; Senate: 224-7255

House subcmte hearings completed: **March 25**

House subcmte markup completed: **June 11**

TRANSPORTATION

House: 225-2141; Senate: 224-7245

House subcmte hearings completed: **April 30**

Senate subcmte hearings completed: **May 14**

TREASURY/POSTAL SERVICE

House: 225-5834; Senate: 224-6280

House subcmte hearings completed: **April 9**

House subcmte markup completed: **June 10**

VA, HUD & INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

House: 225-3241; Senate: 224-7211

House subcmte hearings completed: **April 30**

House Floor Action

Week of June 8

Monday, June 8:

Not in session

Tuesday, June 9:

HR 5260 Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 1992

Rule, H Res 475, providing for consideration of HR 5260, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 225-182

Earlier, the House agreed to order the previous question on the resolution by yeay-nay vote: 232-182

ARCHER, R-Texas, motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Ways & Means with instructions to report the bill back to the House forthwith with extended unemployment benefits through March 1993 that are offset in a manner that is consistent with the current budget rules and does not increase the deficits for the fiscal years 1992 through 1995, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 191-219

HR 5260 passed by yeay-nay vote: 261-150.

Under suspension of the rules:

HR 4342 Amend title 38, U.S. Code, to expand job assistance programs for Vietnam era veterans passed by voice

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 passed by voice

HR 5333 Balanced Budget Act of 1992 rejected 199-220

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 passed by voice

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 passed by voice

HR 5058 Authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997 rejected 137-280

HConRes 232 Calling for acceptance and implementation by certain republics of the commitments on human rights, fundamental freedoms, and humanitarian cooperation contained in the Helsinki Final Act and other documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe passed by voice

H Res 461 Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives concerning the Chinese government's harassment of foreign journalists passed by voice

Wednesday, June 10:

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

Rule, H Res 450, providing for consideration of H J Res 290, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 326-91

House completed all general debate on H J Res 290 but came to no resolution thereon; consideration of amendments will begin on Thursday, June 11.

[Continued June 11]

Thursday, June 11:

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 rejected 280-153 (two-thirds vote needed to propose a constitutional amendment)

Friday, June 12:

Not in session

Week of June 15

Monday, June 15:

Convenes at Noon

Under suspension of the rules

HConRes— Authorizing use of Capitol Grounds begin consideration

HR 4548 Authorize Contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities begin consideration

HR 4999 Additional appropriations for implementation of the development plan for Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House begin consideration

HR 2660 Authorization of appropriations for the United States Holocaust begin consideration

Tuesday, June 16:

Convenes at Noon

S 250 Establish national voter registration procedures for federal elections begin consideration

HConRes 192 Establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress begin consideration

Wednesday, June 17 &

Balance of the Week:

Convenes at 10am

HR— Fiscal 1993 Energy and Water Appropriations begin consideration

HR 5099 Provide for the restoration of fish and wildlife and their habitat in the Central Valley of California begin consideration

HR 4996 Extend the authorities of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation begin consideration

HR 5055 Coast Guard reauthorization begin consideration

S 1306 CONFERENCE REPORT: Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration Reorganization Act of 1991 begin consideration

Senate Floor Action

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

[Continued from June 4]

GRAHAM, D-Fla., motion to recommit to the Committee on Conference the conference report with instructions that the managers on the part of the Senate insist on including in the bill a provision stating that the formula for allotting funds under part B of title XIX of the Public Health Service Act shall become effective beginning with amounts made available for allotment under such title on the first day of the fiscal year 1993, tabled by yeay-nay vote: 79-14

MITCHELL, D-Maine, motion to close debate (cloture motion) on consideration of the conference report on S 1306, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 84-9 (3/5's vote required)

Conference report agreed to in Senate by yeay-nay vote: 86-8

Conference Report on measure is now cleared for House action.

S 2703

Authorize the president to appoint General Thomas C. Richards to the Office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration passed in by unanimous consent

S Res 311

Commend Fryeburg Academy, located in Fryeburg, Maine, on the occasion of its bicentennial agreed to by unanimous consent

S Res 312

Authorize testimony by an employee of the Senate in *Louis C. Smit v. Department of the Treasury* agreed to by voice vote

SJRes 273

Designate the week commencing June 21, 1992, as "National Sheriffs' Week" passed by unanimous consent

HJRes 442

Designate May 16, 1992, through May 22, 1992, as "National Awareness Week for Life-Saving Techniques" passed by unanimous consent

H J Res 442 is now cleared for the president.

HJRes 445

Designate June 1992 as "National Scleroderma Awareness Month." passed by unanimous consent

H J Res 445 is now cleared for the president.

S 55

Amend the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act to prevent discrimination based on participation in labor disputes

LABOR & HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, pending at recess

MITCHELL, D-Maine, motion to close debate (cloture motion) on consideration of S 55 (3/5's vote required). (vote to occur Thursday, June 11)

[Continued June 11]

Wednesday, June 10:

S 55

Amend the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act to prevent discrimination based on participation in labor disputes

[Continued from June 9]

LABOR & HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, pending at recess

MITCHELL, D-Maine, unanimous consent request providing for further consideration of the bill on Thursday, June 11, with a vote on the motion to invoke cloture on consideration of the bill to occur

[Continued June 11]

SConRes 113 **Concerning the 25th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem**

METZENBAUM, D-Ohio (for MOYNIHAN, D-N.Y.), amendment no. 2041, regarding religious rights, agreed to by voice vote

METZENBAUM, D-Ohio (for MOYNIHAN, D-N.Y.), amendment no. 2042, to amend the preamble, agreed to by voice vote

S Con Res 113 agreed to by voice vote

Thursday, June 11:

S 55

Amend the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act to prevent discrimination based on participation in labor disputes

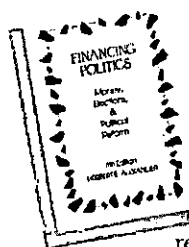
Motion to invoke cloture failed 55-41

Friday, June 12:

S 55

Amend the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act to prevent discrimination based on participation in labor disputes continue consideration

Required Election Year Reading



Financing Politics *Money, Elections, and Political Reform* Fourth Edition

Herbert E. Alexander
University of Southern California
A well-known expert provides an overview of the current campaign finance system and of election reform at the federal and state levels.

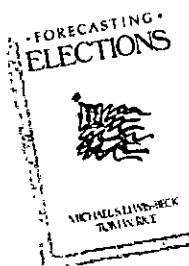
March 1992. Paperback. 212 pages.
CQ-ISBN 0-87187-691-4. \$20.95.



Under the Watchful Eye: *Managing Presidential Campaigns* *in the Television Era*

Mathew D. McCubbins, University of California, San Diego, editor
These essays by scholars examine how political journalism, campaign consultants, polling and television advertising have changed the face of the American presidential campaign.

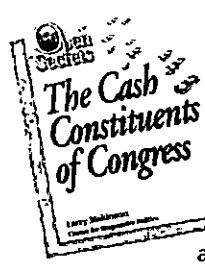
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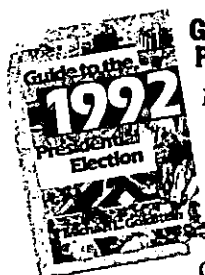
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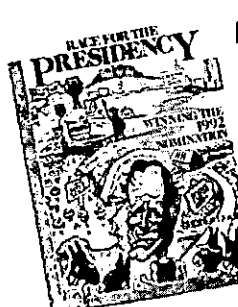
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Michael L. Goldstein,
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Senior Political Writer, CQ Weekly Report
This guide takes a step-by-step look at the 1992 presidential campaign by profiling each state and its voters. States' parties, constituents, and rules are explained.

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CQ-ISBN 0-87187-659-0 \$15.95.

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daily 9/18



To President Fernando Collor
with Respect and Warm Best Wishes From
Your Friend, *Ag. Burt*

June 12, 1992

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 10, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR ROSE ZAMARIA

FROM: WILLIAM F. SITTMANN ✓
SUBJECT: Photograph for President Collor

The Brazilian Embassy has advised the Department of State that President Collor will present all visiting heads of state/government a signed personal photo of himself at the Rio Summit. It will be a formally posed picture of President Collor, possibly wearing the Presidential sash. President Collor would like to receive one of the President in return. Is it possible to accommodate President Collor's request.

--- Friday --- June 12, 1992 ---

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

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

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

"DEMOCRACY DOESN'T COME EASY"

That's Pres. Bush, after getting caught in Panamanian tear-gassing. (#2) More of the same waiting in Rio, with U.S. standing alone on treaty? (#3)

BACK HOME: Murphy to be 2nd of media troika to quit? (#3)

LEMME HEAR AN "AMEN!" Quayle message well received at Right to Life convention. (#4)

PEROT AS ARTFUL DODGER?

Some media see "Today" chat as 2 hours of sidestepping; some see issues emerging. (#5)

REUNION TIME: Perot meets with Nixon for 2-hour foreign policy brief; no pictures. (#5)

THE CLINTON-GEPPHARDT AXIS

Maj. Leader's staff leading charge for Clinton-Hill 100-Day War. VP nod end result? (#6)

VIRGINIA: LIFE'S A BEACH

Robb rating hits new low in poll. 32% say resign now, even before word from grand jury. He trails Wilder in '94 Senate primary, loses to GOP all-stars Tribble, Coleman, Ollie North in general election. (#15)

SPOTLIGHT

THE WOOF-WOOF FACTOR

While some in the media grouse over early a.m. fluffing of candidates, how about the late-night trashing? See Arsenio's Bush-bash (#1); Leno et al on Clinton, Bush. (#17)

Talk about a crowded field: Jay, Arsenio, Dave, Dennis, and Whoopie in the fall. With Johnny gone, competition is stiff, but it's no contest between late-night vs. a.m. Ratings show late-night regularly tops a.m., and averages 3M+ viewers/nite. Carson's next-to-last week almost doubled "Today." (#1)

QUESTIONS: Are comics included in Quayle's media elite? When do they turn on Perot? Is the fact that people are laughing at the candidates really anything we should snicker at?

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

"I got dissed by the President.

At least I'm in good company, though. Now I've joined the ranks of the homeless, the unemployed, and the middle class."

-- Arsenio Hall, omitted from Bush's expected TV tour, 6/10. (#1)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Endangered Species Act may have played role in WH opposition to biodiversity treaty.
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Early education and health care can reduce mental retardation in poor, new study says.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: NRLC convention spotlights new Bush conservative "point man" -- VP Quayle.
FROM TODAY'S HEALTH LINE: Bush opposes Rio pact, which U.S. drug companies say would "threaten ability to compete."

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

BUSH/ARSENIO: Giving it up and dishing it out. (#1)
BUSH: Panama Jack Flash, it's a gas, gas, gas. (#2)
RIO ISOLATION: "So be it." (#3)
QUAYLE: "Part sermon and part stump speech." (#4)
PEROT: Reax to "Today" -- some in media still see dodging. (#5)
CLINTON: Back on the airwaves tonight. (#6)
DEBATING DEBATES (#7)

ISSUES '92

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT: The axe shall not fall. (#8)
LONG-FORM TV: Whistle-stop tour through America? (#9)

GOVERNORS '92

MO: "Questions and accusations." (#10)
NH: The pledge in "cranky old New Hampshire". (#11)
ND: It's Spaeth v. Schafer. (#12)
WA: Deficit "sends shivers" through Gov race. (#13)

ON THE HOUSE

HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS: IN, MA, OH. (#14)

HOTSPOTS

VA: Robb rating dives; would lose to Wilder, North. (#15)

POLL UPDATE

LOUIS HARRIS: Et tu, femina? (#16)

TV MONITOR (#17)

? ? ? ? OVERLOOKED ? ? ? ?

Because of late reservations, Bush was placed in the second-best room at the Rio Sheraton. The occupant of the top suite? The Emir of Kuwait (National Public Radio, 6/12).

*1 BUSH: GIVING IT UP AND DISHING IT OUT

Arsenio Hall's 6/10 monologue in response to WH spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater's comment that his show was the "one exception" to Bush's possible talk show circuit was lengthy and pointed. Hall: "I remember being invited to the White House and I declined the invitation. But excuse me, George Herbert, irregular-heart-beating, read-my-line-lipping, slipping-in-the-polls, do-nothing, deficit-raising, make-less-money-than-Millie-the-White-House-dog-last-year, Quayle-loving, sushi-puking Bush! I don't remember inviting your ass to my show. Tell 'em that, Fitzwater. ... I don't need you on my show. As a matter of fact, my ratings are better than yours. Why do I need you? You're in trouble. Can you believe it? I'm a little guy from Cleveland. I got dissed by the President. At least I'm in good company though. Now I've joined the ranks of the homeless, the unemployed, and the middle class. So I don't feel so bad. I guess Mr. Bush, he won't do my show, maybe he'll do 'Donahue' when the topic is 'Relatives of people involved in savings and loan scandals.' Maybe that's the show he'll be on. Bush will not do my show. So I guess that's two houses he won't be in: My house, and come November, he won't be in the White House. Get with that. George Herbert Bush. I know I'm gonna get audited. But I'm gonna vote before I get audited. Yeah, somebody get my accountant on the phone and make sure I'm in order. Wait, let me vote." Arsenio then pretended he was fighting his way to the polls, punching ("Arsenio Hall Show," 6/10).

WHO'S WATCHING WHAT: The following was compiled from a HOTLINE survey of ratings from national advertising reps for the week of 6/1-7. EXCEPTION: The "Tonight" show is from 5/11-15, Carson's second to last week on the air.

PROGRAM	ESTIMATED HOUSEHOLDS
"Good Morning America" (ABC)	3,510,000
"Nightline (ABC)	3,810,000
"Today" (NBC)	3,430,000
"Tonight Show" (NBC)	5,720,000
"CBS This Morning"	2,160,000
"Arsenio Hall" (syndicated)	2,934,000

*2 BUSH: PANAMA JACK FLASH, IT'S A GAS, GAS, GAS

ABC's Peter Jennings: "Bush went to Panama today where the combination of anti-American demonstrators and some nervous Panamanian policemen ... forced the President to retreat from public." Bush, relocated to the Albrook Air Force, where he spoke to U.S. troops and civilians: "We appreciate Panama. We appreciate Panama's move to democracy. And no tiny, little, left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back." ABC's Brit Hume: "That may well be true, but the purpose of this visit was to celebrate Panama's democratic government, brought to power by the U.S. invasion. ... This afternoon's incident can only embarrass that government and it certainly didn't convey the image of the president as Panama's liberator that the [WH] had hoped for" (6/11). The tear gas was fired just as Bush was being introduced as the "man who changed the course of our history by tearing out the cancer of drug-trafficking" (de Cordoba, W.S. JOURNAL, 6/12). NBC's Tom Brokaw: "This was not the triumph the [WH] envisioned for the stopover." NBC's John Cochran: "But

despite [Bush's] upbeat talk, his trip is off to a rocky start. And there will be more anti-Bush protests at his next stop, the Earth Summit" (6/11). CBS' Susan Spencer: "Clearly not the way the [WH] had envisioned the first foreign trip of the 1992 campaign" (6/11). CNN's Mary Tillotson: "As Marlin Fitzwater put it ... this is one indication that the Panamanians can now demonstrate -- something ... they were afraid to do when Noriega was in charge here." Fitzwater called the incident "in some senses a symbol of the democracy here" (W. TIMES, 6/12). A "political fiasco" (Marcus, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/12). CNN's Charles Bierbauer: "Psychologically he was supposed to come here as the hero, the liberator of Panama, much like we saw Ronald Reagan fly down to Grenada and be most warmly welcomed on that island. That has not been re-enacted here" (CNN, 6/11). Bush: "Democracy takes a while to solidify it, to perfect it. Democracy doesn't come easy" (W. POST, 6/12).

*3 BUSH: RIO ISOLATION? "SO BE IT."

A "defiant" Bush "conceded that he was headed for a session of criticism in Rio but said he would tough it out in the interests of U.S. taxpayers." Bush: "The day of the open checkbook is over ... If the [U.S.] has to be the only nation to stand against the biodiversity treaty as now drawn -- so be it." Rio has prompted a "week of withering criticism from other nations" and regular "verbal blasts at Bush," at home. Retiring Sen. Tim Wirth (D-CO) said WH enviro policies are being dictated by "right-wing Republican politics" (Marcus, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/12). N.Y. TIMES editorial gives Bush "a little" credit for being "the only world leader with the courage to stand firm against a flood tide of environmental extremism," but is critical of U.S. blockage of crucial treaties as "his aides seemed eager to milk [Bush's] isolation at Rio for domestic political advantage, arguing that a tough stance would please development interests and workers concerned about losing jobs because of environmental regulations" (6/12). W. TIMES' Murray notes Bush heads to Rio "expecting the torrent of criticism there to help him with U.S. voters unwilling to send more money abroad" (6/12); USA TODAY's Kim reports drug and biotech firms are "cheering [Bush's] resolve" to fight the plan (6/12). USA TODAY cover story headline: "Bush stands tough, but alone" (6/12).

U.S. INITIATIVES: The U.S. has announced a \$1.4 billion fund to monitor climate change and a plan to inventory biological diversity, moves "designed to blunt it from severe criticism" in Rio (Raeburn, AP/PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/12). Sen. Al Gore (D-TN) at the Earth Summit: "Division within the [Admin.] was put out by them. They created the situation here in the way they handled the negotiations first on climate change then on ... biodiversity, and then by publicly embarrassing their principal negotiator here. ... It has not been a success for the President. And unfortunately, it has hurt the image of our country a little bit" ("GMA," ABC, 6/12).

OTHER STUFF: "One of the two remaining holdovers" from Bush's primary ad team, Mike Murphy, "may depart in frustration over unaggressive strategy" --including plans to wait until just before the GOP convention to place paid ads (W.S. JOURNAL, 6/12). Evans & Novak label Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) an "unwelcome messenger" (W. POST, 6/12). NEWSWEEK's Joe Klein: "Rather than seeming someone who is in command, he seems someone who is at the mercy of events." Fred Barnes: "The President's running off the stage did recall a little of Jimmy Carter in 1980 ... but I think

some of these events may have a good effect on the President ... The President has been in the political equivalent of clinical depression ... This may be a wake-up call for him" ("CBS This Morning," 6/12).

*4 QUAYLE: "PART SERMON AND PART STUMP SPEECH"

"In a speech rife with biblical imagery and appeals to 'family values' ... [which] at times seemed part sermon and part stump speech," Quayle told the National Right to Life Convention, "We can count on the cultural elite to deplore the injection of values into politics, but a clear choice of values should be at the center of our political process." Quayle "avoided mentioning the potential for a split" within the GOP over keeping opposition to abortion rights in the '92 platform. The crowd "booed and hissed" at the mention of Clinton and Perot (Stephen Power, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/12). David Broder reports senior Bush/Quayle advisor Charles Black "provided a clear rationale for making abortion part of the" '92 GOP race: "In any campaign, the first task is to solidify the base. In a three-way race, that 38 to 40 percent base may be enough ... In a three-way race with two pro-choice candidates, I believe the one pro-life candidate has an advantage" (W. POST, 6/12). Balto. SUN's Witcover calls the speech "preaching to the choir," but said it shows Quayle "continuing his role as the point man for securing" Bush's conservative base (6/12). CBS' Dan Rather: "It's all part of a Bush-Quayle re-election strategy." CBS' Wyatt Andrews: "Politically, Quayle knows what he's doing. ... But Quayle's office also admits he's trying to seize a no-lose icon to help define the [WH's] listless campaign. ... Being for family values though is just like George Bush being for the flag in 1988. There's almost no controversy and it suggests your opponent's against it. ... Quayle insists he truly believes in family values, but this is also tactic that has been around before. When you're on the ropes as to how you'll govern, change the subject to mom and apple pie" (6/11). CNN's Jill Dougherty: "The campaign also believes a major issue of this election will be the fear of some people that society's fabric is coming apart. And that's why, in spite of the criticism coming Quayle's way, he'll continue to talk about family values" (6/11). W. TIMES' Bedard reports Quayle, "in his latest effort to occupy the administration's pulpit," was "trying to find middle ground in the emotional debate" over abortion by saying "reasonable" limitations such as PA's 24-hour waiting period can be a starting point for resolving national divisions -- "another move by the administration to moderate its tough pro-life position," according to officials (6/12). Balto. SUN's Simon ponders what questions Quayle's office must be getting -- such as, "My wife Emma, my boys Ron and George, my girls Felicity, Simplicity and Perseverance are just plain, simple folk. We heard the vice president speak and believe in him 100 percent. We are wondering this: Would it help if we went ahead and started shooting the cultural elite right now? Or should we wait for a sign?" (6/12). Hodding Carter said Quayle is "very effective" in solidifying the conservative base, but "as far as getting a larger vote outside that base, I think it's more doubtful." W. POST's Broder on Quayle's attacks on the media: "I'm not sure that he believes much of this stuff himself. But I'll tell you who does believe it -- William Kristol, who is his chief-of-staff ... and Kristol really does believe seriously and sincerely that there is a cultural civil war that's been going on in this country. And I

think that he has convinced the Vice President that making that argument is a way to, one, help the Bush/Quayle campaign in a very rough spot and, two ... to build a base not only for 1992, but for Quayle's hopes for 1996 as well." Broder on Quayle and abortion: "He understands as well as anyone that the American people are very conflicted on this issue and it's not one that most voters want to have placed at the center of a political campaign" ("Today," NBC, 6/12).

QUAYLE'S COMPETITION: W.S. JOURNAL notes on Iowa and 1996: Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX) shoots skeet there with conservative supporters; HUD head Jack Kemp "covers the state with personal notes," and "Evangelicals take virtual control of GOP state leadership -- and keep alive talk of a new Robertson campaign" (6/12). W. POST's Dana Priest details an Appropriations amendment offered this week by Rep. David Skaggs (D-CO) to cut staff funds for Quayle's Competitiveness Council (6/12). W. TIMES's Beichman: "What becomes clear with each passing day is that Ronald Reagan's true heir is Dan Quayle. That is why the New York Times began anew its smear campaign against the vice president with a front-page story June 10 designating him as the Spiro Agnew of the Bush administration" (6/12). L.A. TIMES' Savage writes Quayle "has moved to solidify conservative support in the fall elections with themes reminiscent of those used two decades ago" by then-VP Agnew (6/12).

*5 PEROT: REAX TO "TODAY" -- SOME IN MEDIA STILL SEE DODGING
NBC's Tom Brokaw: "It was vintage Perot, a kind of Texas two-step, country-boy charm with the impatience of a billionaire CEO." NBC's Lisa Myers: "In selling himself, Perot sometimes misrepresented the facts. He generally seemed more comfortable with soundbites than solutions. ... Perot's most blatant misrepresentation of the facts came when a viewer pressed him about proposed cuts in politically-sensitive Social Security and Medicare. ... Perot blamed gridlock in Washington on former government officials now lobbying for foreign governments ... Perot failed to mention that his own campaign manager, Ed Rollins, was until last week part of a lobbying firm which was a registered foreign agent for Columbia, Ecuador, and the Philippines. ... Sometimes Perot's misstatement of facts seem to stem from a lack of knowledge. ... Nevertheless, Perot made it clear that he doesn't think he should be held to the same standards as his opponents." Myers concludes: "A senior Perot adviser acknowledged ... Perot still has to work on some areas and that the learning curve is steep" (6/11). Myers this a.m. after the same report: "I think on balance it probably helped him. I think his supporters loved it, he probably converted a few people who hadn't been exposed to him in any great detail. But I do believe that if he doesn't get straight with the facts it will come back to haunt him" ("Today," NBC, 6/12). W. POST's Kurtz writes, "Perot easily sidestepped thorny questions ... but he seemed more evasive as the morning wore on, especially when anchor Katie Couric pressed him on inconsistencies" (6/12). GANNETT's Benedetto calls Perot's performance "flapdoodle ... reminiscent of an old codger sitting around the general store, spitting on the hot stove and listening to it sizzle" (6/12). N.Y. NEWSDAY's Firestone: "Perot looked comfortable in his favorite television format" (6/12). W. POST's Von Drehle: "Perot skirted more positions than he took, and when the program was over, he left New York and returned to Dallas and the silence of his off-camera campaign" (6/12). "Today" exec. producer Jeff

Zucker on why they went to a second hour: "It was drama. I wasn't about to cut him off. Perot doesn't do soundbites -- quick, succinct answers -- and there was much more to ask" (N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/12). More from Zucker: "At times mesmerizing, at times evasive ... It was obvious [Perot] was not going to commit himself on some issues. But you know what? We had a president who did that for eight years" (W. POST, 6/12).

FOCAL POINTS: L.A. TIMES' Broder highlights Perot's charges of Bush "covertly aiding" Saddam and "turning a blind eye" as he prepared to annex Kuwait (6/12). BOSTON GLOBE's Lehigh also leads with Perot's Iraq charges, calling it "an attempt to trump ... Bush's presumed strong suit" (6/12). DALLAS MORNING NEWS header: "Perot blasts Bush on gulf war, banking" (6/12). Many reports note the call from a 65-year old FL woman on Social Security. USA TODAY header: "Perot: Social Security benefits aren't sacred." Nat'l Taxpayers Union's Pete Sepp on Perot's suggestion well-to-do retirees could voluntarily give up their checks: "Ridiculous. They're not going to surrender them voluntarily." U.S. records show 1/10,000th of 1% of Social Security checks were returned last year (6/12). COPLEY's Condon, W. POST's Von Drehle, and NBC's Myers all point out examples of the dairy industry's lobbying strength on Capitol Hill, in response to Perot's claim the dairy farmer is "not properly represented" (6/12). N.Y. TIMES header: "Perot Pledges No Tax Rise, Except in 'Emergency'" (6/12). USA TODAY front-page, above-the-fold coverage of Perot's 2-hour appearance, with photo of Howard Stern: "Stern fan's sneak attack on 'Today'" (6/12). Stern this a.m.: "I had nothing to do with this. Why is everyone pinning this on me? ... I can't stop the landslide of people using my name from calling in" (WJFK radio, 6/12).

NIXON MEET: AP reports after his "Today" NYC appearance, Perot met Richard Nixon in NJ for a 2-hour "foreign policy briefing." Perot is said to have requested the briefing; Nixon has said he will talk foreign policy "with any candidate" (6/12). Nixon last week warned of underestimating Perot, saying he "can be an effective president" (see HOTLINE 6/5).

LOOK, UP IN THE TREES! W.S. JOURNAL's Rogers & Abramson, in a lengthy front-page piece, examine Perot's "flip side": "Super-cop and super-sleuth. The same young naval officer who tired of the Navy as a 'fairly Godless organization' in the 1950s has gone on to use his wealth and energy to build an intelligence network that reflects the military values taught him as an Annapolis midshipman." Perot's background checks, for example, have "included videotaped surveillance of individuals, sometimes to probe for marital infidelities" (6/12).

STATE REPORTS: NC -- Supporters wrapped up their petition drive, and will present 175,000+ signatures (over 2x what's needed) to the Bd of Elections 6/17 (Raleigh NEWS & OBSERVER, 6/12). MD -- Balto. SUN's Smith & Frece profile MD backers, noting Perot will appear in Annapolis 6/24 as the petitions are delivered by a flotilla of 24 boats and a parade (6/12).

ALSO: WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN's Harris profiles "the many talented Blacks who are finding a home in the Perot campaign" (6/13 issue). Clarence Page examines black voters' new "clout" in a 3-way race (W. TIMES, 6/12). At the National Right to Life Convention, which opened in DC 6/11, Perot's name "evoked hisses and boos whenever it was mentioned" (Price, W. TIMES, 6/12).

*6 CLINTON: BACK ON THE AIRWAVES TONIGHT

His half-hour call-in show will be broadcast at 8pm on NBC,

but the live satellite feed can be accessed on C-SPAN at 7pm.

CAPITOL STIRRINGS: BOSTON GLOBE's Frisby reports Dem leaders "are embracing" Clinton's plan "to present them with a 100-day legislative agenda that could be passed early in a Clinton administration." The staff of House Maj. Leader Dick Gephardt (D-MO) "is leading the effort to work with the campaign in forming the legislation and has asked some leading legislators to contribute ideas that should be included. ... Both campaign and House aides are tight-lipped about what the plan -- still in the formative stages -- would include. But it is widely expected to call for cutting health care costs, boosts for economic recovery, job training, welfare reform and reducing the budget deficit -- all points that Clinton makes on the campaign trail." Clinton will be in Washington this weekend, attending the Rainbow Coalition convention, but "it appeared that he would not be unveiling his legislative agenda on this trip" (6/12).

SPEAK OF THE DEVIL: W.S. JOURNAL reports some Dem strategists think Gephardt is a "real possibility" to be VP. "He would appeal to some key constituencies and still enable Clinton to run on a generational-change theme. Gephardt would have to give up his House seat, but he may figure a run with Clinton would be better for his own presidential hopes" (6/12). On the generational argument, W. TIMES' Pruden writes Perot, as did Reagan, fares better with younger voters, while younger voters are "wary" of Clinton. Analyst Stuart Rothenberg: "All the air is out of the generational argument" (6/12).

STRATEGIZING: W. POST's Edsall & Broder report interviews with Clinton advisers "indicated that a tug-of war is being waged between proponents of 'insider' and 'outsider' strategies ... The conflict merges with a strategic debate about the need that some -- but not all -- of his advisers see to tone down his original appeal to disaffected 'Reagan Democrats' in order to 'mobilize the base' of traditional Democratic voters." For example, with Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition meeting this weekend, the issue of whether to "accommodate expected pressures and demands from Jackson or to confront him and his followers has become the focus of contention between the two camps." Clinton manager David Wilhelm "is most supportive of accommodation and most opposed to challenging Jackson." Commun. dir. George Stephanopoulos and adviser Paul Begala "are in the middle." Pollster Stan Greenberg and advisers James Carville and Mandy Grunwald "are most willing to take up a Jackson gauntlet." The "Jackson challenge is not the only test Clinton faces." U.S. Conference of Mayors pres./ Boston mayor Ray Flynn (D) said he hopes to meet with Clinton at the Rainbow meeting as well. Clinton "so far has refused to endorse" the mayors' urban reinvestment plan (6/12). W.S. JOURNAL reports "hopes to distinguish himself from traditional liberals in speeches" to Rainbow and AFSCME. "Though he'll fashion a unified agenda with congressional leaders, he won't shy from conflict on issues such as a line item veto" (6/12).

FAMILY VALUES: Clinton criticized VP Quayle "for raising so-called family values issues in such a way as to exclude many Americans": "The thing that bothers me is, there are so many people in America who believe in family values and hard work and play by the rules and are still getting the shaft" (L.A. TIMES, 6/12); "I'm getting tired of people ... who have responsibility to all those people who do observe all those values. Look at Los Angeles. Most of the people did not loot, did not riot, did not burn, but they are still faced with declining incomes and difficult lives. What about them?" (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/12).

CONVENTION NOTES: W. POST's Lois Romano reports "an unprecedented decision has been made not to have a keynote speaker" at the Dem convention. Instead, DNC chair Ron Brown and Clinton "have agreed to have three speakers address the convention on opening night for no more than 15 minutes each. In addition, Brown plans to give prominent women very prominent roles at the convention, including that of convention chair. He also plans to give some of the high-profile women Senate candidates some of the much coveted prime-time speaking assignments." No specific invitations yet (6/12). DALLAS MORNING NEWS reports ex-DNC chair/U.S. Amb. to Russia Robert Strauss will attend the NYC convention. Bush-Quayle spokesperson Torie Clarke: "What a hoot. Clearly, this is recognition that the Democratic Party has the ultimate respect and appreciation for President Bush's foreign policy leadership." DNC spokesperson Ginny Terzano: "He's a Democrat at heart and he's coming to see the next president get nominated" (Feeney, 6/12).

PAYDAY! ... PSYCHE! ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE reports Clinton said the "cash crunch that has delayed paychecks" for the campaign staff "should be fixed by the end of this month." Clinton spokesperson Max Parker "said the check delay was due to the campaign shifting gears from the primaries to the general election. She denied the disruption was due to the campaign's purchase of 30 minutes" for \$400,000 on NBC tonight (6/12). Dem fundraiser Terry McAuliffe on Clinton's shortage of funds: "You need momentum and enthusiasm to move people, and it's going to come. But at this point, everybody's talking about Ross Perot."

CNN's Gene Randall: "Knowing the importance of both fundraising and organization, Clinton campaign officials are in Washington to meet with leaders of the [DNC]. It is another lesson of 1988, when Michael Dukakis' presidential campaign was known for a notable lack of such organization" ("Inside Politics," 6/11).

RACIAL ISSUES: Balto. SUN reports the National Newspaper Publishers Assoc., a group of black newspaper publishers, "felt snubbed" by Clinton's non-appearance at their annual convention. Some suggested the presence of Alliance Party candidate Lenora Fulani on the platform was a factor. Clinton MD coord. Larry Gibson tried to explain the absence, but was "shouted out of the room" (6/12). NAACP president Benjamin Hooks said it would be a "political blunder" for Clinton to skip the July NAACP convention, to be held the same time as the Democratic National Convention. Hooks: "I understand Clinton has the Democratic convention during the same times, and I see the conflict. ... [But] If the people running the campaign knew what I know, he'd be here. He has the nomination cinched. He ought to just call [the Dem convention] off, name a vice president and come here" (Washington AFRO-AMERICAN, 6/12 issue).

ON MUSIC: Cuomo, on Clinton on "Arsenio": "I don't know. You see, you show me Bill -- and I said this to his people -- with dark glasses playing the saxophone, you know, and guys like me would tell you, I don't think I would vote for Belushi, you know, for President, may he rest in peace. But who knows? Maybe there are people who like the Blues Brothers" (N.Y. TIMES, 6/12).

*7 DEBATING DEBATES

The bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates announced plans for three pres. debates (9/22, 9/29, 10/15) and one VP debate (10/4). The Commission co-chairs, ex-RNC chair Frank Fahrenkopf and ex-DNC chair Paul Kirk, said that it is "too early to say whether ... Perot would be invited ... But it appeared

likely that he would," if he met the panel's criteria for 3rd party/independent candidates (Benshoff, AP/PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/12). Fahrenkopf: "Perot probably meets the requirement today except for one criteria. That is you have to be on enough ballots in states to win 270 electoral votes." Kirk: "The other thing is you do have to be is a declared candidate, Mr. Perot has not yet declared. The fundamental question the committee will make its judgment on, is how many of the candidates that are being evaluated by the committee have a realistic chance of winning the presidential election." On debate format: "We want to have the most spontaneous free exchange ... we are leaning toward having no live audience ... in 1988 there were some interruptions from a live audience that took away from some of the important time and questions related from the panel to the candidates." Media analyst Kathleen Hall Jamieson: "The real challenge with three candidates is that there is not a natural positioning between the candidates the way there is when you only have two. So it's very important that they find the very best moderator in existence in western civilization to follow up and follow up aggressively." Kirk on the possibility that Bush chooses not to debate: "If there are two other candidates or more who are willing to debate, these debates will go on" (CNN, 6/11).

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*8 BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT: THE AXE SHALL NOT FALL

"Defying election year pressures," the House defeated the balanced budget amendment, "touted as a fiscal cure-all." For Speaker Tom Foley, "the turnaround on the amendment was a major political victory," on the heels of recent House scandals. Credit for the bill's defeat was also given to "the high number of retiring Democrats who could safely vote against" it (Zaldivar, PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/12). President Bush, who had waged a "high profile campaign on behalf of the amendment," has already "begun using the issue to attack" Congress, and "revive his flagging re-election campaign," but legislative gridlock is almost sure to continue, as "Washington maintained its near-perfect record of inaction" (Gosselin, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/12). As recently as last week, supporters believed they had 289 majority votes needed for veto-proof passage, but at the last minute, six co-sponsors of the amendment "switched" positions. All were Dem Reps.: Matthew Martinez (CA), Robin Tallon (SC), Tom Lantos (CA), Richard Neal (MA), James Traficant (OH) and Pat Schroeder (CO). Bill proponent Joe Barton (D-TX): "If they had kept their written commitment, we could have won this afternoon." The final vote was 280 to 153 (Pianin, W. POST, 6/12). Other proponents were "bitter" over what they called Foley's "full court press." Bill sponsor Rep. Charles Stenholm (D-TX): "I don't know if what they did was inappropriate or not, I just know the leadership worked very hard and turned some folks' votes" (Reifenberg, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/12). A N.Y. TIMES editorial thanked Foley and Budget Chair Leon Panetta (D-CA) for "denying" the "trivializing" amendment, and keeping the "economy and the nation's founding document" safe (6/12).

TV: ABC's Peter Jennings: "A major political defeat for [Bush] today" (6/11). NBC's Tom Brokaw: "[Bush] was 0 for 2 today." NBC's Andrea Mitchell: "The amendment was enormously popular, so while Democrats won the vote today, they may have handed [Bush] a powerful election-year issue" (6/11). CBS' Dan Rather: "Bush lost one in Congress today" (6/11).

*9 LONG-FORM TV: WHISTLE-STOP TOUR THROUGH AMERICA?

KNIGHT-RIDDER's Cannon & Gunther write, "The idea isn't exactly new. Every couple of decades, presidential candidates rediscover the voters. The high-tech gimmicks of 1992 hark back to Harry Truman's famous whistlestop tour ... in 1948 -- when he talked to ordinary Americans from the back of a railroad car. ... Perot gets a lot of credit for all this, but the seeds were planted in [NH] in February" where Clinton passed out videotapes, Brown intro'd his 800# and Tsongas handed out his book. ... This campaign is a far cry from 1988 when Bush staged 'theme-of-the-week' media events with pre-tested camera angles and sound bites designed to secure 10 seconds of precious network [TV] news coverage" (6/12). W. POST's Kurtz writes, "The ... campaign resembles a TV talkathon, and assets that were once crucial for a candidate -- strong organization or endorsements from elected officials -- matter little in this klieg-lights environment." Kurtz felt Perot handled the "Today" format better than Clinton, particularly in terms of "holding the interest" of the audience. A downside of long-form is that it "often allows candidates to get by with canned responses." But "Today" exec. producer Jeff Zucker said the format allowed for more substance than what media

interviewers usually seek out (6/12).

UPCOMING LONG-FORM TV EVENTS: Clinton buys a half-hour on NBC tonight for a home-made TV show, "America Speaks." The campaign reportedly paid \$400,000 to NBC. It appears at 8:00p on NBC; the live satellite feed from Pittsburgh can be picked up on C-SPAN at 6:00p. Clinton media consultant Frank Greer will appear on C-SPAN at 5:00p for a preview. Clinton will appear for the full two hours of "CBS This Morning" on 6/15 and will tape the first MTV Presidential Forum before a live audience on 6/16 which will air that night at 10:00p (EDT). "Today," which spontaneously extended Perot's session to two hours 6/11, invited Clinton back for another hour; Bush for two. Clinton will likely be back in the next two weeks (Lemons, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 6/12). Bush will appear Monday, 6/15, on CNN's "International Hour" in the afternoon. NBC said Bush "originally declined an appearance on 'Today' but is now 'reconsidering it'" (Carmody, W. POST, 6/12).

TV: NEWSWEEK's Jonathan Alter on talk show strategy: "The people who watch these shows are much closer to the average American than the people who that watch the Sunday shows or read the N.Y. TIMES. ... There's almost two rebellions at once going on. There's a rebellion against politics as usual and a rebellion against media as usual. ... These kinds of shows ... create a sense of participation that's mostly very positive. Most people in this country do not get their news from the newspapers. They get their news exclusively from television. ... If you make the circuit ... you're going to reach a tremendous number of people." W. POST's Howard Kurtz: "These talk shows ... are an opportunity for the candidate to be unfiltered." Dem strategist Bill Carrick on benefits of talk shows: "[I]t just gives them an enormous exposure to a lot of people who aren't in the hard news universe." GOP strategist John Sears: "This is not really a new phenomenon." Dem consultant Brian Lunde: "You've got to watch your step with this because you essentially run out of things to say and it becomes politics as entertainment then. ... It's just another version of the old style campaigning." Alter: "I would argue this is not a good development for Dan Quayle." GOP strategist Mark Nuttle: "At least it's ... direct access. It takes the public into the arena" ("MacNeil/Lehrer," PBS, 6/11). CNN's "Crossfire" hosted Phil Donahue and COX's Andrew Glass. Donahue: "This kind of exposure ... is closer to the street and ... it's free. The serious shows ... are the same shows that missed Iranscam, missed the S&L crises, missed BCCI, missed the HUD scandal and missed a lot of other stories. So when these serious journalists uncover those stories, then they can preach to us and tell us we're not serious. A little nonsense now and then is treasured by the best of men. We have an imperial presidency and I think blowing the sax on 'Arsenio' humanizes the candidate." Glass: "I agree with Phil. ... But if the ratings are what is driving this ... rather than real stuff of politics, then we're in big trouble in this country." Donahue: "I'm not here to say that we can do it better than [Glass] can. I am here to suggest that Mr. Glass and the other high-priests of the so-called mainstream journalism are saying we're news and you're not. This is the last gasp of traditional Beltway journalists who looked up to discover that after owning the ... process, they are beginning to lose it." John Sununu: "There was a showbiz component that I think Mr. Glass was talking about." Donahue: "Right, yeah. What about the flag factory. Come down from the mountain" (6/11).

*10 MISSOURI: "QUESTIONS AND ACCUSATIONS"

A ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH editorial notes "the questions and accusations keep piling up in the strange case" involving AG William Webster's (R) administration of the state's Second Injury Fund (6/10). While he is "under heavy attack" for the fund's settlement with his "leading campaign contributor," Webster was the first candidate to hit the airwaves as he began an "expensive barrage" of TV and radio ads in the St. Louis area. Aides say the ads will continue through the 8/4 primary at a cost of at least \$50,000/week. Webster manager Tony Feather "adamantly says that the timing [of the ads] has nothing to do with the negative publicity. But Webster's radio spot, resembling a news broadcast, paints Webster as going on the offensive against the program's abuses." Webster's GOP opponents "generally viewed the ad campaign as damage control" (Mannies, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 6/10). Other GOPers: Treas. Wendell Bailey, Sec/State Roy Blunt.

DEMS: St. Louis blacks are expected to turn out "in big numbers" to oppose St. Louis Mayor Vincent Schoemehl (D). State Sen. J.B. "Jet" Banks (D): "There will be an all-out effort in St. Louis to vote for [LG Mel Carnahan (D)] over Schoemehl, particularly among black voters." State Rep. Charles Troupe (D), who "accused Schoemehl of being responsible for the loss of jobs by black city workers and of spending money on projects of no benefit to black residents," said it was "get-even time for Schoemehl." Schoemehl manager E.C. Walker: "We're doing quite well among African-American voters in St. Louis and St. Louis County" (Lindecke, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 6/10).

*11 NEW HAMPSHIRE: THE PLEDGE IN "CRANKY OLD NEW HAMPSHIRE"

State Rep. "Arnie" Arnesen (D) refuses to take "'The Pledge' to disavow any broad-based income or sales tax in cranky old [NH] ... a Granite State ritual": "You don't talk about taxes. You talk about keeping the house, keeping the job. ... New Hampshire is hurting so bad it actually needs government." BOSTON GLOBE columnist David Nyhan writes Arnesen "conveys conviction ... [she] is going to be governor of [NH], once the citizenry gets around to figuring out what it is that ails them" (6/9). Ex-AG Stephen Merrill (R) challenged state Sen. Ed Dupont's (R) "contention" that politicians who don't take The Pledge "pledge to make government ineffective." Merrill called Dupont's theory "absolutely wrong": "Perhaps Senator Dupont's 10 years of elective office have caused him to attempt to duplicate that inside-the-beltway philosophy that says, 'without more taxation, government is paralyzed'" (Manchester UNION LEADER, 6/10). Under header "Dupont's Dupery" a UNION LEADER editorial calls Dupont's comments a "serious tactical error. ... It could be suicidal" (6/10). Also running: House Appropriations chair Elizabeth Hager (R), ex-Dem chair Ned Helms (D) and ex-Rep. Norman D'Amours (D). Primary 9/8.

*12 NORTH DAKOTA: IT'S SPAETH V. SCHAFFER

AG Nick Spaeth (D) defeated party-endorsed state Sen. Wm Heigaard (D) nearly 2-1, marking "an apparent repudiation of some hardball campaigning by the Heigaard camp, which flooded the airwaves with negative ads." Businessman Ed Schaffer (R) noting Spaeth ran negative ads as well: "After watching the [Dem

primary] I feel that Nick Spaeth has shown an inability to address the real problems of this state. ... When you have the ability to address these issues and problems, you don't have to worry about personal attacks." Spaeth: "I've kept a campaign on a positive note and that's how I'm going to campaign in the fall." Schafer "starts with a big advantage in money" although Spaeth "has millions" in personal resources. Also "unsure" is whether the "wounds" of the Dem primary "can be healed." Spaeth manager Greg Rhodes: The Dems have "been through other battles before and they've recovered and come on strong" (Wood, GRAND FORKS HERALD, 6/10). Heigaard: "There's some substantial damage done to this party and it was done the day Nick filed for the primary election." Heigaard said he "wasn't certain" Dems could recover or beat Schafer: "It all depends on whether they can put the party back together again." Heigaard "wasn't offering help ... or at least not an endorsement" to Spaeth: "The question is why didn't Nick Spaeth support me at the convention? ... All of a sudden it seems I'm the culprit in this whole thing" (Shatek, GRAND FORKS HERALD, 6/11).

COURTING LABOR: Moving to fill "the political void left by" labor-backed Heigaard, Schafer said he would begin "meeting with union leaders" today. "Response to his overtures was positive" while's Spaeth's "conciliatory gestures" to labor were met with "cool" reactions. ND AFL-CIO pres. David Kemnitz: "Spaeth has some answering to do ... if he expects this organization to begin a discussion of support." Spaeth manager Greg Rhodes: "We intend to take a very conciliatory attitude with labor as well as anyone else who was supporting" Heigaard (Wood, GRAND FORKS HERALD, 6/11).

*13 WASHINGTON: DEFICIT "SENDS SHIVERS" THROUGH GOV RACE

The prospect of a "looming" '93-'95 budget deficit is already "sending shivers through the governor's race." Ex-rep. Mike Lowry (D) was the first to include the prospect of new taxes: "I realized when I made the decision to run ... I would be inheriting a significant budget problem. ... the only way to face this significant a problem is to put everything on the table ... and with that significant a deficit that also means we will have to look at" tax increases. State House speaker Joe King (D): "I've never seen a revenue forecast yet that didn't say the sky was falling. ... I'm not a 'read my lips' kind of guy ... but I can promise that new taxes would not be the first response" my administration. Rep. Sid Morrison (R-04): "Better planning within the state agencies could improve efficiency and control budget deficits." Senate budget chief Dan McDonald (R) on new taxes: "No, no, no." (Jim Erickson, Seattle POST-INTELLIGENCER, 6/11). Other candidates in 9/15 primary: State. Sen. Jack Metcalf (R).

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

*14 HOUSE RACE BRIEFING

IN 04: "Potential candidate" ex-Allen Co. Dem chair Craig Hartman (I) said "he has no plans to seek formal alignment" with Perot. Hartman: "I will not align myself with Ross Perot. I'm enthused by his candidacy and I would suspect we'd have a lot in common philosophically. But beyond that, I wouldn't expect his people to help." Perot Allen Co. coordinator Laura Snider: "We don't know the guy. Perot doesn't know him and as a party, we're not established. If someone wants to run independent, fine. Go

for it. But we're just taking care of Ross." Hartman said polling data showing Rep. Jill Long's (D-04) "favorable" rating below 50%; that and Chuck Pierson's (R) "fringe candidacy" prompted him to explore running. He needs 3,087 signatures from RVs to qualify for the ballot. Hartman worked on Long's failed '88 campaign. He would not say whether his "flirtation with running" was the result of "soured" relations with the Dem Party (Fort Wayne JOURNAL GAZETTE, 6/11).

MA 03: Pro-choice Gov. Wm Weld (R) "quarreled" with state Rep. Peter Blute's (R) statement that a "dream" of the pro-choice movement "was to reduce welfare spending and cure other social ills." weld: "I've never thought of it that way. I think of it more as a question of the relationship between the individual and the state." Blute's campaign "continued to back away" from the statement saying Blute "meant to suggest 'some' pro-choice advocates see "abortion as a means of avoiding social spending. Blute primary foe state Rep. David Lionett (R) "urged" Blute to "apologize" to pro-choice supporters: "It's bizarre to impugn the motives of a group that's sincere in its efforts." Blute's camp said "Blute would have no further comment on the abortion flap" but produced a 1986 letter to the editor of a MA medical magazine in which a NOW official notes "taxpayers would fair better" when a poor woman chooses a Medicaid-funded abortion over Medicaid-funded child delivery. Pro-choice ex-Commerce Dept. official Michelle Flaherty (R) said the race "should move beyond" abortion: "There are so many issues that are as important or more important" (Connolly, BOSTON HERALD, 6/11).

MA 06: Federal investigators have siezed the records of two Peabody bars and a liquor store that were licensed during Rep. Nick Mavroules' (D) tenure as mayor. After FBI and IRS agents questioned him, joint owner of Duddy's Liquor Store Harry Hewitt said he told the investigators Mavroules "had no interest" in the store: "He had no connection with the business. ... [The agents] said they were checking all liquor licenses" granted while Mavroules was mayor. Hewitt's partner was not contacted. Peabody Licensing Commis. chair Theodore Andrews said investigators seized his board's records on the owners of 3 liquor licenses last month. The inquiry into the liquor establishments expands the Mavroules probe. A "source familiar with the investigation" discounted a report that the U.S. Atty's office was investigating possible ties between Mavroules and General Electric. Agents questioned GE attys last month about a "minor issue" tying Mavroules to GE but the prosecutors were "satisfied" with GE's explanation (Laidler/Kurkjian, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/11).

OH 06: Sec/State Bob Taft (R) "ordered an informal inquiry" to probe how votes were counted in the 6/2 primary between Reps. Clarence Miller (R-10) and Bob McEwen (R-06) in Highland Co. Taft's order responded to a complaint filed by Miller of "alleged improprieties." Miller "said his campaign staff had discovered that some ballots were duplicated and that not all members of the Highland County Board of Elections were on hand to witness the duplication. Miller said ballots were reportedly duplicated because they could not be read by the county's election computer. He also alleged that no steps were taken to ensure that the duplicated ballots were not altered." Taft said chief elections counsel John Bender has asked officials of the Highland Co. board "to explain in writing how 50 to 150 ballots that could not be read by the board's computer were duplicated." McEwen, who hails from Hillsboro, the Highland Co. seat, won the county, 2,584 to 806. Miller noted Highland results were reported at 1:30am,

"long after the other counties in the district reported their tallies." McEwen won the primary by 269 votes, still an unofficial count. Under state law, a recount would be required if the difference falls under .5% (or 328 votes), but cannot be called until results are certified. Certification is expected by mid-June (Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 6/12).

===== HOTSPOTS =====

*15 VIRGINIA: ROBB RATING DIVES; WOULD LOSE TO WILDER, NORTH
Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research surveyed 829 likely
voters 6/6-8; margin of error +/- 3.5%. Dems: 249 LVs; +/- 6.9%
(Norfolk VIRGINIAN-PILOT, 6/12). Tested: Sen. Chuck Robb (D),
Gov. Doug Wilder (D), ex-AG Marshall Coleman (R), Lt. Col. (ret.)
Oliver North (R), ex-Sen. Paul Tribble (R), Sen. John Warner (R).
Robb is up for re-election in '94; Warner in '96.

	6/92	ID	6/91	11/88	SHOULD ROBB RESIGN?	
	FAV/UNFAV		FAV/UNFAV	FAV/UNFAV		
Robb	19% / 50%	100%	46% / 27%	61% / 16%	Yes	32%
Wilder	30 / 43	100			No	53
Coleman	32 / 22	97			DK	15
North	48 / 32	100				
Tribble	38 / 10	91				

JOB RATINGS	ROBB	WARNER	ROBB RE-ELECT	6/92	9/91
Excellent	4%	14%	Re-elect	21%	44%
Good	26	47	Consider other	41	37
Fair	33	33	Replace	36	15
Poor	2	2	Unsure	2	4

HYPO DEM PRIMARY	HYPO GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS		
Wilder 47%	Tribble 50%	Coleman 42%	North 43%
Robb 38	Robb 30	Robb 32	Robb 33
Undec. 15			
	Tribble 48%	Coleman 42%	Wilder 44%
	Wilder 33	Wilder 39	North 42

Univ. of Richmond's Thomas Morris: "It looks like it's just about the end for Chuck Robb." VCU's Robert Holsworth: "The latest round of revelations have exacted an enormous toll. His reservoir of support is drained now." Rob Eure writes Morris and Holsworth "agreed that the poll adds to evidence that Robb may not be in a position to run for a second term, even if he escapes indictment by the ... grand jury now probing his office's handling of an illegally-recorded telephone call between Wilder and a political supporter. An indictment almost surely would bring calls for his resignation." Holsworth: "He's lower than any other senator in the region. The DSCC has to think seriously about his ability to be an effective leader." Robb: "[When] all facts are known, fair-minded Virginians will judge me in an entirely different light" (Norfolk VIRGINIAN-PILOT, 6/12). FAIRFAX JOURNAL headline: "Robb's star falling like a meteor." Mason-Dixon's Brad Coker: "there's no question once you start talking about indicting members of a senator's staff, that's a little more serious than a fling in New York City with a blonde model" (6/12). VA GOP exec. director Joe Elton: "Oliver North is strongly thinking of running for Mr. Robb's seat. It would be one of the most classic Senate races ever seen in this country" (W. TIMES, 6/12).

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

*16 LOUIS HARRIS: ET TU, FEMINA?

1,255 adults surveyed from 6/6-10; margin of error +/- 3%
(Harris release, 6/11).

3-WAY MATCH-UP	RVs	ALL	MEN	WOM	WHT	BLK	HISP	GOP	DEM	IND
Perot	37%	36%	38%	34%	38%	23%	19%	30%	34%	44%
Bush	33	34	38	30	34	24	38	59	17	29
Clinton	25	25	21	28	22	42	40	7	42	21
Undec.	6	6	3	8	6	11	3	4	8	6

3-WAY MATCH-UP	REGIONAL				IDEOLOGICAL		
	EAST	MIDWEST	SOUTH	WEST	CONSERV	MOD	LIB
Perot	35%	37%	35%	36%	33%	37%	39%
Bush	33	36	35	30	46	33	19
Clinton	27	21	23	29	15	25	36

2-WAY MATCH-UP (ASKED: "IF PEROT WAS NOT A CANDIDATE ...")

Clinton	41%
Bush	39
Neither	19
Undec.	1

HOW STRONGLY DO YOU SUPPORT ...

	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT
Very strongly	30%	29%	32%
Somewhat strongly	48	44	50
Not very strongly	19	25	15
Not sure	2	1	3

*17 THIS MORNING: NBC's "Today" hosted Hodding Carter and David Broder on Quayle and family values (6/12). ABC's "GMA" hosted ex-secret service agent Chuck Vance on pres. security, Sen. Al Gore (D-TN) from Rio (6/12). "CBS This Morning" hosted its political panel: Joe Klein and Fred Barnes (6/12).

LAST NIGHT: All nets led with Bush in Panama. "MacNeil/Lehrer" focused on emergence of the talk shows in the campaign with W. POST's Howard Kurtz, NEWSWEEK's Jonathan Alter, GOP's John Sears and Marc Nuttle, Dems' Bill Carrick and Brian Lunde. "Crossfire" hosted Phil Donahue and COX's Andrew Glass on talk shows. "Nightline" focused on Hollywood and family values with film critic Michael Medved and actor Ron Silver (6/11).

LAUGHS: NBC's Jay Leno on Bush's trip to Rio: "His trip has really broadened his appeal. Now he's not only unpopular in North America, he's unpopular in South America as well." Leno on Bush's refusal to sign a treaty protecting animals: "I guess I can understand that. Right now the only hide he's interested in protecting is his own." Leno on secret service staying at a "love motel" in Rio: "At first they didn't want to put them there. But Bill Clinton said, 'The place is great, you've got to check it out.'" Leno on Clinton call-in show tonight: "Remember, it's two bucks for the first minute and adults only, please." Leno on Quayle's emphasis on family values: "Isn't it amazing how someone can notice a poverty of values without noticing the poverty" ("Tonight Show," NBC, 6/11). Arsenio Hall on Clinton's upcoming appearance on MTV: "Next week Club MTV will introduce their permanent new host, Downtown Jerry Brown." Hall: "If there is any politician who should be on MTV it's not Clinton. I think it's Marion Barry -- he already has a video" ("Arsenio," 6/11).

LETTERMAN'S TOP TEN UPCOMING BILL CLINTON TV APPEARANCES:

10. Donahue show on topic of "puffy guys with big hair."
 9. Towel boy for Holyfield/Holmes fight.
 8. Guest spot as adulterer on "L.A. Law."
 7. Voice of cartoon pelican on Nickelodeon.
 6. The Friars roast Gennifer Flowers (EMCEE)
 5. Shirtless cameo as Red-Hot-Chili-Pepper-for-a-day.
 4. Guy standing behind local newsman at scene of warehouse fire waving like a jerk.
 3. In San Diego Chicken outfit; Padres v. Astros, Aug. 17th.
 2. Calling Ross Perot on "Larry King Live" and asking about Howard Stern.
 1. Candidates week on "Wheel of Fortune."
- ("Late Night," NBC, 6/12).

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

"The serious shows ... are the same shows that missed Iranscam, missed the S&L crises, missed BCCI, missed the HUD scandal and missed a lot of other stories. So when these serious journalists uncover those stories, then they can preach to us and tell us we're not serious."

-- Phil Donahue, "Crossfire," CNN, 6/11.

POOL REPORT #7

June 12, 1992

DINNER AT THE PALACE:

No news, little color in an event that began with the least secure motorcade on record. Taxi cabs, vans, motorcyclists and anyone else with a whim to do so cut into the motorcade, passed it, probably waving to the President as they zoomed by. Eventually, we arrived at an enormous palace atop a mountain called "the Orange Palace," which is used for official visitor events. Very ornate, with marble, fountains, winding staircases, all that.

Bush spotted atop a balcony, blowing his nose. Asked if he was still bothered by the tear gas, he flashed a look of exasperation at your pool and said no. Group of dignitaries that included Skinner, Scowcroft, Aronson, came down steps where cameras were ready, followed by the Bushes and the Collors. Much flashing of cameras. No talk. Into dinner and pool shown the door, to hover out on the grass.

DEVROY: Washington Post.

POOL REPORT #5

President's Lunch

June 12, 1992

At 12:45 the President joined 22 guests at the Demoiselle Restaurant, a French restaurant at the Earth Summit Convention Center, known as Riocentro. Half of the guests were U.S. officials. There were also eight third world environmentalists, including Maria Teresa Jorge Padua, President of Brazil's environmental protection agency. Seated to the President's right was Jacques Cousteau, the noted French oceanographer at a rectangular table. The President ignored questions shouted from the press, such as "Is this how you like to spend your birthday?"

James Brooke, New York Times

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

For Immediate Release

June 12, 1992

The President today announced the appointment of Shiree Sanchez as Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

Since 1989, Ms. Sanchez has served at the White House as Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison. Ms. Sanchez works on all issues related to Hispanic Americans and also is the liaison to Americans with disabilities.

Ms. Sanchez previously served as Congressional Liaison for the President-Elect's Inaugural Committee; as Texas director for Hispanic outreach for the George Bush for President campaign, 1987; and as Executive Director of the Republican National Committee Hispanic auxiliary, 1988-1989. Ms. Sanchez was appointed by the Governor of Texas to serve in the Texas Department of Commerce, 1986-1987. Other positions Ms. Sanchez has held include: Assistant Director of the Republican Party of Texas, 1985-1986; and Sales Manager for Micro-D International, Inc., of Huntington Beach, California, 1982-1986.

Ms. Sanchez attended the University of Texas and is a native of Austin, Texas. She resides in Washington, D.C.

#

POOL REPORT #4 ADDENDUM

(Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

June 12, 1992

"I'm very happy to be here."

"Assembled here in this room are some of the leading environmentalists, and NGO leaders, and i'm anxious to here from them how things are going--need to put more emphasis."

Q: Will you win them over to your views?

A: "I not sure winning is required."

Q: We're you disappointed by the vote on the balanced budget amendment.

A: "Yes--hey, this out of here. We're not going to give up that fight. The taxpayers want it, we're going to somehow do what they want, keep working."

James Brooke, New York Times

Pool Report #4

President and U.S. Environmentalists

6/12/92

At the Ipanema Room, a 26th floor conference center of the Sheraton, President Bush dressed in his birthday suit -- navy blue business suit with blue and red striped tie -- met around a rectangular table this morning at 10:00 with American environmentalists and American officials.

The president did not take questions. He made a few stray comments that were not picked up by poll reporter's tape recorder. One was a one-syllable response to the balanced budget vote, the other saying that all environmental questions were covered in his speech this afternoon.

Environmentalists included: Russell Mittermeier president of the Conservation International, Noreen Kennedy of the International Business Council, Nicholas Yost of the American Bar Association, Don Edwards of U.S. Citizen's Network, Theresa Fund of the Environmental Defense Fund, James Malone of the Heritage Foundation, Dianne Dillon Ridgely of the YWCA International, and Abraham Katz, president of the International Chamber of Commerce and Russell Train, chairman of the World Wildlife Fund.

U.S. officials: Fitzwater, U.S. Ambassador to Brazil Richard Melton, Robert Grady, Allan Bromley, Scowcroft, Ambassador Perkins, Michael Deland,

James Brooke/New York Times

George Bush Presidential Library Transfer Sheet

COLLECTION:

George H. W. Bush Presidential Records
Office of the President

ACCESSION NUMBER:

☐ Transferred During Accessioning

☒ Transferred During Processing

FOIA/SYSTEMATIC
PROCESSING CASE
NUMBER (if app.):

2009-0166-S

The following material was transferred to:

☒ Audiovisual Collection ☐ Book Collection ☐ Museum Collection ☐ Other

Other (Specify):

DESCRIPTION:

Cassette tape of "The President's Rap" from inside an oversized, handmade birthday card to President Bush from various staff and family members.

When
transferring
material to the
museum
collection,
complete the
following.

Donor:

Donor Org.:

Address:

Telephone:

Book Location:

Row: Section: Shelf: Position:

Map Case Location:**Series:**

Daily Files

Box Number:**Folder Title:**

Friday, June 12, 1992

OA/ID Number:

90688-002

Transferred by: Matt Lee

Date of Transfer: 10/21/2024

Received by: McKenzie Morse

Date Received: 10/22/2024

Go to Database
Navigator

Go to Accession
Register

Go to Withdrawal Sheet

Print Record

GEORGE H.W. BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

NOTE TO FILE

Date: 10/21/2024

Archivist: M. Lee

Action Taken/Note to File:

This document marks the place of an oversized document that was closed for preservation purposes but is too large to photocopy. It is a large, handmade birthday card to President Bush from a few family members and staff containing a cassette tape of "The President's Rap" and a wreath made from an unknown plant. The cassette was transferred to the Audio-Visual Department on 10/22/2024.

GEORGE H.W. BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

NOTE TO FILE

Date: 02/24/2025

Archivist: M. Lee

Action Taken/Note to File:

The oversized attachment was too large to fit into a regulation Hollinger box, so it was placed in an Oversized Attachment box at the end of the collection range.

Provenance:

**George H. W. Bush Presidential Records—Office of the President—Daily Files—
Friday, June 12, 1992 [OA/ID 90688-002]**

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed for Release
Until June 14, 1992

June 12, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers and staff of the Wind River Youth Center of Pinedale, Wyoming, as the 800th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. In a town with a population of approximately 1,000, the center provides recreational activities for youth and helps them develop good character and values.

Three years ago, the alarming rate of alcohol abuse among Pinedale teenagers sparked a commitment to action by two local mothers, who realized that rural youth often turn to alcohol for lack of other recreational opportunities. Sandy Goltz and Janet Davis used a room at the local high school and created the Wind River Youth Center. Other parents soon began volunteering to chaperon students at the center's activities, which were held on Friday and Saturday nights. Today, adults from throughout the community, both volunteers and staff, offer guidance and friendship to the more than thirty young people who gather regularly at the center.

On weekend evenings, the Wind River Center offers young people a variety of social and educational opportunities. Young people come in to watch movies, play pool and attend pizza parties. Recently, a local doctor gave a series of talks on sexually-transmitted diseases, drug and alcohol abuse, and other topics of concern to teenagers. The center's schedule is published by both the local newspaper and the school paper.

Young people themselves support these programs by organizing dances, picnics, rock band concerts and other activities. The center is further sustained by the engagement of adults from all walks of life, including doctors, teachers, law enforcement officers and others. The center has become an integral part of life in Pinedale and demonstrates what can be achieved when a community mobilizes its members to solve its most serious social problems.

The President salutes the volunteers and staff of the Wind River Youth Center 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

Embargoed for Release
Until June 13, 1992

June 12, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of The Mended Hearts, Inc. of Pawtucket, Rhode Island as the 799th Daily Point of Light for the Nation.

Mended Hearts is an organization of approximately 185 former heart patients who volunteer their time supporting and encouraging individuals currently undergoing cardiac treatment. Their tireless commitment and dedication serve as a flagship of hope and inspiration to those they serve.

Since its inception in 1985, Mended Hearts has made nearly 11,000 hospital visits to 10 hospitals throughout Rhode Island. Each year, the members of Mended Hearts are taught new skills and techniques in order to provide the most encouraging and supportive bedside hospital visits to current cardiac patients. Following a patient's discharge from the hospital, Mended Hearts makes myriad phone calls and home visits to ensure a quick and effective period of recovery to those they serve.

Though their primary focus and responsibility is hospital visitation, Mended Hearts also performs a wide range of other services. The organization provides money generated from their own fund raising efforts to the Edward Madden Memorial Open Heart Camp in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. This financial support enables children who have experienced open heart surgery to attend the camp. They also have provided scholarship awards to five Rhode Island cardiac nurses, a recent yet earnestly supported tradition.

With a strong commitment to consistent and reliable visits to Rhode Island hospitals, members of Mended Hearts continue to provide far-reaching support and encouragement to current cardiac patients. According to one such patient, "The doctors revived my heart, but Mended Hearts brought me back to life."

The President salutes the volunteers of The Mended Hearts 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

June

JULY 12, 1992

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS FROM CONGRESSMAN ROBERT DORNAN

MESSAGE: "If you enjoyed the last 50 -- wait 'till you see the
next 5. Happy Birthday."

Daily 6-12
✓

BARBARA BUSH

Dear Bob,

I wish I could be with you in person to tell you of my strong support. You have been a loyal friend -- always there for the Republican Party and the entire Bush family, too.

George joins with me in sending this message of support.

With admiration and great affection,

Barbara Bush
We love Sally, too!

Rose -
See attached
note FYI. GB
has not seen & I have
not asked Jan B to do
reply. Robin

6/11

Rose:

Ron Kaufman will stop
by Monday following the
0730 staff meeting to see ^{this.}
Apparently, Ron's office ^{or is}
has been hearing complaints
from Dornan's staff (and
I guess Dornan) that the
President hasn't been
doing enough for him, and
that the letter didn't
say enough. I didn't want
to give Ron's ofc a copy,
so I said he could stop by
and read it. Robin

6/23/92
For Kaufman
called to say he
talked with Dornan.
He is OK. He
runs

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: _____ TIME: _____
Incoming/outgoing
FROM: _____
TO: _____
SUBJECT: I had planned to be
there in person but
this is to convey
our total support

Bob Dornan
is a loyal
guy - He's
always been
there for us.
He is a friend
to ~~the~~ the entire
Bush family

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: _____

TIME: _____
Incoming/outgoing

WITH: _____

SUBJECT: _____

① *Bar to District*
4590

②

FOLLOW UP: _____

Wednesday, May 27, 1992

1. PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Congressman Robert Dornan (R-CA)

Would like a return call. Says it is super important.

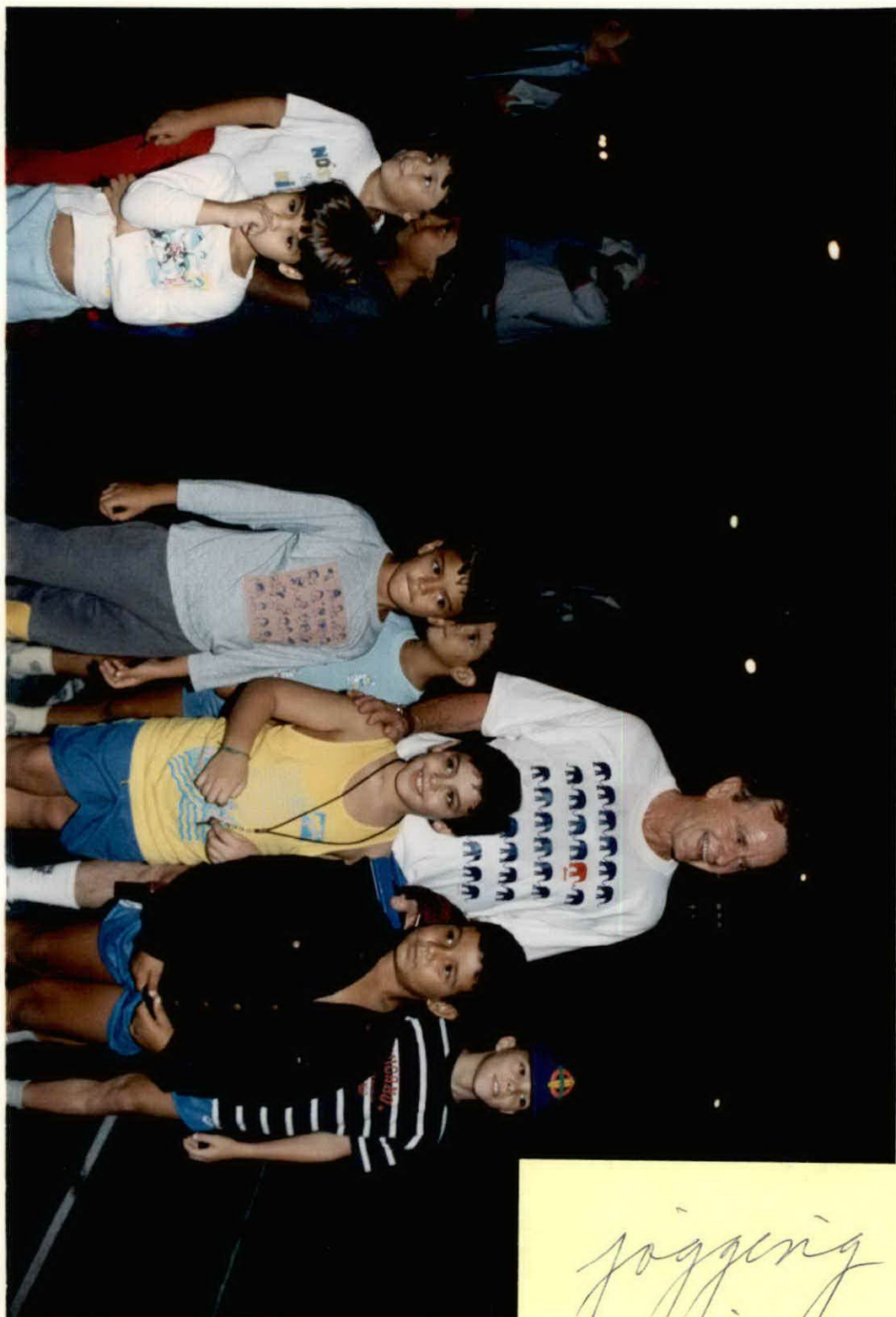
(Called Nick Calio and he recommends you return the call. Apparently Cong Dornan is having a difficult primary and he wants to discuss it with you. Nick said Cong Dornan has campaigned for you in 34 states.)



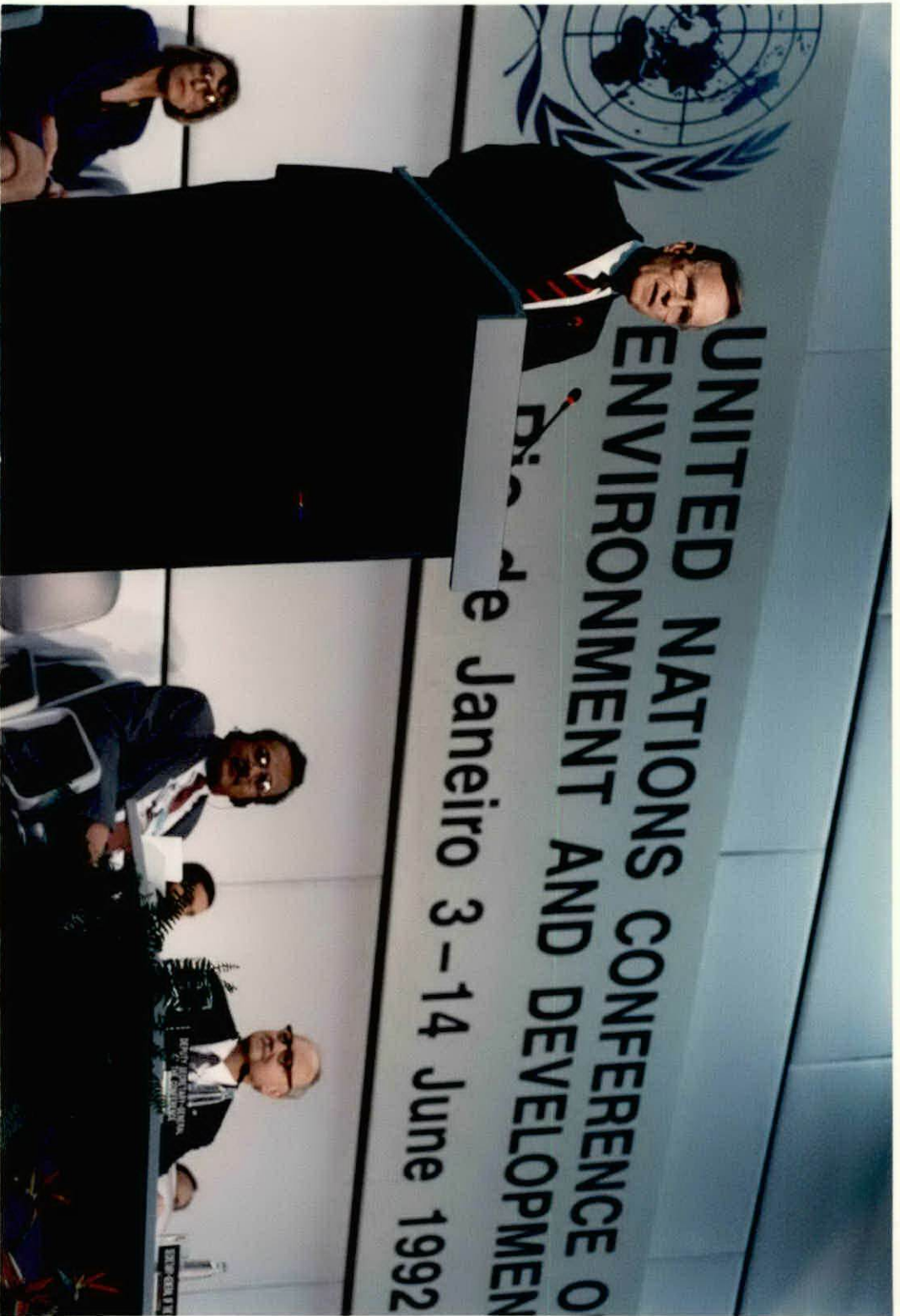




Birthday with
Pres. Collor
of Brazil



jogging
in
R10





President Bush dabbed his eyes after leaving the scene of a tear gas attack on protesters in Panama.

The House Rejects Amendment To Require a Balanced Budget

280-153 Vote in Favor Is Short of Needed Margin

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 11 — The passage of the amendment, from his House of Representatives today defeated two likely challengers, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Ross Perot, who both said the amendment was unnecessary. Mr. Bush, who appealed for votes personally this morning before leaving for Panama, issued a surprisingly non-partisan statement from his campaign headquarters. He promised Republicans and Democrats who "voted for America's future," and said the 153 dissenters mistook "the will of the American people." He emphasized that the amendment came "within a few votes" of passage, not that it was rejected.

In the House, opponents of the amendment contended that it would really do nothing to reduce the Federal deficit. Representative Mike Synar, Democrat of Oklahoma, called it "the constitutional equivalent of hanging garlic in the window to ward off vampires."

Representative Leon E. Panetta, the California Democrat who is chairman of the House Budget Committee, said: "No amendment balances the budget. No amendment makes the tough choices that need to be made." But the sponsor of the measure, Representative Charles W. Stenholm, Democrat of Texas, asserted that passing the amendment was an essential first step. "Change is in the air," he declared. "Change is in the air," he declared.

The vote was 280 to 153, with 118 Democrats and 164 Republicans voting for the amendment and 150 Democrats, 2 Republicans and an independent voting against passage. [Roll call, page B8.]

G.O.P. Campaign Issue

Some Republicans suggested afterward that while they had lost the vote, they had won a useful campaign issue. Indeed, it not only set them apart from most House Democrats, but it also distinguished President Bush, who urged

prove an amendment.

Responding to insistent lobbying by energetic to defeat the plan. Inside and outside Congress worked spread around the country, opponents likely. But once those impressions were certain and Senate approval very only weeks ago that House passage and of the widespread expectation here showing support for the amendment

The vote was a surprising Congressional repudiation of national polls showing support for the amendment and of the widespread expectation here only weeks ago that House passage was certain and Senate approval very likely. But once those impressions spread around the country, opponents inside and outside Congress worked energetically to defeat the plan.

When his Senate sponsor announced he would not seek a vote there.

House Rejects Amendment Requiring Balanced Budget

Continued From Page A1

clared on the floor of the House.

Representative Bob Smith, an Oregon Republican, said passage of the amendment would show that the House believed that "fiscal responsibility is a duty, not a dodge."

After the House vote Paul E. Simon, the Illinois Democrat who was the measure's leading supporter in the Senate, said: "There's no point in bringing it up this year. I intend to bring it up next year. Obviously, I'm disappointed."

Mr. Simon and his Senate allies could have pressed for a vote, hoping that the Senate would pass the amendment and send it to the House, where political circumstances and the approaching election might change votes. But he decided against that course, and George J. Mitchell of Maine, the Senate majority leader, welcomed his choice.

The amendment defeated today would have imposed, beginning in the fiscal year 1998, a requirement that the President propose and Congress adopt budgets in which total outlays did not exceed receipts. An exception could have been made only if three-fifths of the members of both houses had voted to allow deficit financing. An increase in the national debt would also have required three-fifths-votes in both houses.

The Democratic Strategy

There were several elements to the Democratic strategy to defeat the proposal. One of the most blatantly political was the assertion that the amendment threatened Social Security.

Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House majority leader,

Republicans say they lost a vote but gained a campaign issue.

the proposal but ultimately voted against it. "I'm very disappointed that many of our co-sponsors switched," Mr. Stenholm said grimly.

His office identified the 12 as Representatives Frank D. Annunzio of Illinois, John Kelly Horn of Missouri, Austin J. Murphy of Pennsylvania, Albert C. Bustamante of Texas, James R. Olin of Virginia, Gerald Kleczka of Wisconsin, Robin M. Tallon of South Carolina, Richard E. Neal of Massachusetts, Tom Lantos and Matthew G. Martinez of California, James A. Traficant of Ohio and Patricia Schroeder of Colorado.

With only two Republicans, Representative Bill Green of Manhattan and Benjamin A. Gilman of Orange County, voting against the measure, Democrats made an easy target for charges of partisanship.

On the House floor, Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the House Republican whip, began the barrage by saying, "If you think a huge Federal debt is O.K., vote no."

After the vote Representative Robert S. Walker of Pennsylvania followed up, saying: "It hurts the Democrats badly. If George Bush picks up on this as a theme it could help him enormously. All the President has to do is remind Americans of the Democrats cheering at the defeat of something 80 percent of them want."

But the House Speaker, Thomas S. Foley of Washington, rebuked Mr. Gingrich on the floor, saying he was guilty of "oversimplification and nonsense."

Mr. Foley said: "We all want to see the deficit reduced. We must do it." He added, "Let us summon the courage that is rhetorically abroad in this House today and apply it to the task of reducing the deficit, of restoring fiscal sanity to the country, but let us do it by sparing the Constitution."

The Stenholm proposal was actually put to two votes. First it was adopted as an amendment, after the defeat of the Gephardt proposal and two other plans. But when that vote came out at 279 to 153, it was clear that the margin was not close enough to hope for the two-thirds majority on final passage, and Democrats cheered.

They cheered again a few minutes later when the final 280-to-153 vote was announced.

The first two proposals rejected were similar to the Stenholm amendment, but with some notable variations.

offered a substitute proposal that would have permanently exempted Social Security taxes and payments from the budget, so there would be no opportunity to cut benefits to reduce the deficit.

While it was overwhelmingly defeated in mid-afternoon, 327 to 103, it provided political cover for some nervous Democrats who voted for it and against the Stenholm measure.

Groups representing the elderly were mobilized to telephone wavering members. And Representative Mary Rose Oakar, an Ohio Democrat who survived a primary vote last week despite her connection with the House bank and post office scandals, rose near the end of the debate and warned, "Don't let them raid the Social Security trust fund!"

Tax Increase Predicted

House members were also warned repeatedly of likely tax increases if a balanced-budget amendment was made law. They further charged that it would make it impossible to deal with future recessions, because a minority could prevent deficit spending.

Representative Les AuCoin, Democrat of Oregon, argued it would lead to "a staggering tax increase and leave us with a wrecked economy."

Lobbying by groups such as those representing elderly and retired people helped get the Democrats to a point to block passage. Perhaps equally effective was the decision by the United States Chamber of Commerce to oppose the proposal because of a fear that it would lead to increased taxes. That provided more cover for Democrats who were uncomfortable with the amendment, but needed more reasons. That was the especially true for the

Line-Item Veto Rejected

One of them, sponsored by two Republicans, Representatives Jon Kyl of Arizona and George F. Allen of Virginia, was rejected, with 254 voting against the proposal and 170 voting for it.

The proposal would have limited Federal expenditures to 19 percent of the gross national product and given the President a line-item veto that he has long called for, under which he could reject particular parts of an appropriations bill instead of having to accept or reject the entire measure.

Mr. Gingrich, the second-ranking Republican in the House, called the plan "the one chance to shrink the budget-spending side by cutting out the pork barrel that is not necessary, is not vital."

But the proposal to limit spending was quickly criticized by Mr. Panetta. "When you start using mindless formulas and build them into the Constitution, we become mindless," he said in the debate before the final vote.

The sponsors defended the limit as equal to the average of what had been spent in the last 25 years.

The other proposal, offered by Representatives Joe L. Barton, Republican of Texas, and W. J. (Billy) Tauzin, Democrat of Louisiana, was also rejected, but by a slightly closer vote, with 227 opposed and 200 in favor. This measure would have prohibited Federal revenue from growing faster than the increase in national income, except by another three-fifths vote, thus making it much harder to



The House yesterday defeated by nine votes a constitutional amendment to require a balanced Federal budget. Following an early morning meeting with President Bush, House members who led the fight for the amendment watched his helicopter lift off as he left for the Earth Summit.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

BUSH MADE TO FLEE A RALLY IN PANAMA AS PROTEST ERUPTS

SHOTS AND TEAR GAS FIRED

President Is Unharmed as Trip to Earth Summit in Brazil Has a Rocky Beginning

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

PANAMA, June 11 — President Bush's journey to Brazil and the Earth Summit took a harrowing turn in Panama today as gunshots and tear gas were fired at a nearby protest, forcing Mr. Bush to make a hasty exit before he could address a rally.

Mr. Bush and his wife, Barbara, were not injured in the incident, which occurred at midafternoon in downtown Panama City. The gunfire and the gas, which drifted into a crowd of more than 15,000 Panamanians who had gathered to hear Mr. Bush, created a panic that briefly threatened to envelop the platform on which the President sat.

Surrounded by Secret Service agents and dabbling tears from their eyes, Mr. Bush and his wife walked to their motorcade and sped away, abandoning a rally that was to have recalled the glories of the United States invasion of Panama in 1989.

Bush Plays Down Incident

The authorities later said that the gunshots had been warning shots fired by the police to dispel protesters, but that could not be confirmed. Perhaps a score of Mr. Bush's Secret Service agents could be seen with their guns and rifles draw during the incident, but officials later said that their guns were not used. There were no reports that anyone was hit by the gunfire.

Neither of the Bushes appeared to be more than mildly affected by the tear gas. But the incident was a rocky beginning to Mr. Bush's three-day trip to Brazil and a clear source of frustration among White House aides, who had planned to use the Panama stop to remind Americans at home of an Administration success story.

Before leaving Panama for Rio, Mr. Bush told American military personnel and Panamanian onlookers at Albrook Air Base that the incident was "a little ripple" on an otherwise successful visit.

Resentment Over Invasion

"No tiny little left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back," he told the cheering Panamanians in the crowd.

Even before the President's arrival, the atmosphere in Panama had been soured by violent demonstrations to protest the visit. An attack by gunmen Wednesday on a military vehicle outside the capital that left a United States soldier dead and another wounded.

Anti-American feelings in Panama

Bush Is Forced to Flee Rally in Panama

Continued From Page A1

are still high among those resenting the killings and destruction associated with the American invasion in 1989 that ousted General Manuel Antonio Noriega from power.

The rally for Mr. Bush today was planned for the area in and around Plaza Porras, a city square where some Panamanians gathered to cheer the President.

The crowd had just finished serenading him with "Happy Birthday" in honor of his 68th birthday on Friday when loud noises erupted and clouds of tear gas wafted in.

Secret Service agents surrounded Mr. Bush, and soon hurried him away, along with President Guillermo Endara of Panama, who was also at the speaker's platform.

The chief of the Secret Service detail accompanying Mr. Bush, John McGaw, said later that agents had begun moving to evacuate the President from the plaza after Panamanian authorities were seen drawing their weapons at a location he did not identify.

"There was no indication of our agents firing," he said. "There was some local authority gunfire and other gunfire we have not identified."

After the rally, Mr. Bush's physician, Dr. Burt Lee, said that the President was "O.K., absolutely fine." But he said Mr. Bush, whose eyes appeared to be red and swollen during the incident, had suffered minor ill effects from the tear gas.

The rally that Mr. Bush was to address had been carefully assembled under tight security and equipped with thousands of tiny American and Panamanian flags for the event.

'A Symbol of Democracy'

According to prepared remarks released earlier, Mr. Bush was to have proclaimed that democracy in Panama had been reborn under President Endara.

Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, called the matter unfortunate, but added that "in some sense, it is a symbol of democracy that there can be protesters" in Panama.

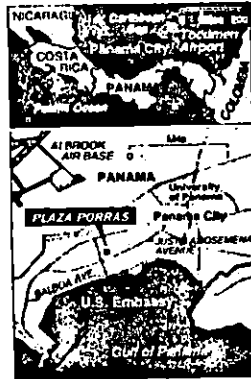
"It's been a very good trip, with the exception of the tear gas," he said.

Mr. Bush left Panama aboard Air Force One at about 5:30 P.M. Eastern daylight time for Rio, where he was expected to arrive about midnight.

After the Bushes left, the Panamanian police waded through streets near the park, arresting protesters and wrestling some who resisted to the ground.

The President's motorcade to downtown Panama City had been given a generally warm reception from thousands of Panamanians who lined the roads of more affluent parts of town. Although some signs of protest were seen in some poorer neighborhoods.

The Bushes and President Endara entered the Plaza Porras at about 2:40 P.M. Panama time (3:40 P.M. Eastern



President Bush and his wife fled from Plaza Porras after the police fired tear gas at protesters.

daylight time) and were greeted by cheers from a crowd that spilled into several side streets.

But in the hours before his visit, demonstrators staged protests at several points near the rally, burning tires and chanting anti-American slogans.

Chants of 'Assassin'

Some were heard to be chanting "Assassin, assassin" as the President entered the square, and they quickly began throwing rocks and coconuts from nearby palm trees at riot police.

As Panamanian politicians were beginning their introductions of Mr. Bush, the police fired canisters of a choking gas at the demonstrators, and a breeze carried clouds of the gas into the plaza.

On the dais under the obelisks, Secret Service agents slowly rose and began to calmly surround Mr. Bush, who at first appeared to brush off their advance.

As the gas spread, Mr. Endara, Mayor Ominor Currea and the President all began to show obvious discomfort, removing eyeglasses and wiping their eyes. Mr. Bush at one point drew out a handkerchief and began dabbing at his face.

After about two minutes, during which Mr. Bush and the agents exchanged talk and pointed at the crowd, the agents converged on the President and Mrs. Bush and hustled them off the dais.

Beneath them, only about 10 feet away, the crowd surged past and toward the President, straining at wooden barriers that had been erected to separate them from the speakers' platform.

As the exit was taking place, a squad of uniformed Secret Service agents loaded automatic rifles and donned gas

masks as in preparation for combat. More agents and other unidentified officials, in plainclothes and business suits, surrounded the new convoy, drew revolvers and held them at the ready.

Mr. Fitzwater later said that officials believed that the gunfire heard at the scene came from Panamanian authorities firing warning shots, not from an exchange with protesters.

"We don't believe the President was in any immediate danger," he said.

American Embassy officials asserted that the demonstrations this week in Panama had been somewhat more violent than usual, but that the level of anti-American unrest in Panama has generally been diminishing.

They said that most of the activity has stemmed from remnants of groups that supported General Noriega and from some families who lost their homes or relatives during the United States invasion.

Mr. Endara's press spokesman, Louie Martinez, expressed anguish over the disturbance.

"It was really unfortunate," he said, "and it could have been avoided, in hindsight. They shouldn't have let them get so close to the plaza."

Mr. Martinez said the incident had been triggered by what he called "a small group of leftist Noriega supporters" who have worked to incite local university students against the American presence here.

He also said that no gunshots had been fired until the President was leaving the scene, but this could not be confirmed.



President Bush and his wife, Barbara, were enveloped yesterday by Secret Service agents in Panama City. The tear gas fired on anti-American demonstrators apparently only mildly affected the President.

Despite Distrust, Most Panamanians Seem Friendly to U.S.

By SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN

The protests in Panama during President Bush's stopover there yesterday underscored lingering resentment against the United States in some sectors at a time when most of the Panamanian nation seems to look to Washington with friendly eyes.

Aside from the general willingness among the underemployed in Latin America to join street actions, the protests could most probably have come from two sources. One would be supporters of the former military ruler, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, who was captured in the American invasion of December 1989 and tried and convicted in Miami on drug-trafficking charges.

But such people do not seem to be numerous. No one demonstrated in his favor when General Noriega was convicted this year.

A Government official recently said most Panamanians viewed the American invasion as a belated

righting of an old wrong: the rise to power of General Noriega in 1981 and the long United States tolerance of his excesses in exchange for his help in gathering intelligence.

The second source of continuing distrust of the United States is a group of old-style leftist professors in the national university and their

military bases in the former Canal Zone.

Panamanian political leaders now say that the leftist influence in the university is on the decline and that a recent poll among academicians found that many of them share a widespread national feeling that the United States should not completely pull out of Panama when the canal passes to Panamanian sovereignty.

In 1903 the United States, under President Theodore Roosevelt, conspired with leaders of what was then a region of Colombia to break the area off and create the independent nation of Panama. That led to construction of the Panama Canal and produced a nation tied to the United States by an umbilical cord that is still not completely cut.

President Guillermo Endara was elected in the last year of the Noriega Government, but was denied the right to take office until the United States invaded and installed him in power.

His Government has been excep-

tionally dependent on American aid and advice as it rebuilds economically and politically. The President, his key aides and the American Ambassador, Deane R. Hinton, have breakfast together once a week in a meeting that many Panamanians view as the place where important decisions are taken.

Although Panama has made a remarkable economic recovery from the invasion and the two years of economic decline that preceded the military action, President Endara has been sharply criticized as ineffective and directionless, particularly by the Christian Democratic Party, originally an important part of his coalition.

Despite the strong economic growth in the last year, it has not been fast enough to soak up all of the unemployment. The Balboa area at the northern end of the canal has suffered the most, with unemployment there estimated as high as 50 percent, which has produced regular street protests in recent months.

Endara is very dependent on Washington.

student supporters. The academic world was the breeding place for the strong nationalism of the 1960's and 70's, but it was largely quieted by the Panama Canal Treaties in which the United States promised to hand over control of the canal by the end of this century and close its

On Eve of Visit to U.S., Yeltsin Reaffirms Russia's Commitment to Reforms

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, June 11 — President Boris N. Yeltsin said today that he would soon issue decrees lifting some of the major barriers to privatization. But at the same time he declared he would not permit the West to dictate economic policy to Russia, even if it meant delays in Western aid.

Mr. Yeltsin made the statements in an interview four days before he leaves for a state visit to the United States in which money and arms will be the central issues. He spoke on the eve of the first anniversary of his election as Russia's President — a day he has proclaimed a national holiday and Russian Independence Day.

The combination of a Russian's native pride and Mr. Yeltsin's yearning to bring democracy and economic freedom to his country came to the surface repeatedly in an 85-minute meeting with representatives of five foreign news organizations.

Mr. Yeltsin spoke with satisfaction of his invitation to address a joint session of Congress, and he declared that his relationship with President Bush "will be at least not worse, and I believe better" than Mr. Bush had with Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the last President of the defunct Soviet Union.

He indicated that he could use the American visit to issue decrees on private ownership of property, whose blockage by the Russian Parliament has been a major obstacle to large-scale privatization of state industries. Asked whether he was ready to use his presidential powers to override the Parliament, Mr. Yeltsin said he was, and added, "I think I will bring a surprise to the U.S."

Battles at I.M.F.

At the same time, when asked about reports that an agreement with the International Monetary Fund over a \$24-billion aid package was being delayed because of questions in Washington over the progress of economic reforms — and especially delays in freeing the price of oil — Mr. Yeltsin became curt.

"I believe an agreement will be signed, and any delay in signing is linked only to this: that we will not sign any agreement under the dicta of the I.M.F.," he said.

The I.M.F. package is regarded as a key element in establishing a convertible ruble and in encouraging Western investment. Mr. Yeltsin acknowledged that an agreement could open the way to large-scale investment, but he argued that Russia and its reforms were unique, and that misguided I.M.F. proposals could prove disastrous.

"We have a Russia that the I.M.F. does not know, and a Russian people that the I.M.F. does not know," he said. "Therefore there is a process on this agreement. But once again, I declare that if the I.M.F. insists that we immediately release prices on fuel, we will not agree. We know cases in the world when some countries suffered a crisis from the recommendations of the I.M.F."

Concern for Harvest

Mr. Yeltsin said his main concern was that farm workers would have trouble with their harvests if fuel prices rose. "I can tell you today they would not cope," he said.

"We should not think that \$24 billion



President Boris N. Yeltsin, who declared yesterday that he would not permit the West to dictate economic policy to Russia, even if it meant delays in Western aid to the struggling republic.

will save the situation in Russia," he said. "Essentially these are our concerns, our difficulties, our problems, they are for us to resolve — for the leadership, the president and the people."

But he agreed that if Russia did receive I.M.F. support, the reforms "would go faster, with less risk." Approval of the I.M.F. package, he said further, would open the gates "to a powerful flow of private capital."

Mr. Yeltsin also said that he expected to sign with President Bush what he called a "framework agreement on principles of deeper cuts in nuclear weapons." He said work was continuing on this document, and that final issues could be resolved when he meets Mr. Bush on Tuesday and Wednesday. He gave no details on what levels the

United States officials had held that Mr. Baker would make such a trip only if the Russians gave some indication that the remaining differences might be bridged.

It is not known exactly how close the two sides are to an accord. After their talks on Monday and Tuesday in Washington, Mr. Baker and Mr. Kozyrev said they still needed to agree on an overall numerical ceiling on long-range nuclear warheads, sub-ceilings on various different weapons and an understanding on how quickly certain missiles would be phased out.

It was unclear in the interview whether Mr. Yeltsin was genuinely annoyed at the United States stance on arms control or the I.M.F.'s views on aid, or whether he was trying to put the best political face on a summit meeting when he knows the country he leads is no longer a military or economic challenge to his host.

In the interview, as in another one published in Izvestia today, he seemed most anxious to counter any notion that he was heading for Washington as a supplicant, even while he seemed to take pride in the voyage.

Strength From History

Mr. Yeltsin argued ardently that Russia's status derived from its illustrious history, and not — as he said it was for the United States and the former Soviet Union — from the number of its nuclear warheads.

"This is what is most important for a great power, its history," he said. "Today in every corner of the globe they know what Russia is. The people are creative, intelligent, industrious, the culture is known the world over since the 17th century, especially the 18th century."

He announced that he intended to meet, or at least telephone, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the writer who was deported from the Soviet Union in 1974, to urge him to return home. He also stressed that he was the first leader of the Soviet Union or of Russia to address a joint session of Congress, as if to underscore that his visit was of a special rank.

Mr. Yeltsin also spoke of the challenge he faced in his mission of bringing democracy and a market economy to Russia.

"We need to struggle for the implementation" of reforms, he said. "It is a very difficult process. Russia is unique, the reforms are unique. Other countries know what private property was, but in this country such an understanding was even erased from the memories of their descendants, because we were already down to the second or third generation."

Committed to Reforms

Mr. Yeltsin declared he remained fully committed to reforms and to the policies of his chief economist, First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor T. Gaidar. Questions over his policies had surfaced with the appointments of several new ministers, including naming of major industries who some believe may try to slow reforms.

"First, by no means does this mean any slowing down in the reforms, because the President of Russia is no slowing the pace of reforms," he said.

The New York Times

The Earth Summit: The Bargaining and the Bargainers

Pact on Environment Near, But Hurdles on Aid Remain

By PAUL LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 11 — A multibillion-dollar aid package to help save the developing world's environmental resources took shape here today as national leaders began arriving for the Earth Summit's concluding phase.

After working through the night, negotiators were said to have agreed on almost all aspects of an ambitious package of measures to promote environmentally sustainable development in the poorer south, but officials said the United States contribution was likely to be small.

Negotiators still struggled to resolve their differences over the aid that the wealthier industrial nations of the

compromise. "Involving the heads of state and government personally will give us a better result," Mr. Strong told a news conference today. "By Sunday we hope they will have produced a full agreement for approval by the summit's final plenary session."

But diplomats said the decision to involve heads of state and government in the final talks reflected the intractable difficulties that have arisen and that can now be resolved only by compromises at the highest political level.

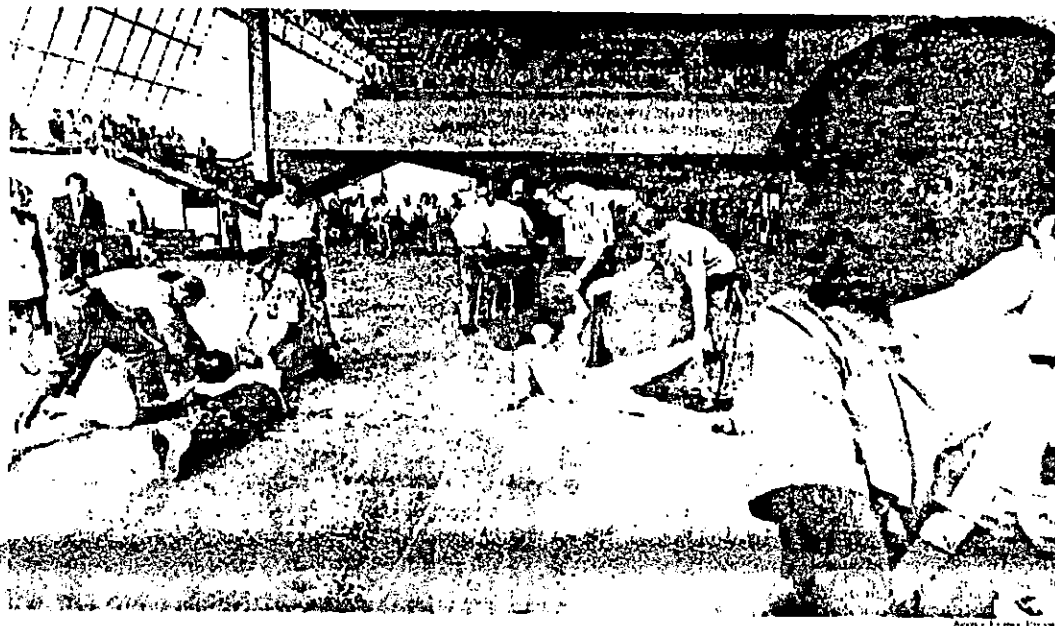
As their price for agreeing to Agenda 21, the plan for making economic development environmentally sustainable, developing countries want the industrialized world to meet a 20-year-old commitment to raise its aid to seven-tenths of 1 percent of its economic output by 2000, from four-tenths of 1 percent at present.

How Much Is Wanted

They also want donors to enlarge the size of the \$1.4 billion Global Environmental Facility that they set up three years ago in the World Bank and to add a special "earth increment" to the World Bank agency that supplies loans on easier terms so it can provide virtually free environmental aid to the very poorest nations.

The United States, which has contributed \$50 million to the Global Environmental Facility so far, is prepared to consider an increase, and is ready to study an "earth increment," officials say. Washington is also offering \$150 million in new aid to help developing countries safeguard their forests.

But today the Deputy Under Secre-



Negotiations and demonstrations continued to swirl yesterday around the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. While delegates sought a compromise on how to finance the ecological efforts, United Nations police officers restrained protesters angry about U.S. environmental policies.

The goals are clear. Who pays is less clear.

north would offer the poor nations of the south to offset the extra cost that the latter face for safeguarding the environment and preserving disappearing forests.

Talks Through the Weekend

As a result of the continuing standoff, the Earth Summit's chief organizing officer, Maurice Strong of Canada, announced today that negotiations on these matters would continue into the weekend so that President Bush and other leaders can help shape the final

tary of State for Economic Affairs, Michael Young, reiterated Washington's long-standing refusal to accept any target for its overall aid, arguing that such targets cannot reflect the developing world's ability to absorb the money. He also said such loan commitments absolve poor countries from the

need to attract foreign investment. Instead, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, William K. Reilly, presented a plan to implement a new convention curbing emission of the so-called greenhouse gases working quickly; most of the plan has already been announced.

Mr. Reilly also said President Bush would propose a global inventory of biological resources when he addresses the Earth Summit on Friday.

European and other Western countries, which have all accepted in principle the aid target of seven-tenths of 1 percent, are now trying to convince leaders in the developing world that they will increase environmental aid to secure an agreement here — even if many will not commit themselves to reach that figure by a particular date.

Several delegations have already indicated that their leaders may present new aid offers when they address the Earth Summit. As a result, developing countries say they are waiting to see just what is offered.

"We want to see what they come up with, so the negotiations will go on for another day or two," said Jamshed A. Markar, Pakistan's Ambassador to the United Nations, who is also spokesman for the Group of 77, as the developing countries call themselves.

An Offer From Japan

Japanese officials have said Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa plans to announce an increase in the amount of environmental aid that Japan offers to developing countries to \$1.4 billion a year over the next five years, from about \$800 million a year between 1989 and 1991.

But in order not to embarrass President Bush, these officials say, Mr. Miyazawa probably will delay announcing plans to raise Japan's total development aid to \$70 billion during the coming five years from \$50 billion over the last five years. The announcement could come at the Munich summit meeting of the seven major indus-

trial democracies in early July.

Meanwhile, the 12 members of the European Community are also putting together a \$4.3 billion package of environmental aid projects, which they plan to present at the final session.

While the package will include both existing projects and some new money, European diplomats hope it will encourage developing countries to compromise.

Forest Talks Also Blocked

The continuing standoff over money has contributed to the stalemate between North and South over steps to preserve the world's forests.

Tougher senior United States officials said Washington had virtually abandoned its hopes of securing a firm commitment to negotiate a binding international convention to safeguard forests in the set of principles on forest conservation that Washington still hopes the Earth Summit will adopt.

"We are not going to get a convention," the officials said. "It's too much of an article of faith for the Group of 77."

But Malaysia, which has opposed even a non-binding set of forestry principles, was reported by delegates to be adopting a more flexible stand, at least, which has the world's largest forests, was said to be anxious to promote a compromise to assure success at the meetings to which it has played host.

Thus, diplomats said, India has emerged as the developing country most opposed to any move by the Earth Summit that might imply international responsibility for the fate of world's remaining forests.

U.S. Delegation in Rio Strained and Divided Over Policy

By JAMES BROOKE
Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 11 — In an Earth Summit exhibition hall as vast as an aircraft hangar, office space rented by the United States ranks 14th in size, equal to the 1,202 square feet rented by Kuwait.

Squeezed into cramped quarters, assailed in daily protests as Earth Summit villains and undercut by criticism from officials in Washington, the United States delegation suffers from internal divisions and what some members say is the plummeting morale of an endangered species.

"We have had our shouting matches," a State Department official who is part of the delegation said, referring to strains resulting from splits over policy and bad press.

Delegates say the 60-member American team carried in its bags to Rio the rivalries and policy splits of Washington's bureaucracies that deal with environmental issues. These include the Environmental Protection Agency, the White House and the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, Interior and Energy.

Helping bridge some of the differences is a

friendship between the delegation's top two leaders, William K. Reilly, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and Curtis Bolden, Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans, International Environment and Scientific Affairs. In the 1980's, both worked at the World Wildlife Fund where Mr. Reilly was president of the conservation group.

Submerging Their Convictions

But people in the delegation say both men have had to submerge their personal convictions to comply with orders from a conservative White House, which opposes making concessions on environmental issues. Both men worked hard this year to prepare a treaty to protect plants and animals, known as the biodiversity treaty, that could be supported by the United States.

"Our people have not been buffeted by this," Mr. Reilly asserted when asked about his problems in Rio. "Our delegation has been functioning very efficiently. We are veterans of two years of negotiations on these issues."

In news conferences and interviews at Rio, both Mr. Reilly and Mr. Bolden publicly defend President Bush's decision not to sign the treaty in Rio. The President has sided with aides

opposed to the treaty out of concern that American bio-technology companies would not receive full protection. The Administration also worries that the United States would be committed to disbursing money to poor countries.

Last week an Administration official made public a private memo from Mr. Reilly in which he appealed to the White House to compromise and accept the bio-diversity treaty. Mr. Reilly was rebuffed, although Mr. Bush later expressed confidence in him. Nevertheless, a friend of Mr. Reilly who was in Rio this week said he had considered resigning. He said a telephone call to Mr. Bush persuaded him that he still had Presidential backing.

"Bill believes he can still do more inside the Government," the friend said. "I think he is confusing a friendship with the Bush family for real power."

But on Wednesday, delegation members learned that in Washington, a senior Administration official had told reporters at a briefing that the Earth Summit was "a circus."

"They just don't get it," an American delegate said, asserting that there was disdain among conservative Republicans for the Earth Summit.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

U.S. Would Send Troops Only in a Relief Role

By ERIC SCHMITT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 11 — The United States is prepared to send troops to help supply and safeguard humanitarian aid to Bosnia and Herzegovina but has ruled out using troops in combat, officials said today.

While President Bush said "there's no commitment" on sending troops, other officials said troops might go, but only in humanitarian roles.

"We will do what we should do, but I'm not going to go into the fact of using United States troops," Mr. Bush said today before leaving for Panama and Brazil. "We're not the world's policemen."

Administration officials have said in recent days that Washington was willing to assist the relief effort led by the United Nations. Statements today by officials at the Pentagon and the State Department brought into sharper focus the preparations being made and the conditions under which assistance would be sent.

The Pentagon's View

The Defense Department spokesman, Pete Williams, said United States military assistance hinged on securing a cease-fire at the airport in Sarajevo and on receiving a specific request from the United Nations.

"There has been no request from the United Nations for United States support," Mr. Williams told reporters today. "Even so, we're actively looking at how best we could support the United Nations effort to get the humanitarian aid to Bosnia. I would say the United States is prepared to help the United Nations provide humanitarian relief."

Mr. Williams said the United States had already provided aid to other for-

mer Yugoslav republics. Two United States Air Force C-5 cargo planes had delivered 40 tons of food to Zagreb, the Croatian capital, on May 16 for delivery to Sarajevo. Because of the fighting, the delivery has been redirected to the area around Split, Croatia, he said.

More Food to Be Shipped

Later this month, Mr. Williams said, 155 bulk containers of food are to be shipped to Zagreb for distribution by the Red Cross and the United Nations; the food is being sent from Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and Pisa, Italy.

Senior United States policymakers and military officials have expressed deep reservations about the risks and prospects of military involvement in the Balkans. "Any action we'd take would be coordinated within the United Nations effort," said one general.

Two senior Pentagon officials said there had been no discussions of deploying troops in combat roles. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are said to be strongly opposed to such a move.

White House

Quayle, at Anti-Abortion Meeting, Presses 'Cultural Elite' Attack

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

ARLINGTON, Va., June 11 — Vice President Quayle took his campaign for traditional values to the nation's largest anti-abortion group today, with a full-throated, almost joyful iteration of the kind of social conservatism that fired the Republican Party in the 1980's.

Greeted by chants of "Four More Years!" and posters that declared, "Murphy Brown Doesn't Speak for Me," Mr. Quayle asserted that he would press his case even though the "cultural elites" in "some of our newsrooms, sitcom studios and faculty lounges" may not like it. "We're going to speak up for life," he declared. "We're going to speak up for family values. We're going to speak up for America."

In a series of hot-blooded speeches in recent weeks, Mr. Quayle has fired the opening round in a new politics of values, 1992-style, which many conservatives hope will revitalize the ailing Republican coalition. "It resonates with the core beliefs of most Americans," said Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the Republican whip in the House and one of several conservatives

pushing the emphasis on values. "Think of it as a Reader's Digest versus The Village Voice campaign."

But the strategy has its critics and skeptics, in both parties.

Democrats assert that the Republicans are simply up to their old tricks, playing one more variation on flags and furloughs, the symbols used to portray Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic nominee, as soft on crime and too much a creature of the "Harvard boutique" to sign a law requiring schoolchildren to say the pledge of allegiance.

Democrats Question Leadership

"George Bush had no agenda to run on in '88, and he has no accomplishments to run on in '92," said James Carville, a top strategist for Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the presumed Democratic nominee. "So they dust off the Republican manual, which is go to wedge issues: 'We can't lead the country so maybe we can divide it.'"

Others question how well a "values" campaign will work in the hard-bitten politics of 1992, when voters are consumed with the state of the economy and a host of other domestic woes. Don Sipple, a Republican consultant who

worked for the Bush campaign earlier this year, says such appeals may help with the conservative base, but may seem "off the mark or irrelevant to the concerns" of the suburban voters who often decide elections.

Moreover, voters have a third option in 1992, which they lacked in 1988. No one is quite sure how ideological or values-based appeals will work in a three-way race, particularly since Ross Perot, so far, has shown the ability to draw support across the ideological continuum.

Some political professionals argue that both the Republican and Democratic nominees should simply move, respectively, right and left, and concentrate on galvanizing their base, since they can win with a plurality. But both the Bush and the Clinton campaigns seem aware of the dangers of that strategy, which would leave a huge opening for Mr. Perot.

'Uncertain and Concerned'

Regardless of that strategic debate, advocates of Mr. Quayle's values initiative argue that it has appeal far beyond the conservative wing of the party. They say that it speaks to the bleak national mood and the sense of drift that shows up in numerous public opinion polls.

One Bush Administration official, who spoke on condition he not be identified, said of Americans, "They're uncertain and concerned about the values their kids are being taught, the culture they're growing into."

In his speeches, Mr. Quayle draws a line in the sand between the "cultural elite" and "the common sense of the average citizen," as he put it today. "The cultural elite don't want me to talk about values, but the American people do," he said. Speaking to the annual convention of the National Right to Life Committee here, he portrayed the fight over abortion as a war between these groups, with their competing values.

"People like yourselves don't just talk about the value of human life," he said, "You reflect it in your lives and enshrine it in your homes."

'God's Greatest Gift'

"Contrast that with the orientation of the cultural elite," he added. "It avoids responsibility and flees from the consequences of its self-indulgence. If, as a result of one's own actions, a child is conceived, they have a simple solution:

greatest gift — new life — as an inconvenience to be discarded."

The abortion issue, however, points to another political danger of Republican appeals to values; Republicans themselves are divided over it.

Reflecting those political realities, Mr. Quayle's speech today emphasized putting additional restrictions on abortion, even though the Republican platform calls for a constitutional amendment that would outlaw it. "The majority of Americans support limitations on abortion," the Vice President said.

It is unclear how much Mr. Bush will focus on values this fall; he is already giving speeches on the importance of family, but they are far more muted than Mr. Quayle's. Mr. Perot, for his part, seems to be both appealing to the nation's patriotism and fondest mythology, and ready to scoff at Republican attempts to push similar buttons.

The Dallas billionaire, who delights in painting the Bush campaign as ineffectual and deeply political, all but sneers at Mr. Quayle's concern over the fictional character Murphy Brown, who became an unwed mother.

"If anybody in the world should be able to understand the Murphy Brown story, it's the Republican Party in the White House, because their whole lives are driven by ratings," Mr. Perot said this morning on NBC's "Today" show. "Murphy Brown had that baby the way she had it to get ratings."

Clinton Belltles Attack

And Mr. Clinton gave a preview today of his response to a values attack. "I'm getting tired of people who have responsibility for the American people — like the Vice President — pretending that the only problem we have is the absence of values," he said.

"They never talk about their responsibility to the people that do observe all those values," he said. "Look at Los Angeles. Most of the people did not riot, did not loot, did not burn. But they're still faced with declining incomes and difficult lives. What about them? They are the people I'm running to help."

Asked if Mr. Quayle was attempting to drive a wedge between Americans, Mr. Clinton replied: "I think that's what he wants to do. But I'm not going to permit it."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The President's Trip to Rio

In an election year the media have a tendency to react cynically to anything new proposed by political leaders. That tendency seemed to guide The Post's recent editorial "The 'Environmental President'" [June 7].

President Bush has submitted an excellent forestry proposal for the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. This initiative is not, as the editorial suggested, an attempt to deflect complaints about U.S. refusal to sign other treaties. The president has been promoting this idea aggressively since first proposing a forestry convention two years ago at the Houston Economic Summit.

His goal is simple: He seeks to encourage the balanced and prudent use of forest resources everywhere. He has made unprecedented commitments to forest conservation and development here in the United States, seeking to plant 1 billion trees a year for the next decade, and requesting unparalleled levels of support for forest management. His forestry convention could preserve global biodiversity, reduce carbon dioxide buildup, make possible great breakthroughs in medical science and create new jobs in developing nations and in the United States.

The United States has rejected just

one treaty in Rio, a "biodiversity" treaty that asks the United States and other developing nations to put up money that developing countries would spend as they see fit. The American public is already unhappy with foreign aid programs where *we* decide how to spend our money. The people would be doubly unhappy if asked to help finance agreements where someone else makes the spending choices.

The biodiversity treaty also runs against present U.S. efforts to protect our citizens' intellectual property rights—patents and copyrights. The proposal demands the transfer of our technology to the developing world. We believe it also could lead to the pirating of technology that we do not transfer voluntarily.

It is important to note that the Rio conference will produce an excellent convention on global warming. It does not contain a stabilization proposal mentioned in the editorial—and for good reasons. President Bush decided not to hamstring the U.S. economy with commitments that could hamper economic growth and reduce the number of jobs available for American workers.

The agreement that delegates will sign can help produce a cleaner envi-

ronment. It requires nations to establish action plans for meeting the global warming challenge and to begin implementing those plans almost immediately. It also subjects the implementation of these plans to regular review by participating nations.

The United States led the way in developing this innovative approach, which enables nations to find the best ways of achieving overall reductions in greenhouse gases. This strategy already has led to the rapid reduction of chlorofluorocarbon emissions worldwide, and no nation has done a better job of phasing out CFCs than the United States. It is noteworthy that only the United States and the Netherlands have gone so far as to prepare plans for immediate action on greenhouse gases.

Other nations may talk a good show in Rio, but the United States is producing results now. President Bush has taken a balanced, sensible position on the issue of environment and development. His actions back his rhetoric, and his environmental record defies the cynical assertions contained in The Post's editorial.

CLAYTON YEUTTER
Counsellor to the President
For Domestic Policy
Washington

Election Hazards

I enjoyed Ruth Walker's June 1 letter, "Next in Line for President," responding to my May 20 op-ed piece. However, I did not state that the election of 1824 was the only one decided by the House. In describing the 12th Amendment, I said: "It provides that if no presidential candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the new House of Representatives decides the winner. That has happened only once [in 1824]."

"That" refers to the contingency of no presidential candidate receiving a majority of the electoral votes. The problem in 1800-1801 was that both Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr received a majority of the electoral votes, because under Article II of the original Constitution every electoral college member voted for two candidates, of whom only one could be from

the member's own state. Under the original Article II, the person having the greatest number of votes became the president "if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed," and the person having the next greatest number became vice president. Article II further provided: "If there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes," then the choice goes over to the House. That is what happened in 1800-1801.

As a result, the 12th Amendment was adopted in 1804 to provide that the electors first cast a ballot for president and then cast a separate ballot for a different person for vice president.

LLOYD N. CUTLER
Washington

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

"I DON'T THINK I CAN TAKE PEROT OR BUSH AT THIS HOUR — HOW ABOUT THE CLINTON CHANNEL?"



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For the Record

From a Pacific News Service story yesterday by Rahul Bedi:

Women in India's northeast state of Manipur have discovered a foolproof way for curing their male relatives' alcohol addictions. Any man caught drinking by one of a mushrooming number of female temperance patrols is tied, naked, atop a donkey and paraded through the streets [and made to promise] never to drink again. . . .

Dubbed "Meira Paibis," or "torchbearers," because of the paraffin torches they carry, the women position themselves at street corners, whistling up reinforcements within minutes of detecting a clutch of drunk males. First they force their captives to disclose the whereabouts of the local still, which they destroy. Then they start the donkey treatment.

"Anyone caught by the patrols never wants a repeat experience and is usually cured of drinking," says a Manipur government official who asked that his name not be used. Senior officials enjoy no immunity, and even casual drinkers now make sure they are hundreds of miles away from the state before daring to drink alcohol. . . .

The Meira Paibi movement began as the All Manipur Prohibition Association after male alcoholism became endemic in this state and led to wife beating, breakup of homes and spiraling unemployment in the mid-1970s. Manipuri women petitioned the state and central governments to impose prohibition and in small numbers began patrolling city streets looking for drinking dens and their patrons. By the mid-1980s the movement's membership had risen to more than 30,000 women. . . . The success of Manipuri women in their anti-alcohol drive has encouraged women from the Himalayan states of Assam, Sikkim and the Garhwal hills of Uttar Pradesh to launch similar temperance campaigns.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Japan as a Peacekeeper

A PASSIONATE 18-month parliamentary debate has put Japan on the edge of being ready to approve its first overseas military deployment since World War II. The troops would be limited to authorized United Nations peacekeeping missions, would be intended for non-combat service only and would have to be approved by the Diet each time around. By others' standards it's pretty tame stuff, but in Japan and for Japan it's considered a major step toward starting to match the country's still-modest international participation to its formidable economic stature.

Traumatized by wartime defeat and then coming under close American tutelage, the Japanese reacted by conspicuously limiting their own military reach. Even now when they have a substantial military force (but one which takes only one percent of GNP), they limit its mission to self-defense and remain under an American umbrella for their broader security needs. Their strategic discretion fits with a pacifist strain that seems to suit Japan and its neighbors too.

Still, in recent years debate has intensified on the whole security issue. Not so much a strategic appetite—though there may be some of that—as a sense of international appropriateness has

prompted the Japanese to consider how they might expand their role. The gulf war found Japan paying heavily (\$13 billion) to fund military forces that provided great advantage to the Japanese but were fielded by others. Tokyo ended up being as much criticized for its hesitancy as lauded for its generosity. This incident jolted the Japanese government into getting more serious about raising its international profile. The parliament's hard-fought decision to take a part in U.N. peacekeeping, in a way that would advance U.N. purpose but not expose Japanese soldiers to risk, is a principal result.

It is often suggested that a war- and nuclear-chastened Japan, operating within distinct military limits including a no-war article in its American-written constitution, cannot only serve its own national interests but can also set a new internationally oriented security model for others. There's something to that. Certainly its special circumstances need to be appreciated by its allies. In volunteering for peacekeeping duty, Japan takes on a useful extra obligation in addition to its economic and diplomatic services. But somebody must still be around to handle the Saddam Husseins.

Back to Business in Fairfax

HAVING COME full political and economic circle, Fairfax County is again open for business in a big zoning way. By a 7 to 3 vote the county board has moved to ease building restrictions enacted by an earlier board in the middle of a boom that went bust with the recession. Though longtime advocates of tight controls see the latest vote as a body blow to the good life in Fairfax, the latest measure is not a repeal of all controls. And it isn't as if there were a long line of developers at the county's door waiting for a chance to pave over the place.

The plan, put forth by Supervisor Robert B. Dix Jr. and subject to a formal ratification June 22, would restore to developers the right to put up office buildings on industrially zoned land without special government permission. It also retains some limits on the sizes of buildings. How the county might require adequate housing to accommodate develop-

ment is not clear. County Board Chairman Thomas M. Davis III says that while he was "not completely satisfied with any of the options" considered, the plan approved is reasonable. Without it, he says, the county would again be thwarted in any attempt "to jump-start the economy."

That's the hope, at least, though another action by the board does not inspire confidence in the majority's vision of development in Fairfax. At the same meeting, the board approved a development near Dulles Airport that is bound to threaten the orderly, long-planned growth of the air terminal if homeowner attitudes run true to form. The idea has always been to locate a growing airport away from residents, with a buffer zone. Put housing in there, and in no time you get complaints about noise not being buffed anymore. If this decision sticks, let the buyers beware—Dulles was there first.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Nuclear Partners

THE APPROACH of the Bush-Yeltsin summit next week has forced the pace of American-Russian nuclear arms control and produced differences significant enough to lead the two foreign ministers to schedule a sudden extra meeting today in London to see if they cannot bring their principals within negotiating range.

The differences, it appears, arise from the separate national conclusions drawn about the demise of the Cold War. In some American eyes, this development justifies and compels a departure from the parity principle enshrined in Cold War negotiations. Russia, being no longer a world power and having no enemies, should reduce its arms accordingly, while the United States, being still a world power and therefore more exposed, must remain better armed.

In Russian eyes, however, parity remains a political necessity if not also a strategic one. Nor is Russia happy with hints from Washington that while America cannot possibly become a new threat to Russia, Russia, being of infirm democratic character, could yet become a new threat to the United States.

These are the ideas that play upon the calculations of the numbers and kinds of missiles that the two sides should reduce after they complete

the parity reductions called for in the still-unratified START treaty.

The matter is further complicated by internal considerations. In Moscow, Mr. Yeltsin has a restive military. In Washington, Secretary of State James Baker is negotiating not only with Russia but with Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. What Mr. Cheney looks at first is the Russian-American strategic equation, and he looks at it as a military skeptic. Mr. Baker looks at the American interest in the survival and consolidation of democracy in Russia, and in the containment of global nuclear proliferation. His wider view inclines Mr. Baker to be a bit more hospitable to Russian ideas of equal reductions (qualitatively as well as quantitatively), of deeper cuts and of limits on nuclear testing.

Secretary Baker is rightly concerned not simply to prop up Boris Yeltsin but, in the best sense, to exploit Mr. Yeltsin for the Russian's historic promise to make his country a solid democratic partner of the United States. That doesn't mean yielding at every point to the embattled Mr. Yeltsin, but it does mean trying to establish common ground with him. Economic and political collaboration is critical. So is nuclear. Russia must be treated as a friend and partner. That way the American advantage lies.

No Way They'd Do That, Right?

NOW HERE'S something you can be sure that no committee of Congress would do in as tight a budget year as this. It wouldn't think of raising the benefits of the better-off elderly by billions of dollars in such a way as to make it harder to raise the future income taxes of the rich to pay for deficit reduction or increased aid to the cities or education. It wouldn't happen, right? Wrong, of course.

The Senate Finance Committee did just this yesterday. It voted to liberalize the Social Security earnings test, the limit on what a retiree can earn per year without a reduction in benefits. To pay the considerable cost, the committee would raise the Social Security wage base—the amount of annual wages to which the Social Security tax applies.

Mostly conservative members of Congress and to a lesser extent the president have been pushing for this for years. They say it's wrong to penalize elderly people who need the money and are willing to work, and from whose work the society can benefit. But that's a misrepresentation both of what Social Security is about and who would mostly benefit. Social Security benefits aren't rewards for attaining older age, but insurance against the income lost on retirement. When a person doesn't retire, the benefits aren't paid; that's what the earnings test enforces. The test is also already fairly liberal, such that most of those it affects aren't needy. Social Security and congressional analysts say that as much as three-fourths of the benefit from proposals like the one

adopted yesterday would go to families with incomes in excess of \$40,000 a year.

Yet last year the Senate agreed by voice vote not merely to liberalize the retirement test but to abolish it, and not to finance the billions of dollars a year that the regressive step would cost. The House then voted merely to liberalize, but also without financing. This time around, to the credit of the Finance Committee's chairman, Lloyd Bentsen, the proposal would be paid for. But by raising the Social Security tax on the better-off the bill makes it that much harder then to raise federal income taxes on the same people to pay for other federal projects. Nor is it clear that even the Social Security tax increase will stick. Some of the Senate's most ardent supposed budget balancers are saying it's wrong to raise the tax even as they want to give the benefit; that seems to be to some extent the administration's position as well.

If the step is going to be taken, it's better to pay for it than not—but the right thing to do is not take it. It's the wrong use of the next federal dollar, and a bad use of the tapped ability to pay. The parliamentary status of the bill is now complicated. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for is that the Senate will be willing to take a show vote in favor of the measure and then let it die. This would be an election-year gift that the government can't afford to people who don't need it, at the ultimate expense of other federal undertakings for which the need is great.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

1967: When Israel Ran the Yellow Light

Of the four big Arab-Israeli wars, the one in 1967, whose 25th anniversary fell this week, is the most haunting. Certainly the wars of 1948, 1956 and 1973 were planned and in that sense unavoidable. But 1967, when Egypt threatened Israel and Israel ended up winning and occupying Egypt's Sinai, Syria's Golan plus the West Bank? Was that war "necessary"? Could it have been prevented? Did the United States fall down?

If you consider the conflicting passions, claims and rights of Arabs and Israelis to be endowed by history or justice, then you will shrug wearily and accept this war and the others as the destiny of the Middle East.

You will come out in the same place if you believe that the Arab world or the Arab mind is implacably hostile to the idea of a Jewish state or, contrarily, that Israel is irredeemably alien and expansionist.

There is no doubt that such mind-sets made a difference in 1967. In particular, Arab hostility to Israel provided the general impetus—the entirely false Soviet report that Israel was massing troops to strike Syria provided the specific impetus—for Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser's fateful decision to order United Nations peacekeepers out of Sinai, where they had been lodged since the 1956 Suez war. This single, wildly irresponsible act converted a slow-burning but manageable regional confrontation into a fast-burning international emergency.

Still, I would argue, there was nothing irreversible about the sequence of events that led that fast-burning fuse to explode. I say this after sampling an Arab-Israeli-American conference on the war sponsored last week by the State Department and the Middle East Institute and reading a definitive study of President Lyndon Johnson's role by William Quandt, a Brookings specialist and conference participant.

Their shock and humiliation led Arabs to launch the notion of an American-Israeli "conspiracy" even while the six-day war of 1967 raged. That the 1956 war had most assuredly involved a conspiracy (of Britain, France and Israel) made a repetition at least conceivable. But to this day, no positive evidence of a new conspiracy has emerged—none. Something more serious has come out instead: evidence of the subtle interweaving of Israeli and American policy strands. Quandt spins the tale in "Lyndon Johnson and the June 1967 War: What Color Was the Light?" (Middle East Journal, spring 1992.)

In its own more or less official view, he writes, the Johnson administration, bogged down in Vietnam, was caught by surprise in the Mideast. It lost control, but still consistently told Israel not to resort to force: the "red light."

Those Arabs and Americans who detected an Israeli-American conspiracy claimed Washington had in various ways given Israel a "green light" for its attack of June 5.

Rejecting both views, Quandt shows how Johnson's position shifted as the crisis tightened. He started out flashing a red light. But he switched. Prevented by Vietnam-born constraints from taking unilateral action to break Nasser's blockade of Israeli shipping at the Strait of Tiran, he came to see that there also would be no multilateral action. This led him to accept the burden of Eisenhower's 1957 commitment to Israel granting Israelis a right to act with force if the strait were closed. He passed on to an anxious Israel the word that he would not do what Ike had done in 1957—force Israel out of captured Arab land before it could bargain for peace. With this "yellow—but not quite green" light, Israel went to war.

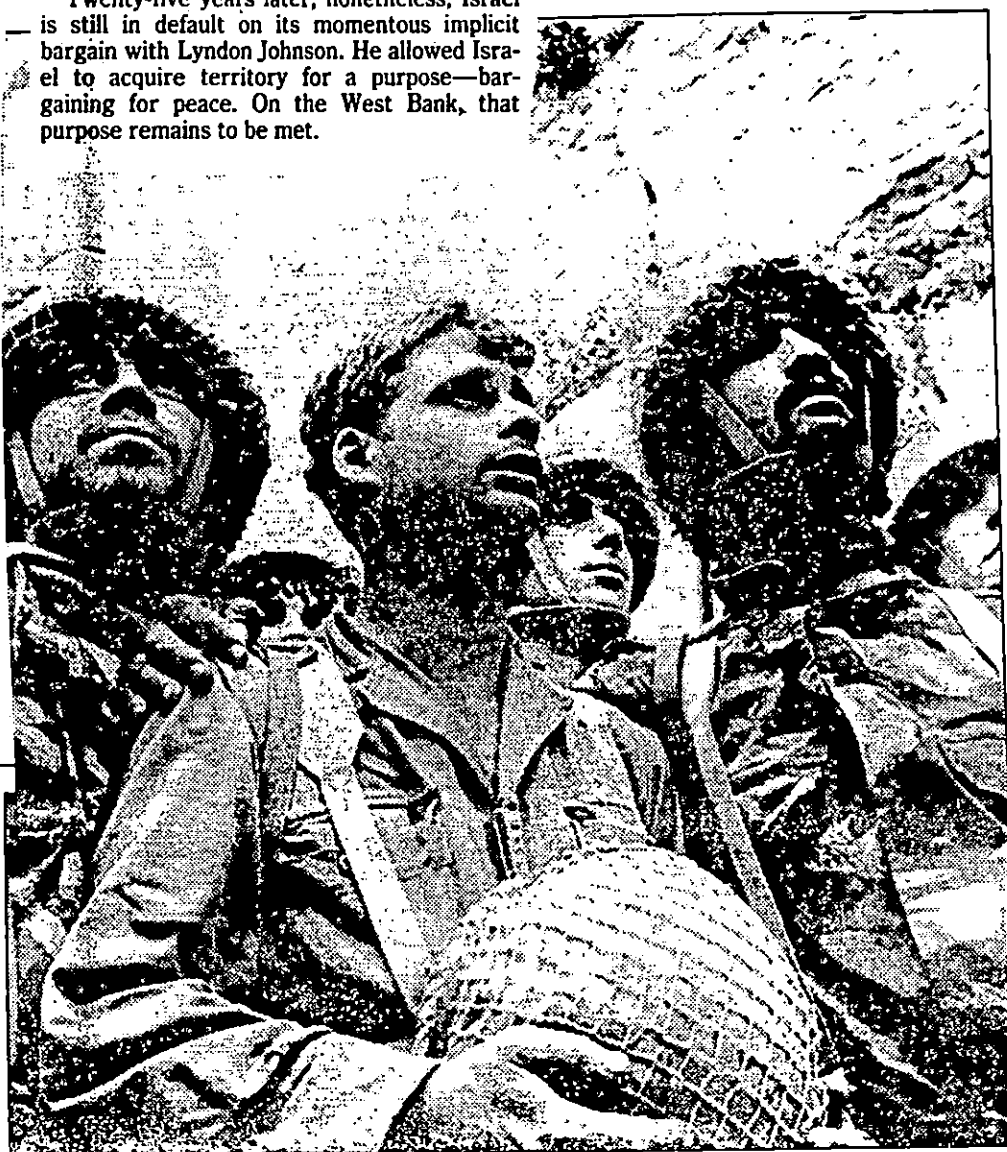
In sum, Nasser's faults of policy and perception were grievous. Egypt didn't want war, and guaranteed war.

Johnson didn't collude with Israel. He genuinely wanted to prevent a war. But his one way

of doing so, once the U.N. backed away from challenging Nasser's closure of Israeli shipping, was to order up the U.S. Navy, and the Vietnam War had cost him that option. The necessary and, I would say, honorable alternative was to let Israel go it alone.

Israel has ever been at pains to demonstrate that it joined the battle only after all serious diplomatic options had been exhausted. Any hint that its war gains were ill-gotten was bound to undercut efforts either to bargain with captured territory or to retain it. It is possible to believe that the Israelis were ready for an occasion to bash Nasser, without thinking that they meant to bash him from the start.

Twenty-five years later, nonetheless, Israel is still in default on its momentous implicit bargain with Lyndon Johnson. He allowed Israel to acquire territory for a purpose—bargaining for peace. On the West Bank, that purpose remains to be met.



Mark O. Hatfield

Can't See the Forests for the Endangered Species

I have supported—and I continue to support—the Endangered Species Act. I helped write it. I offered the 1972 version of the act that eventually became law in 1973. I want it to survive.

But unlike many of my colleagues from urban areas, I also have to deal with the human side of the act, and thus have special reason to know that it has come to be an environmental law that favors preservation over conservation.

During my years in public service, I have been in the middle of continuing natural resource negotiations in my state. The goal of these efforts was to find and maintain a balance between humans and nature. By being able to negotiate definitive solutions to these problems, we were, until recently, able to "keep the peace" in our state by recognizing the legitimacy of the arguments of the many sides.

Unfortunately, the strict application of the Endangered Species Act in the case of the northern spotted owl has put an end, for the time being, to balanced resource management in the Pacific Northwest.

There is no question that the act is being applied in a manner far beyond what any of us envisioned when we wrote it 20 years ago. It was originally conceived as a law to ensure the survival of species threatened with or in danger of extinction because of specific actions such as road-building, observatories, sewer systems, buildings, dams or other such projects. But today the act is being applied across entire states and regions, with the result that it now affects millions upon millions of acres of publicly and privately owned land, and many thousands of human beings.

While the management of our public lands can

undoubtedly be improved, I question the tactic of using the Endangered Species Act as a weapon to accomplish judicially what could not be done through the legislative and administrative processes. Moving this battle over management of

"The human factor has been lost."

public lands into the judicial arena threatens to undermine public support for the act and for all our other environmental protection laws.

The fact is that Congress always considered the human element as central to the success of the Endangered Species Act. But today, with the act being applied across entire regions, the human factor has been lost. "Science" has been used to support a philosophy that emphasizes single-use lock-up of our natural resources on the grandest scale imaginable.

The fundamental premise of those challenging the administration of our public lands is that we have "mismanaged" our forests. Some people are convinced that the lands of the Pacific Northwest were all one continuous blanket of old forests—250 years or more old—stretching from Northern British Columbia to Northern California.

That picture simply doesn't add up. The forests of the Pacific Northwest have been dynamic, evolving and constantly changing. They were never all old growth—they will never be all old growth.

According to a definition of "old growth for-

ests" prepared by Forest Service and university scientists, and using information from a Forest Service inventory of old growth forests, there are today 3.1 million acres of old growth in Oregon and Washington. Of that, 62 percent is withdrawn from any kind of timber harvesting and will never be harvested.

What, then, are the implications of our decision to apply the Endangered Species Act to millions of acres of public land in the Pacific Northwest?

Virtually every credible study shows that worldwide demand for forest products is expected to double in the next 50 years or less. Where will this material come from? And if we don't use wood, what materials will we use? What are the implications—local, regional, national and global—of using other materials?

We are on the verge of shifting the harvest of timber from the Pacific Northwest—which accounts for 20 percent of the nation's supply of wood—to other parts of the nation or the world that are biologically and politically unprepared for that burden—places that lack forest practice and environmental laws. The net result will be less, not more, protection for our environment.

While we debate the future of the Pacific Northwest and the protection of the spotted owl, we tend to forget that the application of the Endangered Species Act in this case has national implications. There are currently more than 7,000 species or subspecies in this country considered to be either "sensitive" or "candidates" for threatened or endangered listings.

The situation has gotten out of control. We conceived the Endangered Species Act with a simple premise for a difficult problem: that we

were not going to allow the demise of a species. We decided that where humans could stop extinction, we would take steps to stop it. We intentionally wrote protections into the act that were Draconian in scope to protect those species that were truly threatened with extermination.

But we have now elevated the act above all our other resource management and protection laws to an extent that those laws have now become all but meaningless. The work and investment in balanced resource management that has occurred over the years is about to be thrown into the recycling bin, swept aside and replaced by a "zero-risk, maximum-protection" strategy for a single use: wildlife management.

The argument that spotted owl protection really doesn't address old growth forest concerns has provided justification for legislation such as two bills approved by House committees, one of which would reduce the timber sale level in the Northwest from 3.4 billion board feet under the new forest plans to 814 million board feet. I am hard-pressed to remember a time in our nation's history when the federal government made a conscious decision to do what this bill would: eliminate 48,000 to 61,000 jobs.

We have witnessed an abuse of the concepts, the basic premises, of the Endangered Species Act. We need to think about the implication for truly threatened and endangered species if public support for the act declines to the point where efforts are made to amend or repeal it. We need to think about this conflict, and about how to resolve it, and bring peace back to our forests.

The writer is a Republican senator from Oregon.

William Raspberry

Why Is It Harder for Blacks to Prosper?

Why do blacks find it harder than other ethnic groups—including new and impoverished immigrants—to prosper in America?

The question has long occupied social scientists, policy-makers and civil rights advocates. It has been given new currency by the Los Angeles riots, which underscored both the economic gap and the ethnic enmity between newly arrived Korean merchants and their native-born black customers.

The answers are more likely to frustrate—even fascinate—than to satisfy the earnest questioner: not because any particular answer is false but because it doesn't cover enough of the complex truth.

The simplest explanation (leaving aside as not worth discussing the black-inferiority argument) is white racism. Blacks would have achieved social, economic and political parity long ago, this theory holds, were it not for the crippling effects of slavery, segregation and discrimination.

There's truth there, but it doesn't explain why, for a growing number of blacks, matters have gotten worse in the last 20 or 30 years. Surely there hasn't been enough of an *increase* in racism to account for the fairly recent growth of the black underclass, marked by poverty, crime, teen pregnancy and family disorganization.

John D. Kasarda explored the question in a Wall Street Journal piece a couple of weeks ago and came up with a different set of answers. Asians outstrip blacks in America because of the

former's tradition of self-employment, resource pooling and strong families—in a word: values.

Blacks, he said, have the lowest self-employment rate of all American minorities—just 3 percent in predominantly black Washington. (The rate for D.C. Asians is nearly 20 percent, for non-Hispanic whites, 16 percent.) More important, he argued, two-thirds of black families in urban ghettos are fatherless.

"It doesn't require a deep sociological imagination to sense the consequences of growing up in an impoverished single-parent household, where no one works, in a neighborhood where pimps, drug-pushers and unemployed street people replace working fathers as the predominant role models," wrote Kasarda, who is director of the Kenan Institute of Private Enterprise at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Nothing—neither charity nor government programs nor assaults on racism—will make much difference, he said, unless there is a transformation in values.

Again true. But are these broken values the cause, or merely the tragic result, of the conditions that spawn and perpetuate ghettos?

Values, as Kasarda talks about them, are largely individual. Lawrence E. Harrison believes there are *cultural* values that profoundly affect economic and political success.

Harrison's new book "Who Prospers?" does not attempt to answer specifically the question posed at the beginning of this column (though he does devote a chapter to it). What I find far more

interesting is his notion that there are cultures that, of themselves, impede or promote progress and that the relevant features of these cultures can be delineated.

For instance (here he draws on the work of the Argentine scholar Mariano Grondona):

- Cultures for which religion explains and justifies success are development-prone; those for which religion eases or explains suffering are development-resistant.

- Cultures that see wealth as something that is *created* by human initiative promote development; those that see wealth as something that *exists* are likely to devote their efforts toward redistributing it—and thereby impede development.

- Cultures that see labor as a moral or social duty—and as an important form of self-expression—are progress-prone; those that see labor as a necessary evil, and who believe pleasure is attainable only outside the workplace, are progress-resistant.

Once more, there's truth here, though this typology was not devised with the United States and its racial/racist history in mind.

But the point is not to show that one theory is right and all the rest wrong. The point is to broaden our understanding of the factors, internal and external, that induce or inhibit success.

And this (from the Harrison book) may be the most important one: The successful culture—or individual—sees life as "something I will do"; for the unsuccessful, life is "something that happens to me."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Gingrich: Unwelcome Messenger

George Bush, seen in a political meltdown by many supporters, opened Tuesday's White House meeting with Republican congressional leaders by fingering the real problem: Newt Gingrich.

Bush made clear his unhappiness with the House Republican whip's warning to the president's campaign that it is in deep trouble. Two days earlier, Press Secretary Martin Fitzwater's sarcastic derision of Gingrich had the White House press corps in stitches.

Shooting the messenger who delivers the bad news confirms Gingrich's diagnosis and deepens his gloom. The normally ebullient Georgia congressman, who usually has a remedy for all ills, is concerned that Bush will lose this election to Ross Perot, a prospect he regards as a calamity for America.

Gingrich is not alone and is in fact less despairing than other Republican notables. While his memo asserted that Bush did not appreciate the depths of public discontent, there are colleagues who feel the problem is the president himself and, therefore, not open to easy solution.

One administration official told us he awakes in the morning, looks at himself in the mirror and wonders whether he should be supporting George Bush for a second term. Like many conservatives, he is appalled by Bush's abandonment of the economic growth agenda and retreat from close combat with Congress. He considered writing a memo to the president to say just that, but thought better of it—perhaps warned off by Fitzwater's reaction to Gingrich.

"I got another [memo] from Newt this morning," Fitzwater told a daily news briefing in a tone of deep sarcasm. "This man is kind of a modern Plato, you know, he just thinks all the time. . . . He came in last week and gave me four or five [memos], and we appreciate all of them. . . . And the man is brilliant. . . . Everybody just reads Newt's memos." The reporters were rolling in the aisles.

Any doubts that Fitzwater was faithfully representing his master's mind-set were removed two days later at the closed-door session with the legislative leaders. At that moment, the president's popularity was in a free fall, his Republican base was disappearing, and rank-and-file GOP defections to Perot were on the rise.

With Bush facing that forbidding vista, this was how he opened the meeting (according to memories of officials present): "I never criticize the Republican leadership [in Congress], and I would appreciate it if you don't criticize me. If you have to criticize, go right to me, not through Ann Devroy [the Washington Post reporter who broke the Gingrich memo story]." It was clear that Bush was referring to Gingrich, who missed the meeting thanks to plane trouble in Atlanta.

Shooting the messenger is also common sport at lower levels of the Bush apparatus. One veteran of past campaigns who is devoutly loyal to the president is rebuked whenever he suggests the current road leads to disaster. "I am told," he said, "that I am panicking and that there is no reason to panic."

On and off the record, "panic" in the Bush lexicon describes any suggestion that the president and his team are marching off the cliff. That too is derived directly from the boss. In private sessions, he asserts his confidence that once the American people get to know Ross Perot and become reacquainted with George Bush, all problems will be resolved more or less automatically.

If those who deliver the bad news are condemned, so is anybody who seems to be ahead of the president in effectiveness. Vice President Dan Quayle has performed yeoman service in securing the conservative base, but friends counsel him to withdraw to the shadows for a while for his own protection. Housing Secretary Jack Kemp is similarly resented because of his popularity.

The mood of impending doom leads one adviser to feel that this presidency is at a crossroads: It can either reform itself with new players and new strategies, or the grass-roots defection to Perot by the Republican base will start to collect some big names. But anybody articulating such fears even behind the scenes risks being branded as a memo-writing Plato who, lacking faith in the leader, has succumbed to panic.

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The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Charles Krauthammer

The Swoon For Tycoons

*Perotomania is older
than you think.*

I was stopped at a red light just outside the television studio where I tape "Inside Washington," when a car pulled up beside me, and the driver, a perfect stranger, rolled down her window. "Charles, Charles," she called out, "I love your show. But get with the program. Perot in '92. We're going to do it."

This for me was a first. In 10 years of journalism, I had never been the object of a drive-by bantering. Indeed, the only thing I have ever seen that approaches the Perotomania that has seized the country is the Trudeauomania I witnessed 25 years ago growing up in Canada. Then, within the space of a few months, a wave of mass adulation propelled Pierre Trudeau, an obscure junior minister who two years earlier had been an even more obscure university professor, to the prime ministership of Canada.

What is going on today? Apart from the obvious fact that the country has become temporarily unhinged, the best one-word explanation I have heard for the Perot phenomenon (I heard it from Norman Podhoretz) is: "decline." American decline is the subtext of this election. People feel it. They fear it. And they are convinced that the two major parties and their candidates will do nothing about it.

Of course, Perot has not directly addressed the issue of decline. But he does not need to. He presents himself as its living antidote. His whole persona is can-do: Build a company, make a fortune, rescue hostages, win the presidency. Broke? I'll fix it, he says. No one is demanding of him the how and the what. People seem satisfied, indeed intoxicated, at the thought of someone who at least displays the will.

The reason people think of Perot as can-do, his single most important qualification for president, is his standing as a successful businessman. Perot is not the first businessman to benefit from the American tendency to associate can-do business with can-do politics. In 1916 write historians Allan Nevins and Frank Ernest Hill, popular petitions put Henry Ford on the presidential preference ballot of the Michigan Republican Party. He won. Two weeks later, despite his emphatic public statements that he was not a presidential candidate, he came close to winning in Nebraska. In 1924, Ford did consider running, but ended up endorsing Coolidge.

Four decades later another auto executive, George Romney (formerly chairman of American Motors, by then governor of Michigan), was the leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. (In 1966 he was the only Republican shown to be beating Lyndon Johnson. Nixon, Rockefeller and Percy trailed Johnson by 8 points.) And one forgets, but it was less than a decade ago that another auto tycoon, Lee Iacocca, was being touted as the real hope for the Democratic Party.

Democratic consultant Greg Schneiders, who led an effort to draft Iacocca for president in 1986, compared him to Harry Truman. Joseph Califano said that Iacocca "would be phenomenal as a candidate. He knows how to lead. He knows how to communicate." Said Sen. Carl Levin (of—here we go again—Michigan): "I think he'd be a good president, and he'd win."

In retrospect, these fascinations with celebrity businessmen appear bizarre. Ford was pacifist and isolationist, deeply anti-British and virulently antisemitic. Romney proved intellectually accident-prone: He told an interviewer he had been "brainwashed" on Vietnam and was never taken seriously again. And Iacocca is today deservedly seen as just another overpriced corporate hack.

Yet as late as the 1988, presidential campaign people were talking up Donald Trump! At the urging of conservative Republicans, he went to New Hampshire to test the waters. But the Democrats wanted a piece of him too. Democratic congressional leaders asked Trump to chair their 25th annual black-tie fund-raising dinner. They also encouraged him to change parties. "He's young, dynamic and successful," said Rep. Beryl Anthony Jr., then chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. "The message he has been preaching is the Democratic message."

The Donald's 15 minutes are perhaps the best example of how daffy these flings with tycoons can be. Yet these past disappointments are no deterrent to the lady in the passing car, to the thousands manning Perot booths in shopping malls and to the millions voting Perot in the polls.

They look at me and other Perot skeptics and see, as one colleague put it, the editors of Pravda two weeks before the August coup. Perot's peculiar style of personal politics may in fact be what the country craves. But personal politics is always a cause for worry. I worry about a man without a program who says, "Trust me." I worry about a man who promises communion with the masses in the "electronic town hall."

Most of all, I worry about a man who takes his birthday seriously. My son takes his birthday seriously. But he's 7. Perot is considerably older and yet retains an inordinate attachment to the date. He left the Navy on his birthday. He founded his great business enterprise, EDS, on his birthday. He sold it to GM for \$2.5 billion on his birthday. He is likely to officially announce for president on his birthday (June 27).

Perhaps when our *caudillo* becomes president, he will declare his birthday a national holiday—a day of picnics and pardons, the way they do in other banana republics.

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FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT



Jerry Brown: Finally getting hot?

■ Jerry Brown more than ticked off some members of Congress at the Rio Earth Summit earlier this week. The incredible shrinking presidential candidate showed up late at a sweltering outdoor ceremony, but still managed to make it to a microphone in short order, and promptly proceeded to bash elected officials.

■ Clothes are pouring in to the annual Super Sale in memory of Washington Post fashion writer Nina Hyde. Anne Klein, Ellen Tracy and Ralph Lauren have donated new garb for tomorrow's Ramada Renaissance sale—not to mention all those once-worn Adolfos. The \$10 ticket can be purchased at The Post and will benefit the Nina Hyde Center for Breast Cancer Research.

■ HUD Secretary Jack Kemp told Ross Perot's new man Ed Rollins: "We're going to beat you in the fall." Guess that quashes the Perot-Kemp ticket.

■ The Bushes are expected to be on hand Sunday for the 14th annual Ford's Theatre gala, hosted by actors Jimmy Smits and Ricardo Montalban.

■ Guests attending the Tuesday night book party for Timothy Phelps and Helen Winternitz, authors of the Clarence Thomas tome

"Capitol Games," were startled to see Phyllis Berry, former Thomas special assistant and strident defender at the embattled nominee's confirmation hearing, in the crowd at Politics & Prose. They were further shocked when Berry asked Phelps to sign her copy "To an ultra-conservative fringe radical right-wing zealot," to which he added, "and friend."



Montalban: Host.



Berry: Guest.

Hey, Even Pundits Have to Pay the Mortgage



Elizabeth Drew: Talk's not cheap.

Drew. Which is why the Pacifica Radio correspondent was stunned when she requested an interview with Drew about Ross Perot and was told by the magazine that it would cost.

■ Dallos Galvin has certainly heard of checkbook journalism—but she thought it applied to people like Gennifer Flowers. Certainly not esteemed New Yorker political writer Elizabeth

"They said she does this for a living," Galvin says. "She only works for fees. So she wouldn't talk."

Drew says not so. "It depends on what the request is and if I have the time and if I'm not on deadline," she said, before advising: "I suggest you drop this."

To further clarify Drew's position, we went to the New Yorker, which told us Drew "makes a habit" of doing interviews.

"But she won't do it for free," said a spokesman. "She makes a lot of her income giving speeches and talking to people."

It should be noted, however, that Drew didn't charge us.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992



Ross Perot: He'd rather be excused.

REUTERS

Ross Perot, the Reluctant Juror

Ross Perot repeatedly exhorts voters to "get in the ring" and become involved in civic affairs. But when Perot himself was asked to perform a routine civic duty four years ago, he was less than eager.

Texas District Judge Tom Ryan recalls threatening to dispatch sheriff's deputies to apprehend the billionaire when he balked at showing up for jury duty in a 1988 Dallas murder trial.

"We had a little difficulty getting him down there," said Ryan, who presided over jury selection. After Perot was notified to appear, Ryan said his office received repeated phone calls from Perot's lawyers saying that the computer magnate was tied up with business and wished to be excused.

Under Texas law, only lawyers for both sides can excuse a potential juror when the death penalty is an option. "I told them, 'No sir, we can't excuse him,'" Ryan told The Post's Michael Isikoff. "I finally threatened

to send the sheriff after him if he didn't appear at a certain day and a certain time."

Judge Tom Price, who actually presided over the trial, also remembers receiving phone calls from Perot's lawyers complaining that their client was planning a trip to Europe. "That kind of thing happens with businessmen and professional people who think their schedules are more important than what we're doing down here—people who think they're too big for the system," said Price.

Court records show that Perot eventually did show—but was quickly dismissed by defense lawyers after he expressed his ardent support for the death penalty in pretrial questioning.

Tom Luce, Perot's longtime chief lawyer and now chairman of the Perot Petition Committee, said he has no recollection of the incident. "What story is next?" he laughed. "His Boy Scout demerits?"

The Keynoteless Convention

■ Democratic Party insiders say an unprecedented decision has been made *not* to have a keynote speaker at the convention in New York next month. Instead, DNC Chairman Ron Brown and Bill Clinton have agreed to have three speakers address the convention on opening night for no more than 15 minutes each.

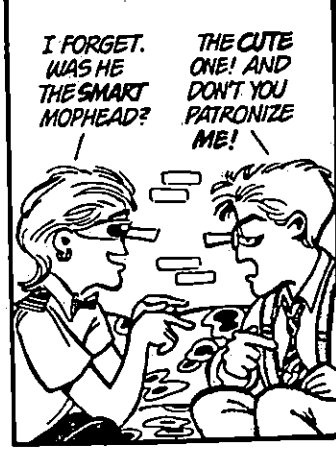
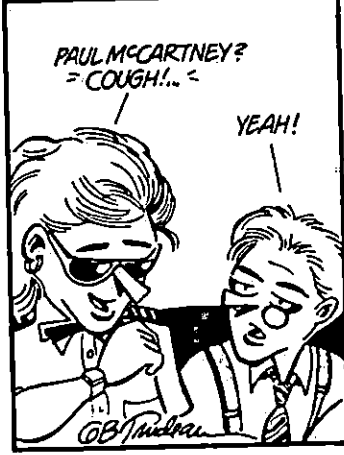
In addition, Brown plans to give prominent women very prominent roles at the convention, including that of convention chair. He also plans to give some of the high-profile women Senate candidates some of the much coveted prime-time speaking assignments.

Not a soul has been officially invited to speak as yet. Brown plans to put the finishing touches on program plans this weekend.



DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The Washington Post

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Along the Campaign Call-In Trail: C-SPAN watchers can get a preview of Gov. Clinton's paid half-hour on NBC tonight (WRC at 8) by tuning in at 6 to a live simulcast of the "America Speaks" town meeting from Pittsburgh...

As part of its regular "Road to the White House" feature, C-SPAN will start coverage of the Clinton for President effort from the WQED studios at 5 p.m., previewing the town hall meeting with Frank Greer, the governor's top media adviser...

After the half-hour simulcast before 150 invited participants, there will be open phones for a half-hour, followed by an hour discussion of "the role of the media in the current presidential campaign," another go-around for "America Speaks" at 8 and more open phones at 8:30...

The Clinton campaign reportedly is paying \$400,000 for the half-hour on NBC tonight—and has scheduled another NBC broadcast for 7 p.m. on June 21...

Channel 9 yesterday reported only five calls complaining of Arsenio Hall's unkind comments about President Bush during his Wednesday night monologue...

Out in L.A., a spokeswoman for the syndicated Paramount show said that by late yesterday it had received 38 calls "applauding Arsenio" and "approximately 16 complaints asking 'how could you?'"...

"Some really appreciated Arsenio's honesty," said the spokeswoman, who asked not to be named...

She said Hall was responding to a remark from a Bush administration official that his show was "not a viable outlet" for the campaign, even after Clinton had approached the show for a recent appearance, sax and all...

"We've said 'all are welcome,' we are providing equal time," she said yesterday. "But Arsenio told the audience that 'if [Bush] doesn't want to come here, I don't want him here.... The president dissed me [showed disrespect] like he's dissed the unemployed, the middle class and the homeless'"...

Undeclared candidate Ross Perot, who had originally agreed to appear for just the first hour of yesterday's "Today" show, got a full two hours of exposure on the NBC program after he and producers agreed they had a lot more ground to cover as the first hour ended...

On Tuesday Gov. Clinton had chatted with Bryant Gumbel and viewers for an hour on "Today." So yesterday, at 8:05, just 10 minutes after Perot agreed to expand his visit, "Today" producers called the Clinton campaign to extend an invitation for another hour, which was quickly accepted, although no date has been set...

It turns out that Clinton, too, had been asked to stay beyond his scheduled hour on Tuesday but declined because of schedule conflicts...

According to NBC News, President Bush originally declined an appearance on "Today" but is now "reconsidering it"...

Perot not only got an extension of yesterday's broadcast, he got a leading question from "Bob in Bowie" to start the round of viewer call-ins...

"Bob" said he had a two-part question. First, he asked Perot if it was realistic to expect a complete outsider to be able to deal with Congress etc., and "secondly, have you ever had a desire to mind meld with Howard Stern's penis?"...

Perot kept a straight face and anchor Katie Couric, who was fielding the questions for Perot, quickly said, "Oh thank you very much but that was not a good second question" and Perot responded to the outsider query...

"Today" decided not to use a seven-second delay, spokeswoman Lynn Applebaum told the Associated Press, because it was not used for Clinton...

"We were aware of the possibility that a question like this might happen. We tried to screen the questions to make sure they were on the level. But it happened," she said...

The Texas billionaire likes to talk, and though

Clinton fielded 25 viewer calls during his Tuesday hour, Perot did 23 over his two hours...

Executive producer Jeff Zucker said yesterday that he thought the Perot show was "high drama; he was at times mesmerizing, at times evasive. I thought he was very engaging. Part of what we do is to be informative and be good TV at the same time"...

Zucker said Clinton and Perot "served themselves well" on the broadcasts. "I think we've all learned a lot more about these guys"...

"Katie did an excellent job of following up," Zucker said, "but it was obvious [Perot] was not going to commit himself on some issues. But you know what? We had a president who did that for eight years" (Jeff went to Harvard)...

Now This

Channel 9 has announced the hiring of Miriam Hernandez as a general-assignment reporter for the 11 o'clock news starting June 22...

Hernandez, who replaces Nancy Mathis on the WUSA roster, most recently was a correspondent for "Good Morning America" in Washington. She previously worked with KCST in San Diego and at KCBS and KCOP in Los Angeles...

Jim Boyle, director of corporate communications for Discovery Communications Inc., has been promoted to vice president, corporate communications...

Discovery Communications is the parent of both the Discovery and Learning cable channels...

Sportscaster Warner Wolf's heralded return to the Washington market after 16 years bumped (boom!) into the area's fascination with big-time basketball Wednesday night and Warner lost...

Let's go to the Nielsentape. Game IV of the NBA championship series on Channel 4 was good for a 15.5 Nielsen rating and a 27 percent audience share from 9 to 11:46...

Up against the 11-11:30 slice of that, Channel 7's news did an 8.1/16 while Channel 9's news, with everybody, including Wolf, dressed to the Nines (a little joke there) following the fifth annual One & Only Nine Awards telecast earlier in the evening, did a 7.4/15...

Channel 5's news at 10 did a 9.2/15 and the delayed late news on WRC did an 8.0/24...

Wolf seemed a little tentative and he certainly said "let's go to the videotape" and "boom!" all too often in his debut. But it was plain that Gordon Peterson was truly glad to see him back. Peterson has seemed lost since the death of his friend Glenn Brenner and has been often glum and unresponsive to well-intentioned attempts by Brenner stand-ins to jolly up the sports segments over many months...

Also Wednesday night in Washington, those One & Only awards on Nine at 8 averaged a 4.7/9 over the hour, and "Lonesome Dove" followed with a 7.4/12 for the next two hours...

A repeat of "Class Clowns" on WJLA did an 8.6/16...

In the national ratingzzz Wednesday night, Game IV of the NBA finals on NBC averaged a 16.0/29, which gave the network the night...

Part III of the "Lonesome Dove" rerun on CBS did a 9.1/17...

Each national ratingzzz point represents 921,000 TV homes; a local point, 18,199 homes...

The "Today" show is staying right on the heels of ABC's "Good Morning America" in the morning network race. During the week ending June 5, GMA won with a 3.8/18, followed by "Today" at 3.7/18 and "CBS This Morning" at 2.3/11...

And two final Ratingzzz Notezzz: The two-part "Ashenden" on the A&E cable network Sunday and Monday night attracted 1.1 ratings each night (or audiences of 594,000 and 592,000 cable homes, respectively)...

Over on TNT on Tuesday night, "Keep the Change," a surprisingly literate modern western, averaged a 2.6 (1.4 million cable homes) at 8 p.m. and a 2.1 (1.19 million) when it was repeated at 10 that night...

The TV Column

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

JUDY MANN

Values: Yours, Mine and Ours

Let us embroider a giant "S" on the chest of Vice President Dan Quayle, who is soaring into the campaign on a platform of "family values" and proclaiming that he is wearing "the scorn" of "the media elite . . . as a badge of honor."

President Bush, it's 7 o'clock. Do you know where your vice president is? I do. He's watching reruns of "Father Knows Best." And taking notes.

At a speech to the Southern Baptist Convention in Indianapolis on Tuesday, Quayle lashed out at "cultural elites [who] respect neither tradition nor standards." These elites, he said, "sneer at the simple but hard virtues—modesty, fidelity, integrity." He spoke of "two cultures—the cultural elite and the rest of us." He threw in some gay-bashing, saying parents should be married, and not to people of the same sex—one of the burning issues of our time.

None of Quayle's heart-spoken beliefs is coming out of a vacuum. The sober-minded Reader's Digest has just come out with a poll whose findings are so consonant with the vice president's sentiments that one must wonder whether Divine Providence slipped him an advance copy. The Digest poll, conducted by the Wirthlin Group, found that 64 percent of married couples with children identify themselves as conservatives while only 27 percent say they are liberal. Singles split 45 percent conservative, 46 percent liberal. Only 28 percent of married couples with children think gay people should be permitted to marry, while 46 percent of the singles and 44 percent of those who are married and childless think it's all right.

This stark difference in attitudes among couples with children and those without has given birth to what the Digest calls "the family gap," with writer Fred Barnes describing married couples with children as "a political powerhouse, a voting bloc of about 92 million people, 57 percent of all Americans over 25." Richard Wirthlin, who supervised the polling, told Barnes: "Only when issues relate to values do you effectively move voters' behavior. That's how presidential elections are decided."

The U.S. Census Bureau counts 102 million Americans living in families that it labels married couples with children. Take out about 46 million children, and that leaves 56 million adults, a considerably smaller number. Nevertheless, we can expect to hear a lot about "family values" in the months ahead.

But what are we really talking about? Are conservatives seizing the high road or are they taking us down the well-beaten path that veers away from the real problems confronting families to a dead end of empty rhetoric?

Quayle speaks of integrity. I wish there were more of it. My family's security has been undermined much more by those who plundered savings and loan institutions than by single mothers and gay couples. Where is integrity when President Bush's own son has been fined \$50,000 for his role in the collapse of the Silverado S&L, which is going to cost the taxpayers an estimated \$1 billion?

When I think of family values, I look inside my own family and I see a network of relationships that are grounded in love, respect, sharing and a strong commitment to each other. We have shared genes, shared histories and shared values, and although we have a healthy mix of liberals and conservatives, we are remarkably free of moral terrorists. We all value education, we believe in hard work, and we believe in giving back to our communities. We have mothers who stay at home with young children, and mothers who also have careers. We have the good sense not to be judgmental.

These, to me, are the real family values that stay with us as society evolves and institutions change. True, we don't have many mothers at home in the daytime to knit the fabric of neighborhoods as they did in our mothers' generation. We have lost some of the small-town closeness that blessed us with a wealth of adult role models who could help nurture our children. Too often single mothers are forced to raise children alone because fathers have disappeared. But widows and single mothers have reared millions of children who turned out fine. To me, family values amount to a political ethic that guarantees working parents will have social supports such as family leaves, good child care, affordable housing, accessible health care and an economy that is generating jobs.

Embroider an "M" on my chest. It stands for mother. Mothers have long been entrusted with the mission of protecting family values. It was once viewed as a full-time job. Now it's part time. Society changes, but our values don't. What matters to us is creating an environment in which we can raise our families. Those are the kind of values I'd like to hear Dan Quayle talk about.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Tear Gas Catches Bush in Panama City Protest

BUSH, From A1

Panamanian soldiers and civilians killed during the fighting.

Renewing the protests today outside the secured park, small crowds of young men and women chanted "Bush hillbilly" and other anti-U.S. slogans. Setting used tires afire, they sent up a black cloud of smoke into the humid air.

On Bush's arrival, he, First Lady Barbara Bush, Panamanian President Guillermo Endara and other dignitaries were seated on a platform draped with bunting. At that time, about 200 young people, about a half a city block away from the park, began to surge toward the barriers, throwing mangoes, coconut chunks and bottles.

As Bush was being introduced by Panama City Mayor Omaira Correa, the police line opened fire with tear-gas canisters. With the hollow pops of their launchers, clouds of acrid white gas blew across the audience and toward the president. Dozens of young men fled from the park, pursued by riot police firing canisters after them.

Police also were seen firing pistols into the air on television tape taken by Panamanian cameramen.

Correa, in a statement broadcast live on Panamanian radio shortly after the violence, accused the police of overreacting. The tear-gas canisters should never have been fired, she declared, and she demanded that the minister of government and justice investigate how the order to fire was given.

Chaos erupted in the crowds outside, with hundreds of people fleeing and riot-equipped Panamanian police beating back the demonstrators. People dropped to their knees coughing, tears running down their faces.

"This is all because of your president," shouted one fleeing youth, holding his handkerchief to his mouth and nose to ward off the gas. Another, older man retorted, "This is just what they [the demonstrators] wanted."

Panama police reported that two Panamanians were slightly injured by bird-shot fired by riot police during the disturbances.

Secret Service agents, meanwhile, draped a bulletproof coat over Bush, then rushed him and the others from the platform to a tent behind it. Next to the tent stood his armored limousine, which raved with him on all his trips.

Reporters could see a dozen or so agents, some with pistols drawn and some with submachine guns. Several pointed to a Foreign Ministry building that faces the square. One woman was screaming "assassin" and pointing at the building, but it was unclear whether any actual gunfire came from there.

Fitzwater said later that Bush's agents confirmed they heard gunfire, not just tear-gas launchers. There was no indication that any gunfire was directed at Bush, and Fitzwater said: "There were



A Secret Service agent drapes a bulletproof coat around Bush, as tear gas wafts through park and president's audience runs for cover.

gunshots. We think they were warning shots fired into the air by local police." Reporters could hear people screaming, "They're shooting, they're shooting," but there was no evidence of anyone being hit and it was hard to distinguish the sounds in the noisy eruption.

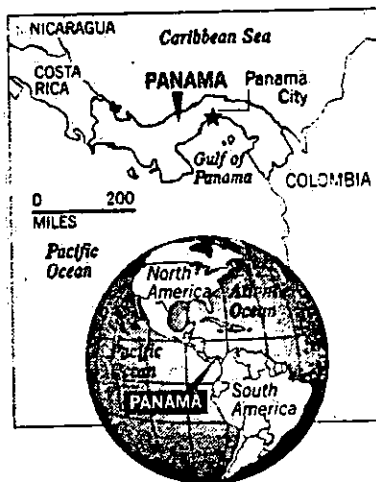
Reporters in the sometimes hysterical, surging crowd saw armed men enter the building and later local television showed two men being dragged down the street in handcuffs.

Armed Panamanian police forces, apparently unsure what was occurring, pointed their weapons in all directions in the rushing crowd, causing people to fall to the ground, hands over their heads. Others ducked behind cars and ran shouting down the street.

In the midst of the crowd, Bush, now inside his car, left the park, sirens screeching and agents riding on the sideboards with submachine guns and other weapons at the ready. The motorcade inched down streets seething with crowds, to the popping of canisters.

Bush, who had come here to celebrate democracy and the ouster nearly 2½ years ago of Noriega, arrived to be greeted by thousands of Panamanians who lined his route into town from the airport, cheering and waving American and Panamanian flags.

After a meeting with Endara, Bush, in



BY BRAD WYF THE WASHINGTON POST

luncheon toasts, lauded the "great progress" Panama had made since the U.S. invasion. "Panama is once again free, democracy restored and the rule of law prevails," he said.

Bush saluted those "who stood up to the tyranny of Noriega" and at that point made light of anti-American demonstrations here. Riding into Panama City, he said, he sensed some "nervousness" on the part of Endara. "I think he was worried that I might be offended by some

show of protest." But, he said, what he had noticed instead was "a genuine friendship between Panama and the United States." Polls have indicated majorities do hold such opinions.

From the luncheon at the presidential palace, Bush went to the park, where he was prepared to laud again the gains of democracy here. After he was rushed to Albrook, Bush said: "Democracy takes while to solidify it, to perfect it. Democracy doesn't come easy." The president then left for the Earth Summit in Rio.

Pentagon Identifies GIs Ambushed in Panama

Associated Press

The Pentagon today identified the U.S. soldier killed in Wednesday's ambush in Panama as Army Cpl. Zak P. Hernandez, 22, of Guayanilla, Puerto Rico.

A second soldier, identified as Sgt. Ronald T. Marshall, 24, of Fordyce, Ark., was seriously wounded when three men with assault rifles attacked the Americans' Humvee multi-purpose vehicle as they drove north of Panama City. A Pentagon spokesman, Army Maj. Mike Doble, said Marshall was in stable condition at Gorgas Army Community Hospital in Panama.

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How House Voted on Balanced-Budget Amendment

Associated Press

Here is the 280 to 153 vote by which the House defeated a balanced-budget constitutional amendment by falling short of the two-thirds majority required for passage.

ALABAMA—Democrats: Bevil, yes; Browder, yes; Cramer, yes; Erdreich, yes. Harris, yes. Republicans: Callahan, yes; Dickinson, yes.

ALASKA—Republican: Young, yes.

ARIZONA—Democrat: Pastor, no. Republicans: Kolbe, yes; Kyl, yes; Rhodes, yes; Stump, yes.

ARKANSAS—Democrats: Alexander, no; Anthony, yes; Thornton, no. Republican: Hammerschmidt, yes.

CALIFORNIA—Democrats: Anderson, yes; Beilenson, no; Berman, no; Boxer, no; Brown, no; Condit, yes; Dellums, no; Dixon, no; Dooley, yes; Dymally, no; Edwards, no; Fazio, no; Lantos, no; Lehman, no; Levine, no; Martinez, no; Matsui, no; Miller, no; Mineta, no; Panetta, no; Pelosi, no; Roybal, no; Stark, no; Torres, no; Waters, no; Waxman, no. Republicans: Campbell, yes; Cox, yes; Cunningham, yes; Danner, yes; Doolittle, yes; Dornan, yes; Dreier, yes; Gallely, yes; Heger, yes; Hunter, yes; Lagomarsino, yes; Lewis, yes; Lowery, yes; McCandless, yes; Moorhead, yes; Packard, yes; Riggs, yes; Rohrabacher, yes; Thomas, yes.

COLORADO—Democrats: Campbell, yes; Schroeder, no; Skaggs, no. Republicans: Allard, yes; Hefley, yes; Schaefer, yes.

CONNECTICUT—Democrats: DeLauro, no; Gejdenson, no; Kennedy, no. Republicans: Franks, yes; Johnson, yes; Shays, yes.

DELAWARE—Democrat: Carper, yes.

FLORIDA—Democrats: Bacchus, yes; Bennett, yes; Fascal, no; Gibbons, yes; Hutto, yes; Johnston, yes; Lehman, no; Peterson, yes; Smith, no. Republicans: Bihakis, yes; Goss, yes; Ireland, yes; James, yes; Lewis, yes; McCollum, yes; Ros-Lehtinen, yes; Shaw, yes; Stearns, yes; Young, yes.

GEORGIA—Democrats: Barnard, yes; Darden, yes; Halcher, yes; Jenkins, yes; Jones, yes; Lewis, N; Ray, yes; Rowland, yes; Thomas, yes. Republican: Gingrich, yes.

HAWAII—Democrats: Abercrombie, no; Mink, no.

IDAHO—Democrats: LaRocco, yes; Stallings, yes.

ILLINOIS—Democrats: Annunzio, no; Bruce, yes; Collins, no; Costello, yes; Cox, yes; Durbin, no; Evans, no; Hays, no; Lipinski, yes; Poshard, yes; Ros-tenkowski, no; Russo, no; Sangmeister, yes; Savage, no; Yates, no. Republicans: Crane, yes; Ewing, yes; Fawell, yes; Hastert, yes; Hyde, yes; Michel, yes; Porter, yes.

INDIANA—Democrats: Hamilton, no; Jacobs, yes; Jontz, yes; Long, yes; McCloskey, yes; Roemer, yes; Sharp, yes; Stenclosky, no. Republicans: Burton, yes; Myers, yes.

IOWA—Democrats: Nagle, no; Smith, no. Republicans: Grandy, yes; Leach, yes; Lightfoot, yes; Nussle, yes.

KANSAS—Democrats: Glickman, yes; Slattery, no. Republicans: Meyers, yes; Nichols, yes; Roberts, yes.

KENTUCKY—Democrats: Hubbard, yes; Mazzoli, yes; Natcher, yes; Perkins, no. Republicans: Bunning, yes; Hopkins, yes; Rogers, yes.

LOUISIANA—Democrats: Hayes, yes; Huckaby, yes; Jefferson, no; Tauzin, yes. Republicans: Baker, yes; Holloway, yes; Livingston, yes; McCrery, yes.

MAINE—Democrat: Andrews, no. Republican: Snowe, yes.

MARYLAND—Democrats: Byron, yes; Cardin, no; Hoyer, yes; McClellan, yes; Mfume, no. Republicans: Bentley, yes; Gilchrest, yes; Morella, yes.

MASSACHUSETTS—Democrats: Atkins, no; Donnelly, yes; Early, yes; Frank, no; Kennedy, yes; Markey, no; Mavroules, no; Moakley, no; Neal, no; Oliver, no; Studds, no.

MICHIGAN—Democrats: Bonior, no; Carr, yes; Collins, no; Conyers, no; Dingell, no; Ford, no; Hertel, no; Kildee, no; Levin, no; Traxler, not voting; Wolpe, no. Republicans: Broomfield, yes; Camp, yes; Davis, yes; Henry, yes; Pursell, yes; Upton, yes; Vander Jagt, yes.

MINNESOTA—Democrats: Oberstar, no; Penny, yes; Peterson, yes; Sabo, no; Sikorski, yes; Vento, no. Republicans: Ramstad, yes; Weber, yes.

MISSISSIPPI—Democrats: Espy, yes; Montgomery, yes; Parker, yes; Taylor, yes; Whitten, yes.

MISSOURI—Democrats: Clay, no; Gephardt, no; Horn, no; Skelton, yes; Volkmer, yes; Wheat, no. Republicans: Coleman, yes; Emerson, yes; Hancock, yes.

MONTANA—Democrat: Williams, no. Republican: Marlenee, yes.

NEBRASKA—Democrat: Hoagland, yes. Republicans: Barrett, yes; Bereuter, yes.

NEVADA—Democrat: Bilbray, yes. Republican: Vucanovich, yes.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Democrat: Swett, yes. Republicans: Zeliff, yes.

NEW JERSEY—Democrats: Andrews, yes; Dwyer, no; Guarini, no; Hughes, no; Pallone, yes; Payne, no; Roe, no; Torricelli, yes. Republicans: Gallo, yes; Rinaldo, yes; Roukema, yes; Saxton, yes; Smith, yes; Zimmer, yes.

NEW MEXICO—Democrat: Richardson, yes. Republicans: Schiff, yes; Skeen, yes.

NEW YORK—Democrats: Ackerman, no; Downey, no; Engel, no; Flake, no; Hochbrueckner, no; LaFalce, no; Lowey, no; Manton, no; McHugh, no; McNulty, no; Mrazek, no; Nowak, no; Owens, no; Rangel, no; Scheuer, no; Schumer, no; Serrano, no; Slaughter, no; Solarz, no; Towns, no; Weiss, no. Republicans: Boehlert, yes; Fish, yes; Gilman, no; Green, no; Horton, yes; Houghton, yes; Lent, yes; Martin, yes; McGrath, yes; Molinari, yes; Paxon, yes; Solomon, yes; Walsh, yes.

NORTH CAROLINA—Democrats: Hefner, not voting; Jones, yes; Lancaster, yes; Neal, yes; Price, yes; Rose, N; Valentine, yes. Republicans: Ballenger, yes; Coble, yes; McMillan, yes; Taylor, yes.

NORTH DAKOTA—Democrat: Dorgan, yes.

OHIO—Democrats: Applegate, no; Eckart, yes; Feighan, yes; Hall, yes; Kaptur, N; Luken, yes; Oaker, no; Pease, no; Sawyer, no; Stokes, no. Republicans: Boehner, yes; Gillmor, yes; Gradison, yes; Hobson, yes; Kasich, yes; McEwen, yes; Miller, yes; Oxley, yes; Regula, yes; Wylie, yes.

OKLAHOMA—Democrats: Brewster, yes; English, yes; McCurdy, yes; Synar, no. Republicans: Edwards, yes; Inhofe, yes.

OREGON—Democrats: AuCoin, no; DeFazio, yes; Kopetski, no; Wyden, no. Republican: Smith, yes.

PENNSYLVANIA—Democrats: Blackwell, no; Borski, no; Cobyne, no; Foglietta, no; Gaydos, no; Kanjorski, no; Kolter, yes; Kostmayer, no; Murphy, no; Murtha, no; Yatron, yes. Republicans: Clinger, yes; Coughlin, yes; Gekas, yes; Goodling, yes; McDade, yes; Ridge, yes; Ritter, yes; Santorum, yes; Schulze, yes; Shuster, yes; Walker, yes; Weldon, yes.

RHODE ISLAND—Democrat: Reed, no. Republican: Machtley, yes.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Democrats: Derrick, yes; Patterson, yes; Spratt, yes; Talion, no. Republicans: Ravenel, yes; Spence, yes.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Democrat: Johnson, yes.

TENNESSEE—Democrats: Clement, yes; Cooper, yes; Ford, no; Gordon, yes; Lloyd, yes; Tahner, yes. Republicans: Duncan, yes; Quillen, yes; Sundquist, yes.

TEXAS—Democrats: Andrews, yes; Brooks, no; Bryant, yes; Bustamante, no; Chapman, yes; Coleman, no; de la Garza, yes; Edwards, yes; Frost, yes; Geren, yes; Gonzalez, no; Hall, yes; Laughlin, yes; Ortiz, yes; Pickle, yes; Sarpaluis, yes; Stenholm, yes; Washington, no; Wilson, yes. Republican: Archer, yes; Arney, yes; Barton, yes; Combest, yes; DeLay, yes; Fields, yes; Johnson, yes; Smith, yes.

UTAH—Democrats: Orton, yes; Owens, yes. Republican: Hansen, yes.

VERMONT—Independent: Sanders, no.

VIRGINIA—Democrats: Boucher, no; Moran, yes; Olin, no; Payne, yes; Pickett, no; Siskiy, yes. Republicans: Allen, yes; Bateman, yes; Bliley, yes; Wolf, yes.

WASHINGTON—Democrats: Dicks, no; Foley, no; McDermott, no; Swift, no; Unsoeld, no. Republicans: Chandler, yes; Miller, yes; Morrison, yes.

WEST VIRGINIA—Democrats: Mollohan, no; Rahall, no; Staggers, no; Wise, yes.

WISCONSIN—Democrats: Aspin, no; Kleczka, no; Moody, yes; Obey, no. Republicans: Gunderson, yes; Klug, yes; Petri, yes; Roth, yes; Sensenbrenner, yes.

WYOMING—Republican: Thomas, yes.

Bush Caught in Tear-Gassing Of Protesters in Panama City

By Ann Devroy and Edward Cody
Washington Post Foreign Service

PANAMA CITY, June 11—President Bush was rushed from an open-air speech in the center of Panama City to a U.S. air base today after the one public event of his short visit erupted into an angry, surging melee of protesters, audience and Panamanians rushing to escape volleys of tear gas fired by U.S.-trained riot police.

Bush was reported by White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater to have been affected only slightly by the gas. The president later gave his address from inside the Albrook Air Base, telling "the Panamanian people" that "no tiny little left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back." In

fact, his audience at the base was American.

Fitzwater said the president was removed "really as a result of the tear gas. . . . I can't say exactly what the threat was. The tear gas was what he felt and heard." As Bush was escorted off the platform, he could be seen grimacing and rubbing his tearing eyes. His physician, Burton Lee, later said Bush was "okay . . . absolutely fine" despite minor ill effects.

The melee ruined the centerpiece event of Bush's visit here, billed as a celebration of democracy and called "A Meeting of Friends" in central Porras Park. Several hundred invited and carefully screened guests, including schoolchildren who were caught up in the gassing,

were in the the park—which was surrounded by police barricades.

In a tense atmosphere left by two days of anti-U.S. protests that included the killing of a U.S. soldier Wednesday, the children had passed through metal detectors before entering. They waited for hours while riot police formed a circle around them and Latin music played over a loudspeaker.

The demonstrations reflected resentment still felt by many Panamanians at the December 1989 U.S. invasion launched by Bush to destroy the Panamanian government headed by Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega. They were organized by student leaders and several groups representing political opposition to the U.S.-backed government and family members of Pan-

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BUDGET, From A1

for the amendment, which would have required a balanced budget by 1998 and would have required a three-fifths majority in the House and Senate to breach a budget or raise the debt ceiling.

Six Democratic co-sponsors of the amendment—Reps. Matthew G. Martinez (Calif.), Robin Tallon (S.C.), Tom Lantos (Calif.), Richard E. Neal (Mass.), James A. Traficant Jr. (Ohio) and Patricia Schroeder (Colo.)—switched and voted against it.

A bitter Rep. Joe Barton (D-Tex.), another supporter of the amendment, said, "If they had kept their written commitment, we could have won this afternoon."

In all, 150 Democrats, two Republicans—Reps. Bill Green and Benjamin A. Gilman of New York—and independent Bernard Sanders of Vermont opposed the amendment.

Shortly after the vote, Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) said he saw no point in bringing his version of the amendment before the Senate this year, and Mitchell said he was dropping plans to schedule the amendment for a vote. To do so, Mitchell said, would be a "waste of time" in light of the House vote.

"My intention is to bring it up early next year, when there will be a new composition of the House and Senate," Simon said.

Foley and House Budget Committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.), an opponent of the amendment, said they would continue working on a plan for eliminating the deficit. Their proposal, developed with Stenholm, would automatically cut spending and raise taxes if Congress and the administration failed to meet a five-year target for eliminating the deficit.

The vote capped a long day of floor debates, preliminary votes and frenetic talks and negotiations off the floor, with neither side completely certain of the outcome.

Bush invited Democratic and Republican supporters of the amendment to a White House breakfast for a last-minute pep talk before leaving for Panama and the Earth Summit in Brazil. After the White House meeting, Barton said he was confident the amendment would be approved because the president had "made dozens of phone calls, he's invited numerous members up here to the White House."

But amendment backers may have suffered an unexpected blow when Ross Perot, the undeclared independent presidential candidate who is leading in the polls, said he was opposed to the amendment.

"You don't need an amendment," the Texas billionaire said yesterday morning on NBC's "Today" show. "An amendment is an excuse not to do anything."

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton also has opposed the amendment, which seemed to gather election-year significance because of widespread frustration among voters seeking straightforward solutions to the deficit and other complex governmental problems.

Byrd made a number of calls yesterday to members of the West Virginia delegation, attempting to influence the outcome of the vote. Rep. Robert E. Wise Jr. (D) was the only member of the four-man delegation to support the amendment. "It's definitely been trench warfare for the last two days," Wise said.

Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.), who was undecided until the last moment, voted against the amendment. Markey's decision was complicated because Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy II (D-Mass.) was an advocate of the amendment while Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) was against it.

Prior to the final vote, the House rejected several alternatives, including an amendment offered by Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) that would have exempted Social Security from the balanced-budget requirement. That measure was overwhelmingly rejected, 327 to 103. Other amendments to make it difficult to raise taxes or to limit spending also were defeated.

During the debate, Stenholm argued that after years of failure in trying to control deficit spending, there was no choice but to amend the Constitution to impose discipline on Congress and the president and protect future generations.

But opponents warned that the amendment, if enacted, would create the ultimate in Washington gridlock—or "gridlock cubed," as one Democrat put it—by shifting budgetary power to minority blocs in the House and Senate or to the judiciary.

"It's an act of political desperation that could haunt us for generations," Rep. Richard J. Durbin (D-Ill.) said.

Staff writers Kenneth J. Cooper and Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

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Canned Candidates

Talk Shows Are Forums for Pat Answers

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ross Perot displayed his mastery of live television for two hours yesterday, spinning folksy yarns, deflecting sticky questions, even clowning around with weatherman Willard Scott.

Fielding calls from viewers on NBC's "Today" show, the Texas billionaire reduced the most complicated questions to what he called "pretty simple stuff." Looking directly into the camera, he said he would work with

With its hop-scotching around the country and lack of follow-up questions, the call-in format often allows candidates to get by with canned responses. When Clinton said he would cut defense spending by 40 percent, journalists might have asked: Which weapons systems would you scrap? Which bases would you close?

Perot easily sidestepped thorny questions yesterday, but he seemed more evasive as the morning wore on, especially when anchor Katie Couric pressed him on inconsistencies.

Asked about affirmative action, Perot said, "Everyone would like a yes or no," and then refused to give one. As for health care, he said, "We've got to completely restructure the system. Can you sound-bite it? No." He provided no details.

Asked why surveys show him drawing less support from women, Perot said, "I think polls are goofy." Reminded by Couric that he had commissioned a \$180,000 survey before launching his candidacy, he said: "One of my associates couldn't breathe without a poll. We took one. Waste of time and money."

Perot's weakest moment came when "Roberta," a retired Florida woman, asked about his proposal to save \$20 billion by eliminating Social Security and Medicare benefits for the wealthy. Perot's rambling response "really didn't answer the question," Roberta complained.

Perot then shifted gears, saying he would ask "people who can afford to give it up"—to relinquish their benefits *voluntarily*.

"Who are those people, Mr. Perot?" Couric asked.

"Let's go make the computer runs and define it," Perot said.

Clinton offered his share of homilies Tuesday, saying the country should "reward work and family and good American values" and that "we have to have a tolerant but not a permissive society."

When one caller asked Clinton's opinion of radio jock Howard Stern, anchor Bryant Gumbel cut him off and apologized for the frivolous question. NBC officials say they screened the calls for redundancy and geographic diversity but made no attempt to block hostile questioners.

"I turned around several times and said, 'Are there any questions about Hillary? Are there any questions about character?' And they just weren't there," said "Today" executive producer Jeff Zucker. "To me, the headline was that people cared about the issues."

THE AIR WARS

Congress "like Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire." He said federal officials should fly commercial airliners so they could "get a bad meal" and "lose their luggage" like everyone else. He ridiculed "pompous" and "blow-dried" TV anchors. And he ducked several issues by refusing to give "sound bite" answers.

It was the longest television appearance by a presidential candidate this year—at least until Bill Clinton's two-hour stint on the "CBS Morning News" next Monday—and it seemed to underscore the new rules of the video age. The 1992 presidential campaign increasingly resembles a TV talkathon, and assets that once were crucial for a candidate—strong organization or endorsements from elected officials—matter little in this klieg-lights environment.

Long-form television places a premium on projecting an image of strength, sounding sincere, jumping from subject to subject and, as Perot did yesterday, holding the interest of the viewing audience.

By contrast, Clinton's appearance on "Today" Tuesday was so dull that it bordered on soporific. The Arkansas governor was in his laundry-list mode, rattling off multiple-choice policy options in a quiet voice that rarely varied in tone.

A typical Clinton response: "I've got a disciplined five-year plan. . . . I would expand what's called the refundable earned income-tax credit."

All three candidates have intensified their efforts to connect with viewers in nontraditional television forums, unedited and unfiltered by Washington reporters. Clinton has bought a half-hour of time on NBC tonight and will chat with young people on MTV Tuesday. President Bush has agreed to interviews with CNN and ABC's "20/20."

Budget Amendment Rejected

House Vote Is 9 Short Of Margin Needed On Stenholm Measure

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House yesterday voted to reject a proposed balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution, burying for the remainder of this election year a measure that was touted by President Bush and others as a simple cure for deficit spending.

The amendment, sponsored by Rep. Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tex.), was backed by a majority of House members but failed to achieve the two-thirds vote necessary to adopt a constitutional amendment. On final passage, the House voted 280 to 153, nine votes shy of the super-majority needed.

Until this week, the amendment appeared to be sailing to victory in the House, although it was thought to face tougher opposition in the Senate, where Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) and Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) vowed to block it.

But in the end, it was defeated after intense lobbying by House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), organized labor, senior citizens groups and other organizations that feared passage would result in drastic cuts in Social Security, Medicare and other programs.

"The biggest factor was the whole gaggle of groups profiting from spending out of an empty pocket," said Jim Davidson, chairman of the National Taxpayers Union, a leading proponent of the balanced-budget amendment. "These guys [in Congress] are hopeless, and the vote was further evidence there won't be institutional change until there is a further sign of economic collapse."

In one of his rare speeches from the well, Foley said that while Congress must move ahead with efforts to eliminate the annual deficit, now approaching \$400 billion, a constitutional amendment would generate more budgetary, legislative and legal problems than it would solve.

"Let us summon the courage that is rhetorically in this House today . . . but let us do it by sparing the Constitution," he said.

Stenholm said earlier this week that he had at least 290 solid votes

See BUDGET, A11, Col. 1

Bush on U.S. Role in Yugoslavia: 'We're Not the World's Policeman'

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration acknowledged yesterday that it is looking at ways for U.S. military forces to help the United Nations ease the suffering in Yugoslavia. But President Bush played down speculation that such action might be imminent and said the United States is "not the world's policeman."

"We're concerned about the situation in Yugoslavia, but there's no commitment on that," Bush told reporters at the White House. He was responding to reports that the administration is considering options to help supply, escort and protect humanitarian relief efforts in the strife-torn former Yugoslav federation.

"We're going to do what we can in a humanitarian way, and we're working with the United Nations," Bush added. "We will do what we should do, but I'm not going to go into the fact of using U.S. troops. We're not the world's policeman."

The administration also sent Ralph Johnson, a deputy assistant secretary of state

who has acted as a special envoy to the feuding ethnic factions in Yugoslavia, to Capitol Hill to underscore Bush's policy priorities. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Europe, Johnson stressed that the administration wants to give the economic sanctions imposed by the U.N. Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro a chance to work before turning to other options.

"While we have ruled out unilateral U.S. military action, we are prepared to cooperate with future multilateral efforts to keep the peace and preserve cease-fire agreements when they are reached," Johnson added. "But we have repeatedly stated that we should focus our current efforts on political, economic and diplomatic measures. As the president stated, we will act with prudence and caution when it comes to U.S. involvement in this crisis."

State Department sources said that Johnson's statement had been drafted at the highest levels of the government and was intended to serve as a reference point for all questions about administration policy on Yugoslavia.

When senators pressed him for further details, he declined to discuss possible U.S. military actions, but said that the United States has not been asked to contribute any troops to the 1,100-man force that the United Nations hopes will be able to open the airport at Sarajevo, the besieged capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to relief flights.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams also said yesterday that there has been no request for U.S. support of the Sarajevo operation. "Even so, we're actively looking at how best we could support the U.N. effort to get humanitarian aid to Bosnia," Williams added.

Like Johnson, Williams and other officials refused to discuss any details of what the United States might do if called upon to help ease the suffering in Sarajevo. The city, whose largest population group is composed of Slavic Muslims, has been besieged by Serb irregular forces for two months as part of a campaign to bring large parts of Bosnia under Serbian control.

The continued assaults on Sarajevo reportedly have caused the administration to move reluctantly toward the view that the United States—working under a U.N. umbrella—should be prepared to use military

assets to encourage and sustain a cease-fire. The activities reportedly under consideration involve U.S. participation in an airlift of humanitarian supplies to Sarajevo and deployment of armed guards and other protection for convoys making their way through Serbian-controlled territory.

The administration's top officials are understood to be skeptical about the chances that outside military intervention can impose a durable peace in Yugoslavia. Senior Pentagon officials, in particular, are known to be strongly opposed to any direct combat role for U.S. forces.

But some State Department officials reportedly feel that demonstrating a willingness to use arms in defense of relief missions might prove to be the only way to convince Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's government that the international community means business.

Some influential members of Congress feel that the United States should go even further and prod its allies to cooperate. Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), who chaired yesterday's hearing, and Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) are discussing a resolution

that would call on Bush to seek stronger action from the Security Council than economic sanctions.

Congressional sources said last night it was not clear whether they would muster enough support to go forward with such a resolution. The sources said the precise form of the resolution also is unclear. But Lugar reportedly favors asking the Security Council to set a deadline for Serbia to halt its aggression and, if that is not heeded, to authorize individual U.N. members to take military action similar to the U.S.-led allied operation that evicted Iraqi forces from Kuwait last year.

So far, there has been no enthusiasm in the 15-member council for such action. Even the proposal to put a relief force at the Sarajevo airport is contingent upon the United Nations being able to work out a viable cease-fire that would clear Serbian irregulars and their gun emplacements from the airfield and surrounding hills. An advance force of about 60 U.N. military officials reached Sarajevo yesterday, and the Security Council is unlikely to take further action until this advance force reports on the chances for a cease-fire.

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Saudis Offer Case At Rio Summit For Oil Energy

SUMMIT, From A26

visions originally were intended to augment the global warming treaty, which industrialized nations—except the United States—considered too weak.

But Saudi Arabia led lobbying to scrap language that would have discouraged use of fossil fuels—chiefly oil and coal—because of the gases they emit when burned for energy. The gases rise into the atmosphere, where they trap solar heat like a greenhouse and are believed to contribute to a potentially catastrophic increase in the planet's temperature.

The Saudis arranged the removal from the chapter of all direct references to "full-cost pricing" of energy.

Most nations use tax breaks or direct payments to subsidize oil and coal companies—thereby keeping fuel prices lower than the actual costs of exploration, production and delivery of their products. Energy analysts say the full-cost prices of fuel would be dramatically higher than at present, discouraging consumption and promoting energy efficiency and use of renewable energy sources.

Negotiators settled on a limited provision calling for evaluation of "cost-effective" policies, including economic measures, to improve national energy efficiency. Instead of original provisions to "promote" the development of such renewable sources as solar, wind and geothermal energy, negotiators agreed to merely cite the "increasing need" for them.

By 3:30 a.m. today, Saudi officials were seeking further changes. But the summit's coordinator of negotiations, Singaporean envoy Tommy Koh, cut off debate and demanded that the section be sent to the ministerial level for final discussions.

The Saudis insist that the document call for the promotion of only "safe" energy technologies. Energy analysts said the Saudis appear to be using concerns over nuclear power's safety to discourage its growth as a competitive threat to oil.

In the hours leading up to Bush's arrival, Reilly attempted to recoup some of the public relations losses piled up in a week of increasing isolation of Washington. Reilly announced what he described as six U.S. actions in support of the global warming treaty. But three of them—signing the treaty, funding energy inventories in developing nations and increasing research of climate change—already had been announced.

His promise to monitor carbon dioxide—the primary "greenhouse gas"—produced by electric utilities already is required by the 1990 Clean Air Act.

The final two pledges—to send the global warming treaty to the Senate quickly for ratification and to draft a plan for reducing greenhouse gases six months earlier than the treaty requires—are not commitments he can guarantee because pro-business White House advisers have final say over such actions and often delay regulations.

Public relations "posturing is not going to reverse the situation," said Fred Krupp, executive director of the Environmental Defense Fund, who is attending the summit. Diplomat Koh also helped craft a solution to save the Rio Declaration, the broadest statement of environmental principles that will emerge from the Earth Summit. In exchange for U.S. agreement to leave one reference to "people under . . . occupation" in the Rio declaration, all references to the Palestinians in Israel's occupied territories were deleted from Agenda 21.

The discussions on a statement of principles for forest conservation remained tense despite progress Wednesday because several developing nations, led by Malaysia, felt the United States was trying to undercut their "right to development" by excluding this phrase from the text.

"We feel we also have a right to become, if not wealthy, at least comfortably off. But how can we get there if there will be all kinds of constraints placed in our way?" said top Malaysian delegate Renji Sathiah. Nothing the industrialized nations' reluctance to provide substantial new aid funds, he added. "It's clear no one will compensate us for our failure to develop if we are not allowed to use our own resources."

Earth Summit Creeps Toward Compromises Bush Says U.S. Will be Firm; Some Key Deadlocks Remain

By Julia Preston and Michael Weiskopf
Washington Post Foreign Service

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 11—As heads of state from around the world converged today on the United Nations Earth Summit, delegates to the conference agreed on most issues but remained divided on some crucial points.

In a negotiating session that ran until 6 a.m. today delegates rebuffed an effort by Arab oil-producing nations to remove a chapter on global warming from the 700-page international environmental plan known as Agenda 21. A compromise was reached to satisfy U.S. objections to references in key documents to Palestinians living under Israeli occupation.

In a last-minute effort to improve the United States' battered image before President Bush's arrival tonight, U.S. delegation chief William K. Reilly announced a plan to implement the global warming treaty to be signed here. But the measures Reilly mentioned had either been unveiled earlier or already are mandated by other environmental statutes.

Before departing this morning from Andrews Air Force Base, President Bush struck a firm tone about the meeting here. He praised the U.S. record of environmental achievements as "second to none," but said it would be "counterproductive" to promote environmental programs at the expense of the U.S. economy, which he called the "engine of global economic growth."

Bush said his priority is to preserve American jobs. "I am determined to protect the American taxpayer," he said. "The day of the open checkbook is over."

Bush's comments underscored the different views in Washington and Europe on whether environmental protection hurts or helps the economy. Margaret Brusasco, head of international environmental affairs for the European Community, noted that Europe is in a deeper recession than the United States but views environmental cleanup as a potential growth industry.

Energy efficiency "makes good economic sense in the short term," Brusasco said, adding that Japan is selling "green" technology. "Left, right and center,"

A total of 118 heads of state are expected to attend the summit Friday and Saturday, at the conclusion of the largest political conference in history. Nearly 8,000 delegates, about 9,000 journalists and 1,400 nongovernmental environmental activist groups have received credentials here.

A committee discussing Agenda 21 kept some provisions of a 15-page chapter meant to combat the threat of global warming but was forced by oil-producing nations to delete some of the most far-reaching language. The provisions

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escort food deliveries and that attacks on them will be answered in kind, under a U.N. mandate that allows peace keepers to fire in self-defense. "They would be endangering our lives if they tried to take the food. That is the game you have to play here," said MacKenzie, explaining when his men will use their weapons.

Yet MacKenzie and other officers here say the infantry battalion will not attempt to enter Sarajevo until a cease-fire shows signs of holding and Serbs agree to place their artillery under U.N. control.

"If the fighting continues here, we are not going to have an agreement on the airport, and that would be a tragedy for the people of Sarajevo," MacKenzie said after the convoy arrived here late this afternoon.

The prospects of a cease-fire or of the United Nations taking control of the guns range from bleak to hopeless, according to U.N. officers who have been in Bosnia for the past three months.

U.N. officers and Western diplomats in Belgrade said this week that Radovan Karadzic, the chief political leader of Bosnia's Serbs, is not standing by the agreement he made last week to enforce a cease-fire that could quickly open the airport.

Karadzic, they said, is claiming he cannot control the Serb gunners who continued this week to ravage the city.

U.N. officers said they believe Karadzic plans a "final" offensive to cut a "green line" through Sarajevo to demarcate a zone under Serb control before allowing in relief food.

Karadzic, who according to Western governments is taking his orders from Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, has demanded that Sarajevo be carved into ethnic neighborhoods, saying the division is necessary to protect the ethnic Serb minority in the city from genocide. No such threat to Serbs existed in the city before the Serb shelling of it started, accord-

ing to ethnic Serbs living in Sarajevo.

Serb forces have made a calculated decision to use starvation as a tactic to force Muslims to leave their homes, according to U.N. officials. By allowing relief food into the city, the Serb forces would be abandoning one of their key war aims.

There is a growing feeling among U.N. officials and Western diplomats that, despite their participation in negotiations and the signing of peace plans, Serb forces here may continue to use "deniable force" to delay all deliveries of relief food.

The United Nations said earlier this week that "starvation has begun" in some pockets of Sarajevo, a city whose prewar population of 600,000 has now been reduced to between 200,000 and 300,000. If these people are not reached quickly, death by starvation is expected later this month, the U.N. estimates.

Military officers here have begun to speculate openly about the need to use force to clear the Serbs' guns from the hills around the city as the only way to secure the airport. Such an operation would require air attacks and require up to 25,000 troops, a U.N. officer said here.

"Operation Sarajevo Storm, however, would not be the clean hit that we saw in Iraq," said a senior officer here.

"Unlike the [Persian] Gulf, we would quickly be drawn into a massive police operation. Police operations everywhere depend on the goodwill of the people," the officer said.

"There isn't any goodwill here."

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Sarajevo Greets U.N. Peace Keepers

Continued Shooting Blocks Plan to Reopen Airport for Food

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia, June 11—The arrival of the United Nations peace-keeping convoy here today was greeted by weeping women standing on the balconies of shell-shattered buildings. They handed out roses to U.N. soldiers and five cars of foreign journalists.

Most of the city is without water, electricity and phones. Some neighborhoods still have reserves of food; others have run out. People in the city center have begun eating cat food. Residents of the sealed-off community of Dobrinja said last weekend by telephone that they were eating dog biscuits.

The convoy that reached here is the first step in a new United Na-

tions emergency plan to reopen Sarajevo's airport and rush food to this besieged capital. But the effort is foundering as warring sides keep on shooting, both at each other and at U.N. peace keepers.

Clear proof that the Serb-dominated Yugoslav government is not honoring its repeated promises that it no longer plays any role in the Bosnian war was offered Wednesday by an air attack on Sarajevo.

A Yugoslav army jet dropped a cluster bomb on a Muslim-controlled hill near the city center, according to Lt. Col. Richard Gray, a U.N. military observer from New Zealand, who watched the attack from a window. Serb forces in Bosnia have no aircraft capable of such an attack.

The convoy of Canadian logistics

specialists, whose job it will be to round up and silence the big guns in range of the airport, was halted Thursday night after an escort sent out from Sarajevo U.N. headquarters was attacked by heavy machine guns.

A French soldier in the escort was wounded by shattered glass.

U.N. officers say it is unclear whether the firing came from Serb forces or the mostly Slavic Muslim forces defending Sarajevo from the Serbs.

Serb officers herded the stalled U.N. convoy into a former Yugoslav army barracks in Sarajevo's western suburbs and offered the weary peace keepers beds for the night. At the same time, other Serb officers were directing the evening's

See SARAJEVO, A29, Col. 1

U.N. Peace-Keeping Contingent Reaches Battered Bosnian Capital

SARAJEVO, From A1

bombardment of the Bosnian capital.

Earlier, on the way from Belgrade, a Serb gunman had told the driver of one of the big white supply trucks in the U.N. convoy that he wanted to "buy" it. When he was told no, he angrily fired his rifle into the air, an act that provoked scores of Serb fighters, many of them visibly drunk, to surround a part of the convoy.

Such delays turned what should have been a seven-hour journey from Belgrade to Sarajevo into a 34-hour odyssey.

With no other option on Thursday night, the Canadian logistics team—representing the potential salvation of starving Sarajevo residents—became the uncomfortable guests of Serb forces that control the outskirts of the city and that continue indiscriminate shelling of civilian targets in the Bosnian capital.

The peace keepers were put up in the Lukovica barracks, a former base of the Yugoslav army that was turned over last month to the so-called Serbian Army of Bosnia.

As they settled into their bunks at the barracks, the peace keepers listened to gales of machine-gun fire and the incessant burp, whiz

and thump of outgoing mortars, rockets and artillery. From the positions of the assorted barrels, it appeared that the shells were aimed at downtown Sarajevo, where residents are living in basements and waiting for the United Nations to keep them from starving.

Under an agreement reached here last week, relief flights can begin at the airport after a ceasefire has been established and artillery is brought under control.

A Canadian infantry battalion that had been assigned to peace-keeping duties in nearby Croatia is preparing to drive to Sarajevo.

That force of 900 men will, for the first time during the United Nations' involvement in the war in Bosnia, be equipped with substantial firepower. Canadian officers said the battalion will bring with it large mortars and armored vehicles mounted with U.S.-made TOW missiles, a wire-guided anti-tank weapon.

The mission of the Canadians will be to create a safety zone extending six miles around the airport and to secure a corridor for transporting food into Sarajevo.

In the past two months, in the face of Serb attacks on convoys of food and medicine, U.N. escorts have been passive. So far, the peace keepers have refused to return fire and have, on at least one occasion last month in central Sarajevo, al-



Sarajevo residents gather at a fountain to get water. Most of the city's water supply has been cut by Serbian shelling.

lowed Serb paramilitary groups to strip them of their weapons.

According to Brig. Gen. Lew MacKenzie, a Canadian who took command of the Sarajevo sector of the peace-keeping operation this week, this passive approach will change to make sure relief food is not stolen.

MacKenzie said U.N. forces will

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, June 11—Following are excerpts from an interview with Russian President Boris Yeltsin by a group of correspondents representing foreign newspapers, including *The Washington Post*:

Do you think you can develop the kind of relationship that former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev had with President Bush?

Judging by the fact that we have met more than once already, and we appeared to be able to establish personal contact and more sincerity, I think that relations will be at least not worse, and I believe better.

Do the new appointments to your government mean any slowing down of the reform process?

In no way does this mean any slowing down in the reforms, because the president of Russia does not slow down the pace of reforms. The team of Yeltsin-Gaidar [First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar] remains a team of reformers. But we need to keep in mind that a number of enterprises, particularly in the military-industrial complex, are still painfully extricating themselves from the command-administrative system. They need leaders who know their life better, who come from their own environment.

What have you achieved in the last year? Would people vote for you again today?

We started economic reforms on Jan. 2 in conditions of deep crisis of the economy of the former union and Russia. Nobody promised that the reforms would give results as early as May or June. This is not serious. I told the whole people at the [April] Congress of People's Deputies that there would be a drop in living standards and an increase in prices as a result of freeing prices three months before the start of the reforms.

Around Russia, passions are flowing and blood is being spilled. In Russia, which has 130 peoples and nations, we have prevented not only a civil war but even the slightest bloodshed or human casualties.

Many skeptics predicted a disintegration of Russia. Nothing like this happened. There are 20 republics inside Russia—it is the most unique state in the whole world; there are 150 million [people] here. It remains stable and preserves its territorial and political integrity, and there is not even a sign of disintegration.

Yes, it is hard for our people today. Yes, implementing everything in conformity with the strategy of reforms, we will introduce some changes in the tactics of reforms. These are fairly small changes. Can you really seriously conclude that there was a serious change of policy as the basis of just four new people coming into office?

When I visit regions, I attend not party meetings, as it used to be. I meet people in very unexpected places: streets, farms, vegetable gardens, in their homes, factories, can-tees and streets and squares. People talk to me face to face, toughly, and criticize me. But when I ask, 'What should we do, go in smooth ranks and march toward a bright future in the same uniforms?' they reply, 'We have already been there, and there is no way back there.' The overwhelming majority votes for reform. They say to the president, 'Don't stop. Pursue them faster, and we will endure.'

Would you have done anything differently?

Strategically, I do not think so, but there have been some mistakes that could have been prevented. You never know where you are going to fall and where you spread the straw. We lag behind with the creation of a social safety net for poor people, those with low incomes. Yes, decisions were made, but we reached a bureaucratic wall where there was sabotage, resistance to implementing decisions of the cabinet. We need to struggle for their implementation.

It is a very difficult process. Russia is unique, the reforms are unique. Other countries knew what private property was, but in this country such an understanding had even been erased from the memories of the descendants because we are already down to the second or third generation. Why is it that today when I go to meet people, young people stand in the front ranks? They understand better what reforms are, they see freedom coming to them, freedom of choice. If you want to make money, you can, because there are now no limits in this respect.

If the Constitutional Court confirms the ban on the [Communist] Party, should legal proceedings be taken against individual leaders?

I do not want to mention names, but I say that if the court decides that someone is

guilty, then he should bear personal responsibility. I was in the Altai region [of central Siberia], and I saw on the map a huge area of fenced-off territory as a result of the nuclear tests in Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan. Isn't it a crime to issue in 1949 a special instruction to carry out tests when the prevailing wind blows only to the northeast, to the most densely populated part of Altai region? If it were to the southwest, at least there they have fewer people. Was it not a crime? I do not know whether those leaders who made the decision are still alive—that is being checked—but if they are alive, they should bear responsibility. It did not take a lot of brains to figure out whether a million people or 100 people were going to be contaminated.

Is there a real Commonwealth? And is there any plan on what should happen if Ukraine quits?

I still believe that, for at least some historical period, the Commonwealth will live. Ties created over decades—and with some republics hundreds of years—are too close. We have a 1,000-year history between us and Ukraine, a history of good relations. It cannot be ruled out that one state or two will quit the CIS, but this is not a drama or a tragedy.

Has the government made a decision about upgrading or replacing nuclear power plants?

We have already made a decision on the safety of nuclear power plants and reactors. This question was discussed in every detail by scientists and specialists in the Academy of Sciences and a proper decision has been made. Over a period of two or three years, we will take out of service the nuclear power plants of the first [Chernobyl] generation. Second, scientific and research and development designs have been made for the reconstruction of atomic power plants of the second and third generations, which would ensure full safety in accordance with international standards under the control of the IAEA. Third, both a scientific and research and development project has been carried out on fourth-generation power plants that will provide full safety above world standards.

Questions about your character and your reliability have been raised in the Russian parliament. How do you respond to them?

As for whether I am reliable, my whole biography demonstrates my character. That's one [point]. The second is that my administration is loyal to me; it believes in me. Take the [August] coup as an example. Not one member of my team defected to the other camp, although the situation was extremely critical.

Do you think an IMF agreement will be ready for signing [at the Group of Seven's July summit] in Munich, or can you succeed without it?

I believe an agreement will be signed, and the delay in signing is linked only to this—and I have spoken of this—that we will not sign any agreement under orders from the IMF. We have a program; we have principles and a Russia that the IMF does not know, and a Russian people that the IMF does not know. If the IMF insists that we immediately release prices on energy, we will not agree. We know cases in the world when some countries have followed the advice of the IMF and suffered a fiasco.

If we don't sign, will this harm the reforms? You know, when we have hundreds and hundreds of millions, trillions, of gross national product, \$24 billion is unlikely to save the situation in Russia. Basically, these are our concerns, our difficulties, our problems. They are for us—the leadership, the people and the president—to resolve.

I agree that if we get [foreign] support, the process will go faster, with less risk. Another detail that is not unimportant: As soon as the IMF opens these gates, \$24 billion, there will be a powerful flow of private capital, as if under its protection. This private capital, hundreds of billions, this will help. This is not credit, but pure investment. We will get rid of all that stands in the way in our legislation, including the question of land.

What worries you most about the immediate future?

I fear most for those who have a very low budget and live significantly below the level of poverty. This is what concerns me. The solution could be simple: Put out more paper money, raise pensions, stipends. We have done this, but on levels such that inflation would not cross into hyperinflation.

Are you prepared to use your presidential powers to speed up the process of privatization?

Ready. I think I will bring a surprise with me to the United States.

'Overwhelming Majority' Backs Reforms, Yeltsin Says

Top Secrets
Tell of Soviet
Obsessiveness

By Margaret Shapiro
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, June 11—The Russian government today put on display a smattering of classified documents from Communist Party secret archives that reveal a leadership so obsessed with control, that everything from news reports, of crime to summer vacations by general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev had to be approved by the Politburo or Central Committee.

The "secret" and "top-secret" documents, including some dated as recently as last summer, offer an insight into the now disbanded party's complicated financial empire, which has become the subject of legal wrangling and allegations of hidden assets.

In a report dated April 20, 1990, and labeled top secret, the head of the party Central Committee's management division, Nikolai Krutchenko, put forward a proposal by the Hungarian Socialist Party to allow the "Soviet side" to acquire a 15 percent interest, through a package of bonds, in the bank of "Corporate Innovation and Construction" in Budapest.

"The dividends are guaranteed," Krutchenko wrote. The document carried the word "agreed," with several signatures under it. Krutchenko committed suicide after last August's coup attempt.

The documents also show the Soviet leadership's irritation with the growing influence of Russia but then a popular critic who had served on the Politburo before being ousted.

A Central Committee document dated Feb. 20, 1990, a few months before Yeltsin was elected head of the Russian parliament, reported that Yeltsin has been invited to visit the United States, Germany and France to promote his autobiography. The book is expected to be "of a villifying character," the document noted, but it recommended that Yeltsin be allowed to travel anyway so that "we would not give him a pretext to aggravate the situation around his person."

For many perusing the material, the most arresting aspect was the minutiae in which the top leaders involved themselves. At a meeting of the Politburo on July 31, 1989, for instance, the group considered the top-secret document titled, "On the vacation of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party of the Soviet Union Gorbachev from Aug. 7, 1989."

The documents were on display in glass cases and not yet available for individual examination, which made it difficult in some cases to find out complete details.

In a related development, the Russian newspaper Izvestia cited party archives for the 1923-26 period as saying American industrialist Armand Hammer, whose extensive business deals with the Soviet Union helped make him a rich and influential man here and at home, once carried \$34,000 in cash to the United States to help organize the Communist Party there.

The article quoted a document saying that after winning approval for an asbestos development from the fledgling Soviet government, Hammer, on request of the Communist International, "took \$34,000 cash to the U.S.A. Communist Party."

Hammer's father, Julius, was one of the early organizers of the American party and an early supporter of the Soviet regime after the 1917 revolution. Armand Hammer denied being a member of the party or other Communist organizations, saying he was just a businessman interested in making money. Until his death in 1990 he had a wide array of business dealings here and reportedly was an occasional intermediary between the Soviet and U.S. governments.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Yeltsin Sees Summit Pact On Arms Cuts

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, June 11—Russian President Boris Yeltsin set the stage today for his first formal summit meeting with President Bush by expressing confidence that they will sign an agreement next week outlining deep cuts in nuclear weapon stocks.

In a wide-ranging interview in advance of his trip to Washington, Yeltsin said he was determined to push ahead as rapidly as possible with Russia's economic and political transformation after more than seven decades of Communist Party rule. At the same time, he insisted that he would not allow Western governments or the International Monetary Fund to dictate the pace of economic reform in Russia.

"We have a program, we have principles and a Russia that the IMF does not know, and a Russian people that the IMF does not know," said Yeltsin, during an interview with a small group of American and European journalists in an ornately decorated chamber of the Kremlin's Grand Hall. "If the IMF insists that we immediately [end price controls] on energy, we will not agree. We know cases in the world when some countries have followed the advice of the IMF and suffered a fiasco."

Speaking on the eve of the first
See YELTSIN, A28, Col. 3

■ Baker goes to London for
new talks on arms cuts. Page A28

Yeltsin Sees Arms Pact at Summit

YELTSIN, From A1

anniversary of his inauguration as Russia's first president, Yeltsin expressed pride in his achievements while conceding some "tactical mistakes." He claimed credit for preserving the country's political stability and territorial integrity, despite a sharp drop in Russian living standards and the fact that "passions are flowing and blood is being spilled" around the country's borders.

Yeltsin underscored his determination to restore Russia's national self-esteem by revealing that he plans while in Washington "to meet or at least talk by phone" with exiled Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn and urge him to return home. Solzhenitsyn, who now lives in Cavendish, Vt., was the most prominent Russian cultural figure to be expelled from the Soviet Union under the now discredited regime of Leonid Brezhnev.

U.S. diplomats here expect Yeltsin to use the Washington summit to declare that post-communist Russia shares common values with the West and to try to establish himself in the American public mind as a more reliable negotiating partner than former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. Yeltsin predicted that at least 20 documents would be signed during his visit, including what he described as "a framework agreement on the principles for deeper cuts in nuclear weapons."

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev will meet with Secretary of State James A. Baker III in London Friday to try to overcome remaining obstacles to the agreement so that it can be signed at the summit in Washington. The biggest sticking point to an accord is Washington's insistence that Moscow give up its land-based multiple-warhead ballistic missiles, which are the backbone of its nuclear strike force.

"This is very, very serious," Yeltsin said. "That is why final work on this document is still going on. Of course, we would like to bring our positions closer, but if we do not come close now, then we must come closer when we meet face to face" with Bush.

During the 70-minute interview, Yeltsin sought to emphasize his ability to develop a close personal relationship with Bush, whom he last met Feb. 1 at Camp David after a visit to the United Nations. Yeltsin said he thought his relations with Bush would be "at the very least no worse, and I believe better" than relations between Bush and Gorbachev.

The Bush administration is going out of its way to demonstrate its esteem for Yeltsin, despite reports that senior administration officials originally regarded him as a boor and would have preferred to keep doing business with Gorbachev. Yeltsin noted with pride that during his Washington visit he will be the first Russian or Soviet leader ever to address a joint meeting of Congress.

The 61-year-old Russian leader used the interview to reiterate his full support for his team of young economic reformers, headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar. He poured scorn on speculation in the Russian press that recent appointments of several representatives of the hidebound state-run industrial sector to his government meant he is backing away from reform.

"In no way does this mean any slowing down in the reforms, because the president of Russia does not slow down the pace of reforms. And if the generator [of the reforms] does not slow the pace, then other mea-

bers of the [Yeltsin-Gaidar] team will proceed with the same speed," Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin said he plans to use his presidential powers to push ahead with the privatization of Russia's predominantly state-run economy, adding with a smile: "I think I will bring a surprise with me to the United States." Tonight the Russian government approved a privatization program under which individual Russian citizens will be allocated checks allowing them to buy shares in state industries.

The Russian president struck a particularly ambivalent note when asked about Western support for Russia's economic reforms. He said an agreement with the IMF could open the floodgates for Western investment in the Russian economy. He added, however, that \$24 billion in economic assistance already pledged by Western governments was "unlikely to save the situation in Russia."

"Basically, these are our concerns, our difficulties, our problems. They are for us—the leadership, the people and the president—to resolve," Yeltsin said. "I agree that if we get [foreign] support, the process will go faster, with less risk."

Yeltsin reiterated an earlier offer to take Russian nuclear weapons targeted on U.S. cities off military alert as a first stage toward their destruction. He also expressed interest in the idea of creating a joint U.S.-Russian early warning system to monitor the launching of nuclear missiles anywhere in the world as the first step to a global defense system.

Asked if he supported moves to put former communist officials on trial for crimes committed during the Soviet era, Yeltsin said he felt some leaders should bear legal responsibility for their previous actions. He cited the case of the human and environmental damage caused by a decision in 1949 to conduct nuclear testing in northern Kazakhstan, which sent nuclear fallout across Russia's densely populated Altai region.

"I do not know whether those leaders who made the decision are still alive—that is being checked—but if they are alive, they should bear responsibility. It did not take a lot of brains to figure out whether a million people or 100 people were going to be contaminated," Yeltsin said.

At the same time, Yeltsin said the question of criminal responsibility of former communist leaders should be left to the courts. "We cannot answer white terror with red terror as in 1917 and 1918," he said, referring to the mass persecution by the communists of supporters of the overthrown czarist regime. "It is possible that separate individuals will be brought to trial, but this will not be of a mass character."

Yeltsin brushed aside recent claims by opposition members of the Russian parliament about his alleged fondness for alcohol, saying that he "tried not to notice such dirt, insults and disinformation." He cited his stand in defense of democracy during the failed Kremlin takeover last August as evidence of his reliability.

Yeltsin said he saw no signs of a coup or other coup attempt, insisting that he had no "reason to doubt" the loyalty of the newly created Russian armed forces. He also said his travels around the country had convinced him the "overwhelming majority" of Russians want him to push ahead with reforms.

"The lack of knowledge about our people, in the West among other places, has led to the idea that people are likely to riot. Of course, there are certain limits, but so far such events are not likely to happen."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Quayle Vows To Press Issue Of Abortion

Attack Continues On 'Cultural Elite'

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Addressing an antiabortion rally that resembled a Republican campaign event, Vice President Quayle yesterday vowed to "speak up for life" throughout the coming political contest.

The address to the National Right to Life convention at a Crystal City hotel continued Quayle's heavily publicized assault on the "cultural elite" that he accuses of undermining "family values" in America.

More than 1,000 delegates cheered almost every sentence in Quayle's 20-minute talk and, before and after the speech, chanted, "Four more years!" Quayle joked, "With that reception, I know full well I'm not addressing a convention of the Hollywood Screen Writers Guild."

Since he drew his heaviest media coverage in three years by criticizing TV character "Murphy Brown" for becoming an unwed mother, Quayle has turned the resulting controversy into a series of speeches criticizing the "cultural elite," including Hollywood, television and the news media.

Quayle has taken a strong anti-abortion stand since the beginning of his political career but has said a number of times as vice president that the Republican Party should be open to different views on abortion and that the issue should not be the focus of political contests.

In yesterday's appearance, the son and grandson of Indiana newspaper publishers said, "the overwhelming emphasis of the national media has been in favor of abortion" and in opposition to "the fundamental value of American society: the value of human life."

Quayle praised the "pro-life movement" as being "committed to tolerance . . . committed to compassion." The "real intolerance in contemporary society is to be found on the other side" among those "who have tried to silence religious leaders when they speak out in defense of children before birth."

"The cultural elite," he said, "flees from the consequences of its self-indulgence. If, as a result of one's own actions, a child is conceived, they have a simple solution: Get rid of it. Our solution, for those mothers who feel they cannot raise the child, is adoption. . . . They believe in the right to dispose of life. We believe in the right to life."

Quayle was introduced by National Right to Life president Wanda Franz, who called him a legislator with a "100 percent" voting record on the abortion issue. But in the past, Quayle also has identified himself with the view that the Republican Party should welcome people with diverse views on the abortion question, the "big tent" approach advocated by the late Lee Atwater. Referring to abortion, he told The Washington Post in an interview last year, "I think people make a mistake trying to exploit it in the political realm."

However, in a meeting with reporters Wednesday, Charles R. Black Jr., senior political adviser to the Bush-Quayle campaign, provided a clear rationale for making abortion part of the 1992 Republican race.

"In any campaign," he said, "the first task is to solidify the base. In a three-way race, that 38 to 40 percent base may be enough." Later, Black said that surveys showed that within that Republican base, "there are very few single-issue, pro-choice voters." Referring to probable Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and independent candidate Ross Perot, both abortion-rights advocates, Black said, "In a three-way race with two pro-choice candidates, I believe the one pro-life candidate [Bush] has an advantage."

Quayle made a similar, but broader, claim in his speech. He accused the media of distorting the basic Supreme Court abortion-rights decision, *Roe v. Wade*, and said that "when the full implications of *Roe* are explained to the American people, they reject that decision. In poll after poll, the majority of Americans support limitations on abortion."

Quayle said the Pennsylvania anti-abortion statute on which the Supreme Court is expected to rule in the next two weeks is "a reasonable effort . . . to advance the cause of life." That statute would still permit abortions but requires a 24-hour waiting period, notification of spouses and parental consent for minors.

Quayle did not predict the outcome of that case but said that in the end, "we shall carry the day" and make most, if not all, abortions illegal. Paraphrasing Samuel Gompers, an early leader of the labor movement who said the goal was to get "more," Quayle said, "That's our answer too, when we're asked how many children we want to save. As many as we can today. And tomorrow, more. And someday, all."

The Washington Post

By Thomas B. Edsall
and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Clinton comes to Washington today for a weekend of meetings that may force him to resolve a simmering dispute among his supporters and advisers about his relationship to the party establishment and key interest groups.

Interviews with Clinton backers here and aides in Little Rock the past three days indicated that a tug-of-war is being waged between proponents of "insider" and "outsider" strategies for the Arkansas governor in his uphill battle against President Bush and independent Ross Perot. Until it is resolved, campaign aides and Clinton supporters say, his campaign will not be able to pull out of the seeming paralysis that has beset it in recent weeks.

The conflict merges with a strategic debate about the need that some—but not all—of his advisers see to tone down his original appeal to disaffected "Reagan Democrats" in order to "mobilize the base" of traditional Democratic voters.

This strategy battle may be joined this weekend when Clinton meets with Jesse L. Jackson's National Rainbow Coalition. The issue of whether to accommodate expected pressures and demands from Jackson or to confront him and his followers has become the focus of contention between the two camps.

In both 1984 and 1988, Jackson used the period before and during the Democratic convention to force well-publicized showdowns with Walter F. Mondale and Michael S. Dukakis over platform planks, rules and the makeup of the national ticket.

After those elections, Mondale and Dukakis aides said they believed the efforts to satisfy Jackson had weakened the image of the nominees as they started the general election campaign.

As Clinton prepared for his first meeting with Jackson since clinching the Democratic nomination, his aides were sharply divided on the right approach to Jackson in particular and to election strategy in general.

According to a number of sources, campaign manager David Wilhelm is most supportive of accommodation and most opposed to challenging Jackson; communications director George Stephanopoulos and consultant Paul Begala are in the middle; and most willing to take up a Jackson gauntlet are pollster Stanley Greenberg and consultants James Carville and Mandy Gruenwald.

These differences translate to larger strategy discussions. The strongest proponent of securing the party base is Wilhelm, who ran Richard M. Daley's successful bid to win the mayoralty of Chicago by overcoming some of the most severe racial tensions of any city in America. In internal debates, he has argued that the first step in preparation for the general election must be to firm up the Democratic coalition, and that the Perot challenge makes such a move all the more logical, on the theory Perot and Bush will split white votes, giving Clinton a shot at winning such heavily black states as Louisiana, Georgia and Mississippi.

On the other side of the spectrum, Greenberg argues flatly that "any core strategy is bound to fail. . . . The Republican coalition is coming apart, and the principal task we have is to provide them [defecting GOP coalition members] with an attractive alternative. The moment we turn our back on them and



Bill Clinton steps from car at Little Rock airport to board plane for New Jersey.

adopt a narrow base appeal, we deny those voters a home."

Stephanopoulos, in turn, advocates the development of what he calls "web" issues that provide common centrist ground to both Democratic core loyalists and to marginal voters, the exact opposite of the wedge issues—busing, quotas, the death penalty—used by the GOP to break up the Democratic coalition.

"The key for Clinton is going to be discovering what the web issues are. The people are hurting enough that they would respond to a core message that unites them. The real question is how do you make them [the marginal voters] give the benefit of the doubt to Clinton, rather than to Perot."

The same debate echoes in Washington, where some of Clinton's early backers—mainly from the moderate Democratic Leadership Council (DLC)—are resisting what they see as efforts to tug him to the left.

Rep. Mike Espy (D-Miss.), probably the most prominent black elected official in the DLC, said, "Clinton has to run up the middle, as he started out doing in New Hampshire. . . . I'm not saying he should take the base for granted, but he should not change his message."

On the other hand, Robert Borosage, an adviser to Jackson in his past campaigns, argued that in the period between now and Labor Day, Clinton's "major work has to be to get the base of the Democratic Party very excited. If you get some people excited now, there's a much better chance to get others interested later on."

The question of dealing with Jackson is particularly sensitive, because Clinton advisers are uncertain how other prominent black leaders would react to a conflict between the nominee and the two-time presidential contender.

Several prominent black elected officials have passed word privately to Clinton that "you should keep your distance" from Jackson, but none was willing to be quoted as giving that advice.

Espy came closest by saying he had told Clinton he should reject demands that he put a black into one of the top posts in his campaign. "We have the party chairman," Espy said, referring to Ronald H. Brown.

"We don't need somebody else in the cockpit. It would send the wrong message."

But the Jackson challenge is not the only test case Clinton faces. Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn (D), who led a delegation of big-city mayors to a meeting with Perot earlier this week, said he hopes to sit down with Clinton while both are in Washington and attending Jackson's gathering. Clinton so far has refused to endorse the multibillion-dollar urban reinvestment plan the mayors are pushing, and Flynn argued in an interview that without that kind of commitment, the votes Clinton needs will not be there.

"You have Bush completely, Perot to some degree, and Clinton partially, gearing their message to the suburban community," Flynn said. "But there are 20 million votes in the top 50 cities in the country, and those people so far have stayed home, not because they have abandoned the Democratic Party but because the Democratic Party has abandoned them."

Party Chairman Brown accepts at least part of Flynn's argument. In a recent meeting with reporters, he said that in 1988, "the traditional Democratic voters stayed home, because we didn't give them a reason to vote. We've got to tell our core we won't take them for granted."

At the same time, Brown said, Clinton must try to appeal to independent-minded young voters and to "get back some of those Democrats who have drifted away since 1980."

Resolving all those competing strategies has tied the Clinton campaign into knots, some insiders acknowledge. Some top advisers to Clinton argue that in order to regain the vitality that his campaign had a year ago, he must become involved in highly publicized confrontations with one or more Democratic constituencies.

"He emerged from the primaries as a 'political' person, and therefore someone who is weak, who will succumb to special interests. . . . He has to break that image," one adviser said.

Edsall reported from Little Rock and Broder from Washington. Staff writer Maralee Schwartz in Washington contributed to this report.

Weekend of Meetings on Strategy
Bringing Clinton to Washington
Proponents of 'Insider' and 'Outsider' Approaches in Tug-of-War

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ross Perot, the undeclared independent presidential candidate who has promised tough action to balance the budget, said yesterday he would tackle rising Social Security costs by asking prosperous retirees to give up their benefits voluntarily.

Fielding phone calls for an unprecedented two hours on network television, the billionaire Texan offered to set an example by forgoing his own Social Security and Medicare entitlements as well as working without pay if he is elected president.

"Well, you can afford to," said a caller to NBC's "Today" show, where Perot's scheduled hour on the

phones was stretched to two when the program was swamped with responses.

"That's the criteria," the candidate answered. "People who can afford to give it up.... Send them a letter or a postcard and say, 'Gee, would you consider this?' Then I think you'll find it very heartwarming."

Perot's dialogue with callers and Katie Couric, the morning show's co-anchor, on a range of issues from affirmative action to gun control was the most detailed exchange on his views in his young and unconventional campaign, which has emphasized appearances on television over more traditional rallies, speeches and news conferences. Though the questions were frequently pointed, Perot skirted more positions than he took, and when the program was

See PEROT, A16, Col. 2

Perot Targets Affluent Retirees

Texan Says He Would Seek Volunteers to Give Up Social Security

Perot Says Affluent Retirees Should Give Up Social Security

PEROT, From A1

over, he left New York and returned to Dallas and the silence of his off-camera campaign.

Folksy even as he gazed intensely into the camera, Perot rambled through an avuncular mix of anecdotes, colorful phrases and "good-news, bad-news" summaries that make up his electronic version of a stump speech. He quoted lyrics from "Annie" and "America the Beautiful," and reflected on the difference to a farmer between a soft rain and a hard rain.

And as critics have charged him with doing before, Perot several times appeared to stretch the truth; he said, for example, that dairy farmers get a raw deal because they can't afford lobbyists or political action committees.

In fact, two dairy farmers' PACs—the Associated Milk Producers and the Mid-America Dairymen Inc.—made \$4.2 million in campaign contributions during the 1980s, according to Common Cause. Both groups rank in the top 40 PAC contributors to current members of Congress.

For the first time since supporters began a drive to put Perot's name on the ballot, a caller from Vero Beach, Fla., gave him a public taste of the wrath that predictably awaits any

candidate who dares to discuss Social Security cuts. "Let's assume we have people who just don't need it," Perot said, after a lengthy discourse praising the generosity of older Americans. "I would first ask them to voluntarily give it up. Do you have any problem with that? You don't even think we should ask them to voluntarily give it up?"

Perot has said in the past that he would cut \$20 billion to \$100 billion from Social Security and Medicare costs, in part by eliminating payments to people in "the top" income levels. The caller said she was "absolutely shocked" by estimates that all retirees with incomes over \$60,000 a year might have to give up their benefits to realize even \$20 billion in savings.

"I have never said that," Perot responded. He accused "some squirrel" in the Bush administration of circulating "phony" statistics based on data from 1988 rather than the current year. And he explained that some of his earlier estimates were based on an off-hand comment from an unidentified economist: "Perot, if people like you would give up your Social Security and Medicare and what have you, we could make a tremendous dent in the budget."

In some speeches, he said, "I have parroted that statement."

Perot, who leads President Bush and probable Democratic nominee Bill Clinton in several nationwide polls, said the nation's declining economic strength is "the core issue" of the campaign, and suggested that many of the specifics he was asked about were overemphasized.

For example, he endorsed abortion rights, but said greater responsibility in avoiding unwanted pregnancies could reduce the question to "a tiny issue." He declined to take a position on affirmative action, saying, "The problem is, see, affirmative action produces advantages and disadvantages.... What I am aiming for is a society where every player is fully qualified."

Perot also avoided a yes-or-no answer when asked about the so-called Brady bill, which would create a national waiting period to buy handguns. Instead, he advocated that criminals who wield guns be given penalties "so severe that even if you're drunk, high and halfway crazy, you'll probably not take your gun into a 7-Eleven store if you're going to try to hold it up and shoot half the people there."

"We've got to cut that out. We've got to make the streets safe for the honest, decent people in this country," he said. "We'll do it."

Won't be pretty, but we'll do it," he added, repeating a phrase he has often employed when talking about fighting crime.

When Couric tried to pin Perot down on the question of national health insurance, he said, "Well, that carries all kinds of connotations.... It's not that simple. Now, if you've got to have it that simple, just don't vote for me."

Salted among Perot's amiable responses were a number of broadsides at the president. Just months before the Persian Gulf War started, Perot charged, Bush "was sending delegations over to burp and diaper and pamper Saddam Hussein and tell him how nice he was." Perot blasted Republicans who leave government jobs to lobby for foreign governments and companies. And he blamed the crisis among banks and saving and loan institutions on "you-know-who.... Or maybe if you don't know who, it was Vice President George Bush. He was in charge of deregulation during the savings-and-loan banking problems."

Even when he was asked by a caller to cite the good points of his opponents, Perot had trouble mustering a kind word for the incumbent. Bush, he said, "has a world-class First Lady wife," and "first-class children." Compare his assessment of Clinton: "A tremendous example of the American Dream."

Senate Refuses to Halt Delaying Tactics On Bill Restricting Employer Rights

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Despite a last-minute concession by organized labor to limit its ability to strike, the Senate yesterday refused to end delaying tactics that are blocking a vote on controversial legislation to bar employers from permanently replacing striking workers.

The largely party-line vote to impose cloture and clear the way for a vote on the labor-backed bill was 55 to 41, or five less than the 60 required to limit debate.

But the bill's sponsors are expected to pick up the votes of Sens. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) and Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.) when they return from the United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, and Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) was weighing last night whether to schedule another cloture vote for next week.

It was not clear how many, if any, votes were swayed by the AFL-CIO's proposed compromise. Most of the senators who were regarded as wavering on the bill voted against ending the Senate's debate.

All Democrats except five from southern and border states supported cloture, while it was opposed by all Republicans except for five from heavily unionized states.

"Unfortunately, a majority is not enough We will fight on," said AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland

in a statement after the vote. The cloture vote came after the AFL-CIO, in a historic concession, offered Wednesday to limit its long-guaranteed right to strike in exchange for restrictions on the hiring of permanent replacement workers during strikes over contract disputes.

The concession was embodied in an amendment proposed by Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) and accepted by Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), chief sponsor of the striker replacement bill.

Under Packwood's proposal, employers would be barred from hiring permanent striker replacements if a union sought to send unresolved disputes to a three-member fact-finding panel appointed by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and accepted the panel's recommendations.

Only if the union refused to submit the dispute to the fact-finders or refused to accept their proposed settlement would an employer be free to hire permanent replacements if a strike occurred.

Use of permanent replacements for strikers, allowed under current law, escalated after former president Ronald Reagan replaced striking air traffic controllers in 1981. Recently, the United Auto Workers went back to work at Caterpillar Inc. without a contract after the company threatened to hire permanent replacements for the striking UAW members.

The legislation, which was approved by the House last July, had been held up for months in the Senate by Republican filibuster threats

and Democrats' inability to round up enough votes for cloture.

The proposed compromise did not win over the Bush administration or major employer groups and drew hostile condemnations from the bill's leading foes in the Senate.

It was "even worse" than the original bill in several ways, including elevating the role of the federal government in collective bargaining, said Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah). The proposal was "idiotic . . . the changes are not only bad, they're pathetic," he said.

"What we really have here is a power grab by organized labor," added Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.).

In response, Packwood said the modified striker replacement proposal could be "an historic turning point" in labor relations, contributing to settlement of disputes by nonconfrontational means rather than strikes and lockouts.

All Washington area senators except John W. Warner (R-Va.) voted for cloture.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 11:30 a.m.

Committees:

Joint Economic—9:30 a.m.

Technology & national security subc.

Information network of the future 628

Dirksen Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Not in session.

Committees:

Appropriations—9 a.m. Foreign operations, export financing & related programs subc. Mark up FY93 approps. H-140 Capitol.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Local Lawmakers All Took Gift Trips

By Kent Jenkins Jr.

Washington Post Staff Writer

Maryland Rep. Tom McMillen (D) retired from pro basketball in 1986, but last year he still earned \$25,000 in deferred salary from the Washington Bullets.

D.C. Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton (D) was given a \$200 rocking chair by George Washington University, even though she has opposed the school's efforts to get millions of dollars in congressional aid for its hospital.

And Virginia Rep. Frank Wolf (R), who for years has sought to focus attention on the problems of Eastern Europe, spent a week in the collapsing country of Yugoslavia last summer at the expense of the International Foundation, described as a group of "Christian businessmen."

The Washington area's House members made public these and other items yesterday when they released their personal financial statements for 1991. The statements showed that all the region's lawmakers took domestic or foreign trips at the expense of lobbying groups or private foundations.

The statements also showed that most of the area's House members are not independently wealthy. Most of the lawmakers said that their biggest assets were either savings accounts or retirement funds.

The one lawmaker in the region with extensive business holdings was McMillen, a partner in a telephone pager business and an Anne Arundel County real estate development concern.

The disclosures show that area lawmakers were reimbursed by private interests for their expenses on a wide variety of trips, including fact-finding visits to Japan, golf tournaments in Idaho and trade association gatherings at plush resorts such as West Virginia's Greenbrier.

Among Maryland House members, McMillen was reimbursed for 12 trips, including appearances at the Sports Law Institute in Madison, Wis., the National Association of Broadcasters in New York and a golf tournament in Idaho.

Rep. Wayne T. Gilchrest (R), who is opposing McMillen in Eastern Maryland's 1st District, listed only one privately financed visit outside his district: five tickets to a Baltimore Orioles game provided by Baltimore Gas and Electric.

Montgomery County Rep. Constance A. Morella (R), who chairs a bipartisan study group on foreign relations, traveled to Japan, Hungary and South Africa at the expense of several private foundations. Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D) traveled to New Orleans for a National Cable Television Association gathering and to Las Vegas for a meeting of the plumbers and pipefitters union.

Rep. James P. Moran Jr. (D) took three trips to the Greenbrier: for the Virginia League of Savings Institutions and for the Navy Federal Credit Union. On the third, he shared a private airplane ride home with a man he met at the resort.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Competitiveness Council Is Criticized on Hill

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

At a spirited closed-door session of a House Appropriations subcommittee, Rep. David E. Skaggs (D-Colo.) this week offered an amendment to eliminate the \$86,000 staff budget for the Council on Competitiveness run from Vice President Quayle's office.

After Republicans promised a presidential veto of the appropriations bill and Democrats argued over tactics, Skaggs withdrew the amendment and said he will reintroduce it in the full committee, which is scheduled to meet early next week.

"In my opinion, what the council has been doing is illegal and unethical," Skaggs said in an interview yesterday. He said the council's "deliberate subversion" of the regulation-writing process was illegal, and he called unethical the participation in council meetings of persons with financial stakes in matters the body takes up.

Skaggs's amendment would cut \$86,000 from the Office of the Vice President's budget request. That is the amount used to pay two vice presidential employees who devote up to 80 percent of their time to council work, according to the office. The amendment also would prohibit any other congressionally appropriated funds from being used to support council business.

Congressional Democrats, public-interest groups, environmentalists

and others have criticized the council for intervening in the regulation-writing process on behalf of business interests, and for doing so in secret.

Despite the requests of at least seven congressional committees that have attempted to investigate the small council staff, the council has refused to provide information on who it meets with and what regulations it has influenced.

Government agencies are responsible for writing the regulations that implement legislation passed by Congress. Working with the Office of Management and Budget, the council has changed or tried to change regulations in a wide range of areas, including com-

See COUNCIL, A7, Col. 1



REP. DAVID E. SKAGGS
... calls actions "illegal and unethical"

Skaggs Assails Quayle's Panel

COUNCIL, From A6

mercial aircraft noise, protection of underground water from landfill runoff, fees for real estate settlements and, most notably, implementation of the Clean Air Act.

In an interview with The Washington Post last year, Quayle said his goal, with President Bush's authority, "is to make sure that 'regulatory creep'—to use his words—does not get back into his administration."

At the markup session Wednesday of the House Appropriations Treasury, Postal Service and general government subcommittee, some Democrats argued that for Congress to do away with the council would be to "let George Bush off the hook" for

the council's action, said one person who attended the meeting.

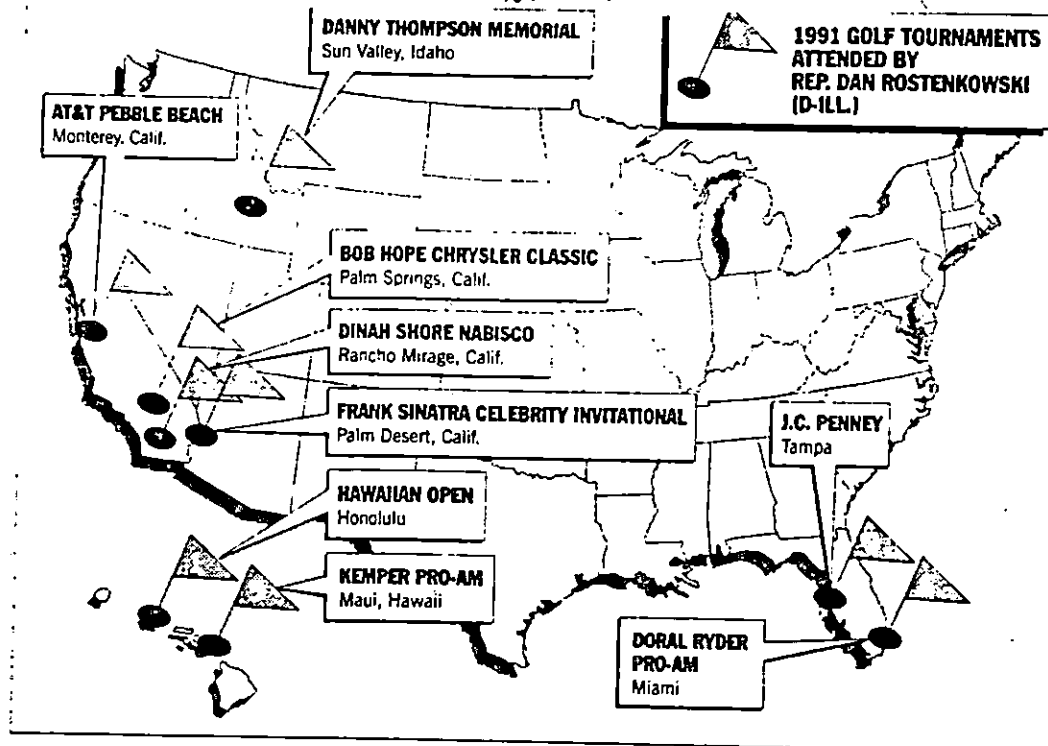
"The concern was that, yes, the council may be doing wrong things, but they are not some rogue agency, they are part of Bush's policy," he said. "The reason Dan Quayle is running around crazy like this is because George Bush said, 'Go get 'em.'"

Subcommittee markups are usually done behind closed doors, with little news media attention. Full committee hearings are usually well-attended by reporters.

The House Appropriations Committee, meanwhile, yesterday rejected a White House request for a \$166 million increase for the Superconducting Super Collider, voting to continue funding at 1992 levels, Reuter reported.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992



In 1991, Rostenkowski Played Through Interest Groups Helped Ways and Means Chief Indulge Love of Golf

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

Last September, Golf Digest magazine named Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) one of the 10 "most powerful people" in the sport because as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee he protected the tax-exempt status of pro-amateur golf events.

No wonder. Rostenkowski's love of golf is as legendary among his House colleagues as his record-breaking ability to make paid speeches to special-interest groups.

A contested March primary kept him from his usual winter tour of celebrity links appearances this year. But his 1991 financial disclosure form shows he took part in nine golf tournaments last year, sometimes mixing in speeches and other times arriving home from the West Coast then packing his clubs again for Florida the next day.

The records show that Rostenkowski started his 1991 golf swing by taking his wife and his 18 handicap to the Hawaiian Open in

Honolulu Jan. 13-17, arriving just before the air war to liberate Kuwait began. After a quick trip to West Palm Beach, Fla., for a speech, Rostenkowski returned to Washington for the Jan. 23 organizational meeting of the Ways and Means Committee.

He and his wife then traveled to Palm Springs, Calif. The hotel and restaurant workers union paid their plane fare out, three days lodging and meals Jan. 27-29, according to the statement. The Teamsters paid for the flight home. He spoke to both groups while in Palm Springs, with the \$2,000 fees going to charity.

Rostenkowski then paid his own way to AT&T's Pebble Beach tournament in Monterey, Calif., Jan. 30-31, an aide said, but Rostenkowski didn't play because he had a bad back. He also attended the Bob Hope Chrysler Classic in Palm Springs.

In mid-February, the chairman hit the road again. He went to St. Petersburg, Fla., Feb. 15 for a speech and overnight stay before returning to Chicago. The next day the Sweetener Users Association flew him to Palm Springs for a speech.

He stayed there with friends, the aide said, before playing in the Frank Sinatra charity golf tournament Feb. 21-23. The next day, as the ground war in the Persian Gulf raged, he flew on to Maui for a Kemper Open/Helene Curtis event, which included three days lodging and meals. The chairman arrived back in Chicago from Hawaii on Feb. 26, and left the next day for Miami and the Doral Ryder Pro-Am.

After six tournaments in two months, the pace in Congress picked up and the golf schedule slowed down. Rostenkowski returned to Palm Springs with his wife for the Dinah Shore/Nabisco Pro-Am from March 24-29. In August he joined many other members of Congress at the Danny Thompson Memorial tournament in Sun Valley, Idaho, and in December he went to the J.C. Penney Classic in Tampa.

Besides the thousands of dollars worth of airfares, hotels and meals he didn't have to itemize, Rostenkowski listed gifts valued at "under \$200" in golf clothing and accessories from six of the tournaments.

FINANCIAL DISCLOSURES

DEMOCRATS



House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.): No speeches for honoraria. Received gift of two end tables worth \$200 from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan.

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.): Donated \$2,000 from speech to U.S. Tobacco and took 13 free trips, one to Hawaii.

House Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.): Total of \$5,000 from three speeches donated to charity.

REPUBLICANS



House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.): Six trips to charity golf tournaments. Each gave him golf clothing and accessories worth less than \$200.

House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.): Donated \$30,000 from fees for 20 speeches, mostly to business groups. Took 45 free trips, nearly one a week, including trips to Bermuda and Hawaii.

According to financial disclosure laws, House members need list only gifts worth \$75 or more. But Rep. J. Alex McMillan (R-N.C.) went beyond the law and included a roster of 454 gifts—every one he received—last year. Among them, four green bagels sent over on St. Patrick's Day by Rep. Rosa L. DeLauro (D-Conn.), no value listed but presumed priceless.

McMillan has filed such a report for each of the eight years that he has been in Congress.

"It doesn't matter how much it costs, it goes down on the list if we don't pay for it," said Ray Shepherd, director of communications for McMillan.

McMillan's bounty for last year included:

- One bottle of Giorgio's Men's Cologne, Advance Edition
- One bag of Vidalia onions from Piggly-Wiggly
- One "walking" touch tone (plastic) telephone
- A miniature plastic billboard with caricature of Alex McMillan
- Two bingo buttons from the American Movers Conference
- "Ethics 1991: Easier Said Than Done"—worth \$15
- Shotgun shells and bottle of wine from the Tobacco Institute
- A promotional .33 oz. bottle of Escape, perfume purse spray
- Two pairs of Navy Gold Toe socks from the National Association of Hosiery Manufacturers



The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

House Trades Talk For Plane Tickets

*In First Year of Honoraria Bar,
Expense-Paid Travel Takes Off*

By Guy Gugliotta and Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writers

Maybe they can't get rich making speeches anymore, and maybe the House Bank scandal causes constituents to hold their noses and groan, but documents released yesterday suggest that your member of Congress can still have plenty of fun—especially if he or she plays golf.

Annual financial disclosure statements for the House's 435 members showed that honoraria dropped precipitously in 1991, the first year that members were not allowed to keep any of the money.

But all-expense-paid travel—anywhere and for any purpose—was still in ample supply. Some members went to Central America on fact-finding missions. Others traveled to China on trips sanctioned by the U.S. Information Agency and paid for by the Chinese government. Twelve members traveled to Kuwait on a trip paid for by a U.S. corporation trying to win contracts in the emirate.

And still others traveled domestically to speak to corporations or interest groups, do a good turn for charity or, on some occasions, do something somewhat strange: Hard Times Enterprises flew Rep. James M. Inhofe (R-Okla.) to Lancaster, Calif., for a four-day visit to the annual "Chili Cookoff," described by his administrative assistant as "a festival kind of thing."

But the most popular reason to fly in 1991 was golf. Twenty-two members traveled to celebrity golf tournaments, PGA golf tournaments or golf benefits. Ways and Means Committee Chairman Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) did nine tournaments to lead the House.

Rep. John R. Kasich (R-Ohio) won a \$50 Tiffany crystal bowl and a \$75 Tiffany crystal paperweight at the Congressional Charity Golf Tournament, and Chief Deputy Majority Whip Rep. Barbara B. Kennelly (D-Conn.) won a \$144 driver for hitting the "Longest Women's Drive" at the Beryl Anthony Fundraising Tournament, on behalf of the Arkansas representative.

Charity became the principal reason for domestic travel and virtually the only reason to make speeches and personal appearances. Rostenkowski, as is his wont, led all his colleagues with \$110,000 in honoraria, but his total was down almost two-thirds from the \$310,000 he earned in 1990. By law, members must now have all their honoraria deposited in charities.

Rostenkowski gave 55 speeches during the year, tied for the lead with Reps. Mike Espy (D-Miss.) and Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.). He took 35 trips, finishing second to Minority Whip Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who took 45.

Rep. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.), a former major league baseball player who was the pitcher to win 100 games in both the American and National leagues, flew to Philadelphia to play in a charity Old Timers Game and earned \$3,500 signing his name at two baseball card shows—and turned the money over to charity.

It was not, however, difficult to accept gifts, as long as they weren't particularly lavish. Members did not have to report any gift worth less than \$75, and could not accept any single gift worth more than \$200.

The prime minister of Pakistan gave Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) two end tables worth \$200; Egyptian Defense Minister Mohammed Hussein Tantawi gave Armed Services Committee Chairman Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) a \$180 rug.

Aspin also got "less than ten games" worth of free tickets to the Milwaukee Brewers. Republican Policy Committee Chairman Rep. Mickey Edwards (R-Okla.) got two tickets to "Les Misérables" in New York. The National Association of Broadcasters bought Rep. Joe Barton (R-Tex.) two tickets to see Wayne Newton in Las Vegas. A Tampa couple bought Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R-Fla.) two Super Bowl tickets.

And there was H.H. Stith Jr., who sent longtime friend Gingrich two neckties worth \$160: "He didn't like the ties Newt bought, so he bought him a couple," said Gingrich spokesman Tony Blankley. "One was green with polka dots," Blankley added, and Gingrich was not impressed. "He's never worn it."

One gift strongly opposed by Foley was the March visit to Kuwait by 12 congressmen and paid for by Fluor Corp., an Irvine, Calif., construction firm. Fluor picked up the tab at the Kuwaiti government's behest, causing Foley to blow his stack over members' skirting of rules forbidding trips paid for by a foreign government.

Several members also took a trip to China authorized by the U.S. Information Agency and funded by the Far East Studies Institute, a Chinese government organization. A second China trip was funded by a firm called Ross Engineering, but telephone calls to Ross's Fort Lauderdale, Fla., headquarters were fielded by an answering machine.

Some members, apparently eager to comply with financial disclosure provisions but unsure how to do it, submitted copies of their federal income tax returns, copies of investment certificates and copies of countless

other pieces of 1991 financial memorabilia. Rep. Richard J. Durbin (D-Ill.) got a \$1,420 refund from the federal government and \$199 from Illinois. Rep. Nick Joe Rahall II (D-W. Va.), trying to be "open and honest," his office said, submitted more than 500 pages of personal disclosure, most of it forgettable data provided by his accountants.

It was difficult to find any fallout from the House Bank scandal, but some of Congress's more serious check abusers might thank members like Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Rep. Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.), who transferred between \$100,000 and \$250,000 from the House Bank to the congressional credit union when the meltdown began late last year. It was depositors like Fascell whose money covered others' bad checks.

Some members clearly had made plans for the future. Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Calif.) got permission to teach \$12,000 worth of courses at Stanford Law School in 1991 so he could keep his position as a tenured professor. On June 2 he lost a primary election for senator, and will drop out of the House in January.

And for some other members, the future clearly is now. Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.) collected a \$5,258 pension from the Illinois General Assembly; Rep. John P. Hammerschmidt (R-Ark.) got \$5,554 in retirement pay from the Air Force Reserve; Rep. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D-Miss.) got \$18,504 in retirement pay from the Mississippi National Guard. Rep. Charles A. Hayes (D-Ill.) received a \$42,911 pension money from the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.

Three members of the California delegation collected pensions from the state legislature, led by Rep. Glenn M. Anderson (D), who trumped everybody else in Congress by taking home \$56,662 in pension money. Anderson, perhaps not coincidentally, is retiring.

Staff writers Charles R. Babcock, Shari Rudavsky and John Wagner and staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

VOL. CCXIX NO. 115

Under Cover

Ross Perot Takes Surveillance Tactics To Unusual Lengths

He Is Quick to Enlist Sleuths To Probe His Employees Or Business Adversaries

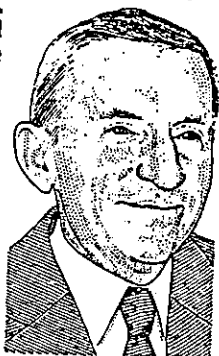
One Focus: Marital Infidelity

By DAVID ROGERS
And JILL ABRAMSON

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — As political polls now testify, Ross Perot's personal touch and can-do style are a powerful potion. But there is a flip side to his appeal. Ross Perot, captain of industry, is also Ross Perot, super-cop and super-sleuth.

The same young naval officer who tired of the Navy as a "fairly Godless organization" in the 1950s has gone on to use his wealth and energy to build an intelligence network that reflects the military values taught him as an Annapolis midshipman.

The Perot reach goes well beyond run-of-the-mill background checks. His penchant for intrigue, plus a strict moral code and a fierce competitiveness, have led him to authorize investigations that, according to a person familiar with his security operations, included videotaped surveillance of individuals, sometimes to probe for marital infidelities.



Ross Perot

One example of Mr. Perot's methods involved his pursuit of police information about a high defense official with whom he was feuding. An Arlington, Va., police detective had linked the defense official to a Vietnamese-born woman gambler in Virginia, and Mr. Perot later used these reports and accompanying photographs in a bitter fight reaching inside the Pentagon and the White House.

Mr. Perot has repeatedly said he obtained the information about the official only after the detective came to him. "An undercover policeman from the Washington area knocks on my hotel door and says ... here is the file," he recently said on C-Span, the public affairs cable network.

But the detective, James Badey, now retired, says that in fact Mr. Perot first called him "out of the clear" in early 1986 — a few months after he had given his information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Moreover, Mr. Badey says, Mr. Perot already knew much of what he had told the FBI.

"I don't know why he tells it that way," says Mr. Badey, who continues to admire Mr. Perot and expects to vote for him for president. "He came to me, and I do not know why. He didn't get my name out of the phone book. Somebody had given him information. ... He was right on target. My gut feeling was he was verifying what he already knew."

Strict Moral Code

James Squires, a spokesman for the Perot campaign, initially challenged the retired detective's account but, after speaking again with Mr. Perot, said the candidate was re-examining his own version of events. "Mr. Perot doesn't think it's an impossibility that somebody told him to call Badey," Mr. Squires said.

Mr. Perot declined a request to explain what his policy has been or say whether he considers it permissible to surreptitiously collect information about the private lives of competitors or employees. Mr. Squires said Mr. Perot would only respond to specific cases or allegations, not talk about general policy.

Mr. Perot's moral rectitude is legend among his business associates and has been one of the hallmarks of his campaign. In numerous television interviews, he has been questioned about the strict anti-adultery code he imposed on employees. "I have said on more than one occasion, 'If your wife can't trust you and you have a lifetime oath in front of a preacher with her, how can I?' " Mr. Perot said in a recent David Frost TV interview. He has also said he would not knowingly appoint adulterers to high government posts.

People familiar with investigations financed by Mr. Perot and his companies say they know of nothing illegal about them. But interviews and a trail of court documents raise questions about Mr. Perot's use of power. "I know he can abuse power because I was on the receiving end," asserts John Wheeler, former chairman of the Vietnam Veterans War Memorial Fund, who was on the opposite side of Mr. Perot in a bitter fight over the design of the monument here.

Passing On a Tip

The flavor of that fight is illustrated by back-to-back exchanges between an attorney employed by Mr. Perot and the General Accounting Office, which was assigned to audit the veterans' memorial fund. In a morning interview with the GAO, the investigative arm of Congress, the Perot attorney denied that the billionaire had made any "personal" allegations against the fund's leaders; but the attorney called back hours later to ask the GAO to investigate whether a woman, whom he identified as a possible mistress of a former Defense Department official, had received payments from the fund.

GAO working papers, released to this
Please Turn to Page A6, Column 1

A6 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Under Cover: Ross Perot Has Been Quick to Resort To Surveillance Against Employees, Business Foes

Continued From First Page

newspaper under a Freedom of Information Act request, show that Richard Shlakman, then a senior counsel at Mr. Perot's former company Electronic Data Systems Corp., made the request in March 1984, but that no evidence was found of such payments. "Mr. Shlakman stated emphatically that we should not divulge where we received this tip," the GAO investigator reported in his contemporaneous notes. The Perot campaign spokesman refers questions on the matter to Mr. Shlakman. Mr. Shlakman, an executive with EDS in Texas, says he has "zero recollection" of the incident.

Questions about Mr. Perot's use of private detectives surfaced most recently when Republican Sen. Warren Rudman complained that a Boston investigative firm had begun making inquiries about him in New Hampshire on behalf of the Perot campaign. Sen. Rudman, mentioned as a potential running mate for Mr. Perot, was angry that he hadn't received notice that such checks might be made. Later Mr. Perot assured the senator he knew nothing of the matter and had authorized no investigation. But Mr. Perot then suggested that an overzealous supporter in his sometimes-unwieldy campaign might have financed the inquiry.

After years of holding off-duty jobs at Mr. Perot's brick-walled estate, scores of Dallas police are in his debt, and former FBI agents serve as his hired investigators and contacts with law-enforcement officials. Their assignments have included missions of mercy, such as when Mr. Perot in 1990 reached out to wounded veterans of the Panama invasion to assure them proper medical care and help toward a new start in their lives. But he can also be unforgiving in using the information that he surreptitiously pursues, a pursuit that shows a striking interest in sex lives.

The publisher of the Fort Worth Star Telegram wrote recently that Mr. Perot, while complaining of the newspaper's coverage of his son's business dealings, had suggested in 1989 that he had compromising photographs of one of the newspaper's employees and a city official. Mr. Perot later said he had talked to the publisher but declared that he made "no comments of a personal nature."

As for alleged videotaping of Perot employees suspected of extra-marital affairs, a person familiar with Perot security operations says that the surveillance was limited to public places, and no attempt was made to intrude inside a bedroom, for example. The person adds, in defense of Mr. Perot, that "he didn't do it for titillation. He truly believes what to Ross is a code of morality."

Allegation of Intimidation

However, in April 1990 Mr. Perot quickly settled a suit in Texas when a former employee accused him of trying to gain leverage in a business dispute by threatening to expose alleged affairs. The accusations grew out of a 1989 suit by Richard Salwen, a former top Perot attorney who claimed to have been denied his share of real-estate investments he handled on behalf of the businessman. In February 1990, Mr. Salwen amended his complaint to charge that Mr. Perot had undertaken a campaign of "intimidation and harassment" that included threats of adverse publicity to his new employer if the suit continued.

The complaint in Dallas County District

Court alleged specific phone calls in which J. Patrick Horner, a top official at Perot Systems Corp., allegedly contacted Donald Collis, the chief financial officer at Dell Computer Corp., which Mr. Salwen had joined. Messrs. Horner and Collis had been acquaintances for years, and, according to Mr. Collis's affidavit, Mr. Horner twice called him at home to give him a "heads-up" on the case and to cite risks of adverse publicity or embarrassment the case posed for Dell.

The Collis affidavit, which summarizes the two conversations, said Mr. Horner wanted Dell's top management to be aware that the Perot people "had conducted some research" regarding Mr. Salwen. This research went far beyond Mr. Salwen's job performance, and as evidence of the attorney's alleged affairs, Mr. Perot was said to have knowledge of hotel reservations and flowers ordered by his former employee.

Mr. Salwen declined to comment, and Mr. Horner couldn't be reached. Mr. Perot's spokesman, Mr. Squires, said yesterday that "Mr. Perot did not attempt to intimidate Mr. Salwen with information of a personal nature." He noted that Mr. Perot had filed a motion in court, before a settlement was reached, that rebutted the amended Salwen complaint. Mr. Squires offered no comment on whether or not Mr. Horner had called Mr. Collis.

Suits Over Contracts

Mr. Perot generally declines to discuss past legal cases involving his former company, Electronic Data Systems. Before Mr. Perot sold EDS to General Motors Corp. in the mid-1980s, EDS had a record of using private investigators in tandem with lawsuits alleging improper behavior by competitors. For instance, after losing a Massachusetts state contract to California-based Systems Development Corp., EDS launched a legal fight. EDS alleged in Suffolk (County) Superior Court in Boston that the bidding process had been tainted. EDS also brought in Joseph Wells, a former FBI agent who was then working as a private investigator in Austin, Texas.

"I had never encountered a complaint that contained so much defamation," says Paul Good, an attorney who represented Massachusetts. "It was privileged, but it was dirty pool." Mr. Wells's presence was clearly felt, and court documents in Boston show he sought, for example, to interview the longtime woman companion of a Systems Development executive. At a settlement meeting, an attorney in the case asserts that an EDS lawyer warned Systems Development, without explanation, "Wait until you see the videotape."

Mr. Wells, who is now chairman of the National Association of Certified Fraud Examiners in Austin, declines comment, as does Robert Sylvia, a lawyer who helped represent EDS in the Boston case. In fact, no video tape was ever produced.

In another fight, EDS took on a New York-based data processing firm called Bradford National Corp. after losing a contract, this time in Texas. Mr. Perot flew home from London to personally supervise a team of EDS executives, lawyers and investigators. Hilmar Moore, then chairman of the Texas human resources board, which had awarded the contract, alleges that Mr. Perot provided him "dossiers" of negative information about Bradford.

"Every aspect of the litigation was extreme hardball," says Frank Ikard, one of Bradford's Texas attorneys. A second member of the Bradford legal team as-

serts that a number of company executives suspected they were being followed during the EDS fight.

At EDS itself, some of those working on the dispute were startled by the negative information Mr. Perot was able to find. One executive who worked there says that Mr. Perot sometimes would get on the phone personally; he says Mr. Perot had his own sources and sometimes would hand over a folder of information to aides.

This pattern fits the description of others familiar with Perot's security operations and how private investigators report to him. In 1990, when Mr. Perot wanted to oust his tenant in an expensive house next door to his own, he won a court order permitting him to use off-duty Dallas police to search the house three times a day. The target of his ire, H. Wayne Hayes, also proved to be the target later of federal securities and fraud investigations. But Mr. Perot had his own forces deployed, including Joseph Masterson, a former FBI officer; Mr. Masterson showed up at Mr. Hayes's bank seeking information on his finances, according to a former bank officer. Mr. Masterson, who met Mr. Perot as an FBI officer in Dallas, declines to comment.

During Mr. Perot's days at the helm of EDS, company employees were sometimes asked to take lie-detector tests. When asked about this subject during the David Frost interview, Mr. Perot said, "I don't think I ever used a polygraph test at EDS." When pressed by Mr. Frost, Mr. Perot amended his statement to say that a lie-detector test was once administered to an EDS employee suspected of stealing.

One senior EDS official says that lie-detector tests were administered to EDS employees, mostly those suspected of white-collar crimes, "a couple of times a year." In one case, this official asserts, an employee was questioned, among other things, about an office relationship. EDS's security team retained a Dallas-area consulting firm that specializes in polygraph tests, Wayne Baker & Associates, to administer the tests. Mr. Baker says he is "forbidden by law" to comment on client matters and would have to get written permission from Mr. Perot and EDS before being interviewed.

Mr. Perot's admirers defend his strong actions. "Media claims that he is autocratic are nonsense. He listens to everybody," says Mr. Shlakman of EDS. "But when Ross's fundamental values are challenged, he believes in those values and he has the ability to appear autocratic."

The MIA Case

It was Mr. Perot's intense interest in finding any U.S. soldiers who might still be alive in Vietnam, and his fury with the Pentagon official in charge of the missing-in-action issue, that appear to have led him to Detective Badey. Mr. Perot became convinced that Richard Armitage, then a senior Defense Department official, was mishandling the government's search for MIAs. Mr. Badey, as a detective with the Arlington, Va., police department, was assigned separately to work in the Vietnamese community there and had come across information, including photographs, linking Mr. Armitage to a Vietnamese-born woman convicted of operating an illegal gambling operation.

Among these photographs, one showed the woman but focused more on a picture on a bedroom dresser of her walking on a beach with Mr. Armitage. To Mr. Perot,

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the photograph suggested that Mr. Armitage was ethically compromised. He showed the photograph to several government officials in Washington.

But his campaign against Mr. Armitage didn't stop with the material he received from Mr. Badey. It drove Mr. Perot, who had served on President Reagan's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, into a curious and awkward alliance with the left-wing Christic Institute, a think tank in Washington, D.C. The institute had filed a suit that sought to implicate various government officials, including Mr. Armitage, in an alleged drug, arms and money-laundering conspiracy. (Mr. Armitage vigorously denies such allegations.) With gusto, Mr. Perot immersed himself in the case, personally meeting on at least two occasions with the institute's general counsel, Daniel Sheehan, and with other members of Christic's odd network of informants. The Christic lawsuit was thrown out of federal court in Miami in 1988, and the judge ordered the institute to pay more than \$1 million in court costs.

Mr. Sheehan says Mr. Perot contacted him first and became so interested in Christic's findings that he asked to meet directly with some of Mr. Sheehan's sources in an effort to find out more about Mr. Armitage's alleged doings. On one occasion, Mr. Sheehan took Mr. Perot to the home of one of his key sources, Carl Jenkins, a retired CIA operative.

Another person who says he was present and can recall the meeting is Eugene Wheaton, who had served previously in the Army's criminal investigations unit and also traded information with Mr. Sheehan. Mr. Wheaton says he accompanied Mr. Sheehan to Dallas for a private meeting with Mr. Perot. Afterward, he says, Mr. Sheehan called him and told him Mr. Perot would underwrite a trip by Mr. Wheaton to Thailand to dig up information on Mr. Armitage's alleged activities in Asia. "Sheehan contacted me and asked if Ross Perot would pick up my expenses, would I go to Bangkok," says Mr. Wheaton.

Mr. Perot's memory is less clear but he says it was Mr. Sheehan who initiated the meetings. Mr. Perot has "no recollection" of paying for Mr. Wheaton's ticket, according to his spokesman, Mr. Squires, who adds that "we can't find any record of it." Nor does Mr. Perot remember a meeting with Carl Jenkins or later having lunch in Dallas as described by Mr. Sheehan or Mr. Wheaton, Mr. Squires says.

Mr. Perot's contacts with the institute are all the more striking because in other ventures he has found himself aligned with some of the very people investigated by Christic. Thomas Clines, a former CIA officer named in the institute's suit, says he worked with Mr. Perot's own aide, Jay Coburn, as part of an effort to ransom

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Bush Opposes Bill Meant to Expand Home Loan Bank

By PAULETTE THOMAS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Bush administration said it opposes legislation to expand the \$150 billion-asset Federal Home Loan Bank System.

The home loan banks provide low-cost housing funds for savings and loan associations to lend to borrowers, and also issue debt that carries an implicit backing by taxpayers.

Because S&Ls are required to buy stock in the home loan bank system, the home loan banks pay the industry's \$300 million annual share for the \$230 billion cost of the S&L cleanup. Proponents of the bill say that the home loan banks can no longer afford to pay the unchanging bailout contribution, because earnings have fallen in recent years as the S&L industry has contracted. The payment, they say, should be 20% of yearly system earnings, which fell to \$1.15 billion in 1991 from \$1.4 billion in 1990.

Rep. Richard Baker (R., La.), the bill's sponsor, says that the industry could continue to contribute to the bailout by raising the S&L industry deposit-insurance premiums to 29.25 cents per \$100 of assets from 28 cents.

"Unless we take some action at this moment, we are going to generate another problem that need not be a problem," Rep. Baker said at the third day of hearings being held on the bill by a House Banking subcommittee.

But a Treasury official testified before the panel that the administration is wary of several provisions that would have the effect of expanding the taxpayer's potential liability for the system. "We oppose adopting this bill now," said John Dugan, assistant secretary for domestic finance at the Treasury. He proposed further study of the system.

Particularly troublesome is a provision in the bill allowing commercial banks to join the system, he said, because their huge industry asset size could more than treble the government's exposure in the system. "This is not a modest proposal," Mr. Dugan said.

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Earth Summit Marks Beginning Of a Broad Agenda for Change

RIO DE JANEIRO — The Earth Summit has developed—and largely legitimized—a broad agenda for environmental, economic and political change.

While the proceedings were often tedious and the squabbles sometimes petty, many delegates believe the conference succeeded in getting sustained, top-level attention for such major issues as global climate change, biological diversity, deforestation and ocean pollution.

But among thousands of proposals for action, few clear priorities are pre-

By Wall Street Journal staff reporters Frank Edicard Allen, Rose Gutfeld and Thomas Kamm in Rio de Janeiro.

scribed. Setting those priorities and refining action plans may take years of additional debate. And for many nations, high costs may preclude implementing some of the most important parts.

When the United Nations conference began here last week, expectations were high. But in the past two days, negotiators have begun to temper their posturing and face the realities of economic limitations and political constraints.

"It's a flawed beginning, but it's a beginning on a grand scale," says John Adams, executive director of the Natural Resources Defense Council. "I leave this conference believing we have a better chance of saving the world than we did when I came here."

Last-minute snags are still possible, and grandstand stunts today or tomorrow by heads of state can't be ruled out. But on balance, delegates and environmental groups generally agree that the summit has avoided being a flop.

Much of the summit's shirt-sleeve work has been overshadowed by resentment of U.S. stubbornness, particularly on the biodiversity accord, and White House insistence on avoiding any commitments that might take away U.S. jobs. As he boarded his plane for Rio, President Bush vowed, "I am determined to protect the environment, and I am also determined to protect the American taxpayer. The day of the open checkbook is over."

This weekend, heads of state from several rich industrial nations are expected to pledge financial assistance for developing countries in support of the conference agreements. For instance, the European Community is talking of a \$4.5 billion fund to jump-start action, and there's speculation of a multibillion-dollar pledge by Japan. Still, delegates fear the total amount won't be enough to launch most proposed action plans.

Last night delegates were still trying to decide how to allocate the money. "For developing countries, the issue of finding financing... is a key issue, and if we can't find a solution to this issue, the conference can't be called a success," says Laurens Jan Brinckhorst, the EC delegation chief.

Those fears of a prospective shortfall reflect the awkward timing of the summit, in the midst of a U.S. presidential election, with much of the world in recession, and Cold War alignments dissolving.

Here are sketches of the major documents expected to be adopted:

CLIMATE CHANGE: Industrialized nations agree to try to bring emissions of such earth-warming greenhouse gases as carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide back to 1990 levels by the year 2000. But at U.S. insistence, the treaty doesn't require them to limit their emissions or stabilize them into the next century. Developing nations have to establish policies to control their emissions, which are expected to rise substantially.

BIODIVERSITY: Signatories are required to establish policies aimed at slowing the loss of plant and animal species. Nations agree to set up protected natural areas and rehabilitate degraded ones. The pact also calls on developed and developing countries to cooperate on research projects, such as the discovery of new drugs from rainforest flora and fauna.

Despite criticism, the U.S. refused to sign this treaty, claiming it doesn't provide adequate patent and copyright protection for U.S. biotechnology and other products and excessively regulates biotechnology.

FOREST PROTECTION: Summit delegates were still arguing yesterday about this text, a statement of principles for sustainable forestry management that recognizes the role of forests in protecting climate and biodiversity and calls on nations to avoid excessive cutting.

If adopted, the forestry principles will be a compromise between the U.S., which wants a full-fledged forest treaty, and several developing nations, which hold the bulk of the world's remaining forests and want weaker language. India and Malaysia in particular accuse the rich countries of trying to "internationalize" a national resource and seeking action on forests to reduce emission-cutting steps they should take at home.

AGENDA 21: A 900-page blueprint for environmentally friendly development, it sets out actions on issues ranging from ocean pollution, hazardous waste and renewable energy to human health, poverty and advancement for women.

But because it had to accommodate the views of 178 nations on such a huge range of topics, Agenda 21 is an unfocused document that depends largely on political will and large-scale development aid to be implemented.

RIO DECLARATION: A six-page statement that calls for integrating environment and development.

"These texts are uninspiring and won't be framed on the walls of primary schools," says a French diplomat. "But at least they set the machine in motion."

Eurotunnel Official Is Optimistic

PARIS — Eurotunnel S.A. still expects the tunnel under the English Channel to open by the fourth quarter of 1993, despite arduous negotiations currently under way on a fee dispute with contractors, Eurotunnel President Andre Benard said.

Mr. Benard, quoted in the French daily *Le Figaro*, said negotiations continue but said: "We're very far apart on our views of what is legitimate to pay.... Because of that, it's a very difficult discussion." The contractors' group, Trans-Manche Link, comprises the 10 principal French and U.K. contractors building the tunnel.

BSN to Seek Control of VMC

PARIS — French food group BSN S.A. said it intends to spend as much as 155 million francs (\$25.9 million) to acquire full control of VMC S.A., a French company specializing in glass packaging.

BSN has held a 48.2% stake in VMC since January 1991 and will acquire an additional 47% following an agreement with VMC's principal shareholders.

Under stock exchange rules, BSN must make a standing offer to buy all VMC shares offered at 240 francs each, the price it paid to acquire its controlling interest. VMC's shares are listed on the bourse of Nancy, France.

VMC has three plants that produced about 200,000 metric tons of glass tableware and glass food containers in 1991. For that year, VMC posted revenue of 1.02 billion francs.

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Perot, in a Long TV Appearance, Vows To Raise Taxes Only in an Emergency

By ALAN MURRAY
And TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Ross Perot said he would "absolutely not" raise taxes as president unless "there's some kind of incredible emergency." But he only added confusion as to how he would slash the nation's \$400 billion budget deficit by cutting spending.

In an unusual two-hour call-in program on NBC "Today," Mr. Perot, who in the past has compared the nation's \$400 billion budget deficit to "arterial bleeding," cited war as the sort of emergency that might lead him to raise taxes. But he provided virtually no specifics as to how he would cut spending, and he even backed away from earlier suggestions that he could save \$20 billion a year by cutting Social Security benefits paid to the affluent.

In his interview, Mr. Perot offered a vision of a populist presidency, saying that he would stop at red lights when traveling by car, that he would spend most of his time outside of Washington and that he would not accept any salary. "Ross thinks he and his family are already financially secure," Morton Myerson, a top adviser to the Perot campaign, explained later.

While reinforcing his position as an "outsider," Mr. Perot's comments raised more questions than they answered. For instance, when asked by a caller about the fate of American dairy farmers, Mr. Perot said the problem is that the dairy farmer, "because he's small in numbers, is not properly represented" in Washington, while other special interest groups have political action committees and "people wandering the halls of Congress."

Powerful Lobby

In fact, dairy interests have proven themselves one of the most powerful lobbying forces in Washington, using that force to prop the price of milk above market levels. The National Milk Producers Federation has a 16-person staff in the nation's capital, and their work is amplified by lobbyists for a half-dozen dairy cooperatives. During the 1989-1990 election cycle, the Associated Milk Producers Inc., a cooperative based in San Antonio, Texas, led all farm and agribusiness political action committees, with \$769,800 in contributions to congressional candidates, according to the campaign finance newsletter PACs & Lobbies.

On the Social Security issue, Mr. Perot denied that he wanted to cut benefits to people with income of more than \$60,000 a

year, even though congressional data suggests that's roughly what it would take to raise the \$20 billion a year he has said could be saved by cutting benefits for "people like me." Instead, he said he would send people "a letter or postcard" asking them voluntarily to return their benefits.

Mr. Perot, who opposed the war with Iraq, also launched a spirited attack on President Bush over the war, and for Mr. Bush's policy of courting Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in the years that led up to the conflict. "Keep in mind people died in that war," he said. "To the people who died and were wounded, that war was World War II."

The comments came during a two-hour call-in interview on NBC "Today." The session was originally scheduled to last only one hour, but was extended to two hours because of the heavy volume of calls. NBC said it would offer an additional hour of air time to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee, who fielded questions during a similar hour-long session on Monday. The "Today" show also has offered two hours of air time to President Bush.

More Pressure

Mr. Perot's performance is likely to increase pressure on the other two candidates to step up their television appearances. President Bush now plans to appear on Cable News Network's "International Hour" and on ABC's "20-20" with Barbara Walters in the next two weeks, but he hasn't yet accepted any invitations to be a guest on a call-in program. A White House aide said Mr. Bush is likely to appear on CNN's "Larry King Live" from the White House sometime in July, however.

Mr. Perot also complained that the "president of the United States will not let the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or the Senate Intelligence Committee or, more importantly, you, the people he works for, see the written instructions that were given to" U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie before a controversial meeting she held with Mr. Hussein about a week before Iraq invaded Kuwait.

In fact, a spokesman for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said the panel received those instructions "in classified form some time ago." Portions of the cabled instructions have leaked out and been published in news reports, the committee official noted.

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Perot Picks Up Reaganites Bush Let Down

To understand the incredible shrinking Bush presidency, consider the political odyssey of Theodore Forstmann. The Wall Street entrepreneur was a Reagan stalwart during the 1980s, raised money for Jack Kemp's failed presidential run, then lined up solidly behind George Bush.

Last week, he joined a committee for Ross Perot.

"We can't go on as we are. And there isn't a big difference between the two parties," Mr. Forstmann says. "We've got to break up what you guys call the Beltway."

Or listen to William Simon, treasury secretary under Gerald Ford, staunch Republican, free-marketeer. "He's been, to put it mildly, a keen disappointment," says Mr. Simon about Mr. Bush. He cites higher taxes, spending and regulation, and tepid support for Boris Yeltsin. "I've never not voted. But right now my choice is between not voting and Ross Perot."

Even in an amazing year, it's astonishing to watch the defection of what ought to be a Republican president's most loyal base vote: the economic, or free-market, conservatives. Because of his judicial nominees and abortion vetoes, Mr. Bush retains conservative loyalty on social issues. It's the rank-and-file economic-growth constituency he's most in danger of losing, if he hasn't lost much of it already.

The Simons and Forstmanns are merely the vanguard of this rebelling bourgeoisie. "The last three weeks I must have talked to a couple hundred Republicans, and I am absolutely stunned by what I'm finding," says Martin Anderson, an architect of Reaganomics now at the Hoover Institution in Palo Alto. "There is a

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Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

depth of frustration and real anger among Republicans at George Bush." (Mr. Anderson won't disclose his allegiance.)

It's no consolation that a recent Fortune poll showed CEOs overwhelmingly, if resignedly, supporting Mr. Bush. Mr. Perot's aides say it's just fine if Fortune 500 bosses don't like him; he plans to attack them for their fat salaries but poor performance, a la General Motors.

Perotians point to the 28% of "enterprisers" — the core of the Reagan coalition — who say in the latest Times Mirror survey that they already support the Texas billionaire. No Republican has faced such a threat to his core constituency since Barry Goldwater did in 1964.

Ted Forstmann has standing on this subject, because he's no standard white-shoe Wall Streeter. He built Forstmann, Little in the leveraged buyout boom of the 1980s, but became an early critic of the takeover market's later excesses. He believes in creating new jobs, not just preserving old ones.

"I really tried with these guys," Mr. Forstmann says of the Bush economic team. "I think they have thrown away a very valuable legacy they were handed. Maybe they never believed it."

For Mr. Forstmann, the breaking point was not the 1990 budget deal, as bad as that was. The mortal sin was refusing to fight for a growth agenda after that. He recalls meeting with President Bush, in 1991, to argue for policies to promote capital formation.

"I agree," Mr. Forstmann recalls the president saying. "Talk to Nick" (Treasury Secretary Brady). He did, and Mr. Brady told him "we lose on the fairness issue." Again and again he was told nothing could be done. Mr. Bush's failure to act after the Los Angeles riots added to the frustration. "You have to fight for what you believe in," Mr. Forstmann says. "What has to be done is not all that stupendous. But it does take some will."



Theodore Forstmann

This critique is more damaging than a dispute over policy, because it speaks to a problem of presidential character. It shows that even many Republicans don't trust Mr. Bush anymore.

He gets little credit for economic recovery, because he has had so little to do with it. And his promises for a second term are discounted, because his first-term pledges ("read my lips") were so easily discarded. The Brady-Dick Darman economic team remains dominant, so why should anyone believe a second term would be better than the first?

There is some wishful thinking among these defectors to Rorschach Ross. Both men have met Mr. Perot personally and like him. Neither is sure what his policies would be.

"I don't know all about Ross Perot," admits Mr. Forstmann. "But I know all I want to know about business-as-usual." Mr. Simon, too, says he's looking for more details from Mr. Perot. But, he adds, "if he satisfies the need I see for intellectual leadership, then damn right I'll support him."

Both men may yet be disappointed. Mr. Forstmann believes in a capital-gains tax cut to spur new businesses. But Kenneth Langone, a New York investment banker and close friend of Mr. Perot, says his counsel is to drop such a cut as too politically contentious. (Nick Brady would approve.) More ominous is Mr. Perot's apparent protectionism and opposition to a Mexican free-trade accord. Mr. Langone says Mr. Perot, who insists he isn't a protectionist, has asked him to research the trade issue.

It's a measure of Mr. Bush's incredible weakness that he's losing support to a candidate still doing research.

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Bush Stopover In Panama City Draws Protest

Police Use Gas to Break Up Crowd; President Unable To Give a Planned Speech

By JOSE DE CORDOBA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
PANAMA CITY, Panama — President Bush was unable to deliver a planned speech and in a stinging cloud of pepper gas was forced to abandon the platform from where he was about to address a flag-waving crowd of Panamanians.

As Mr. Bush was being introduced as the "man who changed the course of our history by tearing out the cancer of drug-trafficking," police fired pepper-gas canisters to break up a crowd of about 150 demonstrators who were protesting the Bush visit and throwing rocks at the thin police line guarding Plaza Porras in downtown Panama City.

As the gas wafted back into the plaza, the crowd began to panic. Leaving a stage with the banner "Encounter Between Friends," Mr. Bush, his wife, Barbara, as well as Panamanian President Guillermo Endara and his wife, Ana Mae, headed to a small tent protecting the presidential limousine. As a dozen nervous security men drew guns, looking warily at the buildings ringing the plaza, President Bush and his party retreated in a caravan of flashing lights and sirens. As he drove away, the president gave a thumbs up sign.

"No tiny little left-wing demonstration is going to set your democracy back," Mr. Bush said shortly after in an address at a U.S. military base to the U.S. community in Panama. Thanking the people and government of Panama for the warm welcome he said he had received before the demonstration spoiled his speech, Mr. Bush said: "the day of the dictator is over."

Mr. Bush then continued his trip to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

In Washington, Bush aides played down the incident, noting that the president was unhurt and smiling as he left the stage. White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner phoned back to the White House afterward to inquire about the House vote on the balanced budget amendment and didn't seem alarmed, one official said.



George Bush

Nonetheless, the image of a teary-eyed president being hustled off stage before his speech was an inauspicious beginning to an international trip in which Mr. Bush hoped to seize back the initiative from domestic and foreign critics of his environmental record. "It shows him to be on the defensive," said media consultant Don Sipple, who helped craft television ads for Mr. Bush's GOP primary campaign.

Aurelio Barria, a Panamanian official who said he was standing about 15 feet away, said Mr. Bush appeared to be slightly affected by the pepper gas. Mr. Barria blamed followers of former strongman Gen. Manuel Noriega for disrupting the ceremony. "It is just a minority that has been able to take advantage of this government's tolerance," said Mr. Barria, wiping his tear-streaked eyes.

Tensions were high before Mr. Bush spoke. Columns of black smoke rose from piles of tires set afire by demonstrators just a block from the plaza. A large group of protestors had exchanged taunts and sometimes shoves with Panamanians waiting to get into the plaza to see the president.

Holding a sign that said, "The assassin returns to the scene of the crime," Laura de Casis, a 60-year-old retired educator said, "Panamanians are on the street because they don't accept that the assassin of their sons and daughters is here."

Panamanians who had gone to greet Mr. Bush were disgusted with the demonstrators. "Kill all those hoodlums," one angry man urged police officers.

Ending in an undignified exit, the Bush visit had seemed like a good idea.

On the way to the contentious environmental summit in Rio de Janeiro, President Bush would briefly stop in Panama, site of one of his notable foreign policy successes. He could forget Ross Perot for a while and get a boost from friendly crowds grateful for the U.S. invasion that in 1989 toppled Gen. Noriega, restored democracy here after a 21-year period of military-controlled governments, and buried Mr. Bush's problematic "wimp" image.

But Mr. Bush seems to have been unwittingly snared in the conundrum of Panamanian nationalism, whose principal component is a quirky love-hate relationship with the U.S. While the overwhelming majority of Panamanians cheered the U.S. invasion, and remain very happy that the U.S. got rid of the general, the invasion continues to be a traumatic event for many.

"President Bush's visit awakes in Panamanians a mixture of sentiments," editorialized La Prensa newspaper, a staunch Noriega foe that was shut down and vandalized during the general's reign. That mixture includes the heartfelt joy of liberation from Noriega's regime, which La Prensa noted was a creation of the U.S., but also the pain of relatives of "hundreds of innocent compatriots" who perished in the invasion and for whom Mr. Bush's visit is "an insult."

Twice this week hundreds of protesting Panamanian high school and university students had blocked off avenues, snarling traffic for hours. The University of Panama's academic council called Mr. Bush's visit "a not well thought out act to divide the Panamanian family."

ENTERPRISE

Government Red Tape Puts Entrepreneurs in the Black

Firms Profit by Helping Others Comply With Federal and State Regulations

By JEFFREY A. TANNENBAUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

While some entrepreneurs angrily denounce government regulation, others mine it for opportunities to make money.

Take Perfection Automotive Products Corp., which long has sold do-it-yourself exhaust-repair

products for car buffs. When the Environmental Protection Agency announced the first standards for automotive replacement-market catalytic converters six years ago, the Livonia, Mich., concern saw a chance to broaden its product line.

Original-equipment manufacturers were already making the pollution-control devices for new cars. The new legislation created a market for replacement models that could be made more cheaply because they wouldn't have to last as long in aging vehicles. Perfection says the federal standards "legitimized" those cheaper models that measured up, creating demand. Moreover, rigorous state inspections of cars to identify defective converters assured a steady stream of customers. "If the inspection programs were not in place, the demand would not be there," says Norman D. Ash, executive vice president of Perfection.

Doubled Work Force

The company says its sales have "significantly increased because of the catalytic-converter market." To serve that market, the company has added nearly 100 employees, doubling its work force since 1986.

Of course, the intense demand may fade. Starting in the 1995 model year,

revised federal standards will require the original catalytic converters in cars to last 80,000 miles or eight years, up from 50,000 miles or five years. And that might bite into demand for replacement converters. As Mr. Ash puts it, "The government giveth, and the government taketh away." But for now, the company is enjoying a brisk business, courtesy of federal and state governments.

Perfection is hardly alone in seeing business openings in regulations. When the government requires workers to wear hard hats, entrepreneurs make money selling hard hats. There are myriad laws and regulations—and myriad money-making angles—for entrepreneurs.

"A lot of government regulation has been destructive," says Archie E. Albright, an executive vice president of International Process Systems Inc., Hampton, N.H. "But there has clearly also been a lot of new business opportunity created by other regulations, and a lot of demand for new technology to meet government standards."

He ought to know. His company was formed in 1988 by the owners of Earthgro Inc., a Lebanon, Conn., marketer of compost; International Process Systems sells technology to convert organic waste into compost, which can serve as a substitute for peat moss or topsoil. As communities scramble to meet government-imposed recycling goals, demand for composting technology is growing.

Mr. Albright says the company was growing so fast that it needed to seek a new owner able to finance its growth. He says the founders stand to profit handsomely from their pact with Wheelabrator Technologies Inc., Oak Brook, Ill., which acquired the company last year.

Complying with regulation is big business. Environmental protection alone has become a \$100 billion-a-year industry in

this country, according to an EPA estimate. And the agency says that Clean Air Act requirements themselves will create 20,000 to 40,000 jobs by the end of this decade.

Lift for Exports

U.S. exports may get a lift, too. Companies pioneering in environmental technology are expected to find markets in Taiwan, Mexico and many other countries with emerging cleanup efforts. "These are big numbers, big markets, and they're getting bigger every day," William K. Reilly, the administrator of the EPA, said at a business conference in April. Behind the growth: increased foreign regulation.

Many entrepreneurs make a living simply helping other people keep track of the ever-rising tide of regulations. Counterpoint Publishing Inc., Cambridge, Mass., describes itself as "a company whose only reason for being is to help people handle the sheer volume of regulations issued by federal government agencies." For example, the company publishes an optical-disk version of the Federal Register, a government publication that details proposed and actual regulatory changes. Last year's register filled 68,000 pages in book form.

Computer technology makes it possible for many companies to jump into publishing. In Exton, Pa., ERM-Computer Services Inc. sells optical disks of federal and state environmental regulations, updated every two months. "As many as 2,000 to 4,000 regulations will change in any two-month period," says Brian E. Gurnham, ERM's president. He says the company had revenue of \$5 million in the year ended March 31. Its parent company, ERM Group, is a consulting company working various angles in the marketplace created by environmental regulation. "Clearly, the rate of regulatory change is helping our business," Mr. Gurnham says.

The same is true in many other types of enterprises. That means brisk business for the likes of Advantage Business Services Inc. The Auburn, Maine, company franchises a payroll service; its franchisees help small companies process their payrolls. Companies turn to such services because they need help complying with complicated federal and state tax-withholding regulations. The Bush administration has proposed simpler federal rules, but in the meantime the current regulations are driving customers into Advantage offices.

From a single location in 1967, Advantage has grown into a chain with 30 outlets; it says systemwide revenue was about \$6.8 million in its fiscal year ended May 31. A client with five employees on its payroll will pay Advantage about \$15 a pay period for help in complying with all the rules.

"We probably wouldn't be in business if it weren't for government regulation," says David J. Friedrich, president of Advantage. "And the states make things as messy as the feds."

Irony of the Enterprise

Some entrepreneurs recognize the irony in making money on red tape. State-side Associates Inc., Arlington, Va., has grown from a home-based venture with a single employee to a company with 14 workers that expects \$2 million in revenue this year. It provides reports on pending regulatory changes, such as in state rules on underground storage tanks for gasoline.

"If all of a sudden governments got corporate-friendly, there would not be any need for us," says founder Constance Campanella. She says that when clients learn from her of regulatory moves that are bad news for them, they sometimes say, "I guess this is good news for you." Ms. Campanella doesn't disagree.

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ENTERPRISE

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Perfection is hardly alone in seeing business openings in regulations. When the government requires workers to wear hard hats, entrepreneurs make money selling hard hats. There are myriad laws and regulations—and myriad money-making angles—for entrepreneurs.

"A lot of government regulation has been destructive," says Archie E. Albright, an executive vice president of International Process Systems Inc., Hampton, N.H. "But there has clearly also been a lot of new business opportunity created by other regulations, and a lot of demand for new technology to meet government standards."

He ought to know. His company was formed in 1988 by the owners of Earthgro Inc., a Lebanon, Conn., marketer of compost. International Process Systems sells post: International Process Systems sells post: International Process Systems sells post: technology to convert organic waste into compost, which can serve as a substitute for peat moss or topsoil. As communities scramble to meet government-imposed recycling goals, demand for composting technology is growing.

Mr. Albright says the company was growing so fast that it needed to seek a new owner able to finance its growth. He says the founders stand to profit handsomely from their pact with Wheelabrator Technologies Inc., Oak Brook, Ill., which acquired the company last year.

Complying with regulation is big business. Environmental protection alone has become a \$100 billion-a-year industry in

this country, according to an EPA estimate. And the agency says that Clean Air Act requirements themselves will create 20,000 to 40,000 jobs by the end of this decade.

Lift for Exports

U.S. exports may get a lift, too. Companies pioneering in environmental technology are expected to find markets in Taiwan, Mexico and many other countries with emerging cleanup efforts. "These are big numbers, big markets, and they're getting bigger every day," William K. Reilly, the administrator of the EPA, said at a business conference in April. Behind the growth: increased foreign regulation.

Many entrepreneurs make a living simply helping other people keep track of the ever-rising tide of regulations. Counterpoint Publishing Inc., Cambridge, Mass., describes itself as "a company whose only reason for being is to help people handle the sheer volume of regulations issued by federal government agencies." For example, the company publishes an optical-disk version of the Federal Register, a government publication that details proposed and actual regulatory changes. Last year's register filled 65,000 pages in book form.

Computer technology makes it possible for many companies to jump into publishing. In Exton, Pa., ERM-Computer Services Inc. sells optical disks of federal and state environmental regulations, updated every two months. "As many as 2,000 to 4,000 regulations will change in any two-month period," says Brian E. Gurnham, ERM's president. He says the company had revenue of \$5 million in the year ended March 31. Its parent company, ERM Group, is a consulting company working various angles in the marketplace created by environmental regulation. "Clearly, the rate of regulatory change is helping our business," Mr. Gurnham says.

The same is true in many other types of enterprises. That means brisk business for the likes of Advantage Business Services Inc. The Auburn, Maine, company franchises a payroll service; its franchisees help small companies process their payrolls. Companies turn to such services because they need help complying with complicated federal and state tax-withholding regulations. The Bush administration has proposed simpler federal rules, but in the meantime the current regulations are driving customers into Advantage offices.

From a single location in 1967, Advantage has grown into a chain with 30 outlets; it says systemwide revenue was about \$6.8 million in its fiscal year ended May 31. A client with five employees on its payroll will pay Advantage about \$15 a pay period for help in complying with all the rules.

"We probably wouldn't be in business if it weren't for government regulation," says David J. Friedrich, president of Advantage. "And the states make things as messy as the feds."

Irony of the Enterprise

Some entrepreneurs recognize the irony in making money on red tape. State-side Associates Inc., Arlington, Va., has grown from a home-based venture with a single employee to a company with 14 workers that expects \$2 million in revenue this year. It provides reports on pending regulatory changes, such as in state rules on underground storage tanks for gasoline.

"If all of a sudden governments got corporate-friendly, there would not be any need for us," says founder Constance Campanella. She says that when clients learn from her of regulatory moves that are bad news for them, they sometimes say, "I guess this is good news for you." Ms. Campanella doesn't disagree.

**Regulation
and
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SECOND IN A SERIES

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

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POLITICS & POLICY

As Speaking Fees Narrowed, Congress Found Travel Broadening in 1991

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — House members made a lot fewer speeches to special-interest groups last year, the first in which they couldn't pocket any money for the effort, but they continued to travel widely at the expense of such groups.

Lawmakers' newly released financial disclosure reports for 1991 show resorts in Florida and California to be among the most frequent destinations, with members of Congress playing the celebrities at business conventions and corporate-backed charity golf tournaments. But in hot August, some lawmakers traveled to Alaska thanks to oil interests, which want to open up drilling in the state.

Foreign trips abounded. Various interest groups and corporations sent lawmakers to China, a frequent target of congressional criticism for its human-rights record, and to South Africa. Post-Gulf War Mideast trips were common.

Sharp Decline

The reports show a sharp decline in lawmakers' earnings from speaking fees compared with previous years. In 1990, House members could keep \$26,850 of any fees, and most of them did; the remainder had to go to charity.

Then last year, in exchange for a 25% pay raise, they agreed to quit pocketing any of the cash and instead donate all of it to charity. But, as many charities feared, the politicians' philanthropy isn't what it used to be.

Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, far and away kept his status as the biggest speechmaker, but even the \$110,000 the Illinois Democrat reported for 1991, \$2,000 each for 55 speeches, was a fraction of the \$310,000 he collected the year before. Other large speaking fees went to top members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee: Democratic Chairman John Dingell of Michigan got \$20,050, while the panel's senior Republican, Rep. Norman Lent of New York, collected \$30,500. Both amounts were less than in 1990, as was the case with most of those who had reported large fee totals. Most House members reported no honorariums at all.

Nevertheless, the travel reports indicate that opportunities remain for special-interest groups to curry favor with lawmakers, especially those lawmakers on the committees that are critical to the groups' legislative interests.

Joan Claybrook, president of the watchdog group Public Citizen, noted that many officeholders are more cautious about taking trips given the anti-incumbent mood among voters. Still, she decried the continuing travel as "a form of legalized bribery."

'Undemocratic' Practices

"Industries corner these guys and work in conversations about what they need and want," she added. "They have them for breakfast, lunch and dinner. This exclusivity is undemocratic."

Members of the Energy and Commerce panel, which has wide jurisdiction over business matters, were among the most frequent travelers. The National Cable Television Association, which is fighting re-regulation efforts in the committee, financed a trip to New Orleans for various panel members and their spouses, including Democrats Gerry Sikorski of Minnesota, John Bryant of Texas, Dennis Eckart of Ohio and Roy Rowland of Georgia, and Republicans Joe Barton of Texas, Carlos Moorhead of California and Dan Schaefer of Colorado.

Committee member Thomas Manton (D., N.Y.) went to Palm Beach, Fla.; San Juan, Puerto Rico; Las Vegas, Nev.; and Boca Raton, Fla., last year at the expense of labor and business interests. Rep. Rick Boucher (D., Va.) reported 17 trips, mostly paid by tobacco, coal and broadcasting interests. Reps. Lent, Eckart and Alex McMillan (R., N.C.), as well as Rep. Jim Chapman (D., Texas) of the Appropriations Committee, were among lawmakers who traveled to England and Scotland with their spouses last summer at the expense of Pfizer Inc. and British Petroleum Co.

Among those out of town most often in 1991 were Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D., Col.), Rep. Rostenkowski, and Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich, the No. 2 House Republican. Rep. Schroeder, much in demand from women's groups, reported 55 trips and \$60,450 in speech fees to turn over to charity.

Frequent Fliers

Rep. Rostenkowski's 36 trips were mostly one-day speechmaking forays. His report reflected fewer golf outings than in past years, as the chairman sought to blunt any criticism of his activities that might arise in his primary race, which he won last March. Rep. Gingrich, who reported \$30,545 in speaking fees, took 45 trips. Most were for GOP groups or candidates, but some were business-financed.

Other of the House's frequent fliers included Rep. Charles Stenholm (D., Texas), a senior member of the Agriculture Committee, whose two dozen trips were mostly financed by agribusinesses. Rep. Bob Carr (D., Mich.) of the Appropriations Committee made 14 trips, many of them industry-paid trips to California resorts. British Petroleum brought Rep. Ron Marlenee to Alaska in August; the Montana Republican sits on a subcommittee responsible for offshore energy. Rep. Joe Barton (R., Texas), left Dallas for Alaska in August with his daughter, thanks to the American Petroleum Institute and Atlantic Richfield Co.

Rep. Beryl Anthony took short trips financed by Walt Disney Co., Federal Express Corp. and Tyson Foods Inc., all of which have received the Arkansas Democrat's help on the tax-writing Ways and

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Means Committee. Rep. Anthony was defeated this week in the Democratic primary after a campaign in which he was scored for being one of the abusers of the free-overdraft policy at the House bank.

Overseas travelers included a predominantly Republican group of lawmakers who jetted to see war-torn Kuwait at the expense of Fluor Corp., which was competing for contracts to rebuild the country. Thanks largely to Jewish groups, Israel remained a popular Mideast stop. Rep. Robert Torricelli (D., N.J.) spent a week in Sicily at the expense of the government there, as well as taking trips to the Mideast and Bermuda.

The conservative Jefferson Educational Foundation paid some lawmakers' way to South Africa for talks with government and business leaders there. Most were Republicans, along with Democrats Tom Lantos of Florida and Lindsay Thomas of Georgia. In contrast, the South Africa trip of Rep. Maxine Waters (D., Calif.) was financed by the liberal anti-apartheid group TransAfrica.

Trips to China

Likewise, a variety of interest groups bankrolled lawmakers' trips last year to China, the target of Democratic leaders' efforts to impose trade restrictions on human-rights grounds. Florida-based Ross Engineering Co., which has business in Shanghai, cooperated with the Chinese government to sponsor trips for Reps. Barbara Vucanovich (R., Nev.), William Goodling (R. Pa.), Michael McNulty (D., N.Y.) and Eliot Engel (D., N.Y.), among others.

Congress on Tour

Members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee were among Congress's most frequent flyers in 1991. Among the trips taken by committee members that were sponsored by industries they oversee were:

- **John Dingell** (D., Mich.), committee chairman. Six days in Florida for self and wife paid for by utility and pharmaceutical interests.
- **Matthew Rinaldo** (R., N.J.), senior Republican on Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee. Seven trips to Florida adding up to 21 days paid for by corporate and securities groups.
- **W.J. (Billy) Tauzin** (D., La.), member of Energy and Power Subcommittee. Weeklong trip to Alaska sponsored by energy group.
- **Norman Lent** (R., N.Y.), senior Republican on committee. Five trips, including a 10-day sojourn in England and Scotland for self and wife paid for by energy and pharmaceutical interests.

Meanwhile, Taiwan drew congressional visitors, thanks to the Chinese National Association of Industry and Commerce. Rep. Charles Rangel (D., N.Y.), who sits on the Ways and Means panel that deals with trade, went there twice.

Back at home, Rep. Jim Bunning accepted a trip that wedded his current life as a Kentucky Republican congressman with his old one as a professional baseball player. From the Philadelphia Phillies, he received \$1,100 and air fare to participate in last year's Old Timers' game in Philadelphia.

—John J. Fialka and Jill Abramson contributed to this article.

Baker pursues arms deal on eve of Yeltsin visit

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Secretary of State James A. Baker III flew to meet Russia's top diplomat in London last night in an 11th-hour bid to achieve a sweeping new nuclear arms reduction deal in time for Russian President Boris Yeltsin's Washington visit next week.

Both sides have agreed in principle to President Bush's suggestion of a limit of 4,700 nuclear warheads each, a much deeper reduction than the levels of roughly 8,500 warheads for the United States and 6,500 for the Soviet Union agreed to last July in the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START).

Currently, the United States and former Soviet Union have roughly 10,000 nuclear warheads on long-range missiles and bombers, according to the private Arms Control Association.

But the United States is insisting that Russia scrap all its enormous SS-18 missiles, each of which has from 10 to 14 thermonuclear warheads. They comprise 60 percent of the total Russian strategic missile force.

Russia is refusing to do so unless the United States scraps two-thirds of its submarine-launched ballistic missiles, which also have multiple warheads.

Mr. Yeltsin angrily accused the

United States on Wednesday of seeking to force an advantage out of a weakened Russia in the negotiations. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher refused to comment on Mr. Yeltsin's remarks.

Mr. Baker was to fly out of Andrews Air Force Base at 10 p.m. and meet Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev at the Russian embassy in London at 10:30 a.m. Washington time today.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Kozyrev will also seek agreement on other problem areas left over from their two days of talks here Monday and Tuesday.

They failed to agree on the exact number of warheads to be permitted

on long-range missiles and bombers, on specific limits on particular types of weapons, and on a timetable for scrapping the weapons.

The meeting was set up in a telephone conversation between the two foreign ministers yesterday morning.

Mr. Boucher said that the two men would meet for as long as necessary in efforts to reach an arms accord, suggesting the talks could last into Saturday and even Sunday. Mr. Yeltsin arrives in Washington on Monday for his first state visit since the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Yeltsin, Russia's first democratically elected leader in 1,100 years of history, will hold talks with

Mr. Bush on Tuesday and Wednesday and fly to Kansas on Thursday to visit a meatpacking plant and a university.

If an arms deal is reached, it will be the centerpiece of the summit, which otherwise appears unlikely to produce any far-reaching agreements.

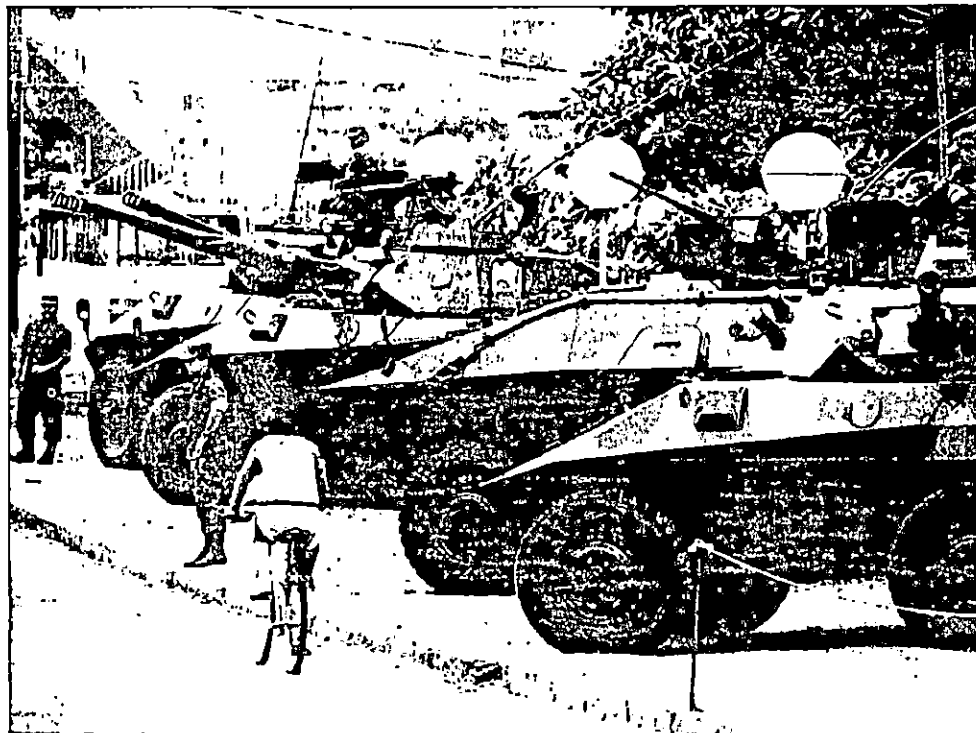
With aid for Russia stalled on Capitol Hill, the administration sees a nuclear deal as the one achievement from the meeting likely to be popular with the American electorate.

"The administration has created an artificial drama on this issue in response to the isolationist sentiment emanating from Congress and

sweeping the country," said Leon Aron of the American Enterprise Institute, author of an upcoming biography of Mr. Yeltsin.

If an arms deal is not forthcoming, the administration will use that as an excuse "to withhold the carrots of aid that it probably was in no position to provide anyway," Mr. Aron predicted.

State Department and other administration sources said the administration was sincere in its efforts to reach a new nuclear accord, especially as it feared that failure to do so would expose it to partisan criticism on Capitol Hill in an election year.



A cyclist pedals yesterday by tanks in Rio, where 35,000 police and army troops were protecting VIPs at the summit. AP

U.S. unveils climate-watch fund, species inventory to ease criticism

By Paul Raeburn
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

RIO DE JANEIRO — The United States announced yesterday a \$1.4 billion fund to monitor climate change and a plan to assess the world's plant and animal species. Both initiatives appeared designed to blunt severe criticism of the United States at the Earth Summit.

William Reilly, the chief U.S. delegate and head of the Environmental Protection Agency, said the United States will move quickly to ratify a treaty to curb global warming.

He called the treaty "one of the main achievements" of the summit — even though the United States was responsible for weakening the pact.

He announced a plan to immediately begin collecting information on the world's plant and animal species, although the United States remains steadfastly opposed to signing a treaty to protect biological diversity.

"We are entering a field of action and commitment, a period that will test whether the promises of this conference will in fact be realized," he said.

Meanwhile, world leaders began arriving in Rio to culminate work on documents that will guide nations on how to protect and clean up their resources. More than 110 heads of state — the largest gathering ever of world leaders — are expected for the summit's closing on Sunday.

Premier Li Peng of China arrived yesterday, along with leaders from Turkey, Estonia, Guatemala and Cape Verde. President Bush was flying to Rio last night and planned to address the assembly today.

Two key summit documents — a blueprint for environmental protection, called Agenda 21, and a statement of principles on forestry — remain unfinished.

But a Rio Declaration on environmental rights and responsibilities was completed yesterday after Israel dropped its objection to language referring to the rights of people living under occupation — on the condition that the clause not be included in Agenda 21.

An invited group of 30 students from several nations criticized the United States in a summit address yesterday. But the television broadcast of their remarks, translated into Spanish, was cut off.

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PANAMA CITY — President Bush headed into the "lion's den" of the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro last night expecting the torrent of criticism there to help him with U.S. voters unwilling to send more money abroad.

"Domestically, when he goes into the kind of lion's den waiting for him in Rio, the opposition is good for him politically," said a White House official who insisted on anonymity. "He does have to keep saying we have better environmental experience, plans, success that the others don't have."

Mr. Bush vowed that he won't sacrifice America's taxpayers or economy to environmental zealots.

"I will stand up for American interests and the interests of a cleaner environment," Mr. Bush said, setting his theme for a global confrontation that senior administration officials privately termed "chaos" and "a circus" during an official White House briefing this week.

For months, conservatives — including some in his official brain trust — urged Mr. Bush to shun the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which was considered certain to embarrass him and the United States.

But yesterday the president seemed confident he will win the day.

Under rules of the meeting, dominated by votes of small Third World nations, he has just seven minutes to make his case today. With rules of protocol suspended, his time begins even before the previous speaker is back in his seat.

U.S. officials have been defensive all week amid a barrage of slick brochures, tedious fact sheets and contentious briefings, and Mr. Bush appeared defensive himself yesterday as he argued his own environmental record in a bid to quiet his critics.

"On the environment, America's record is second to none. No other nation has done more — more rapidly — to clean up the water, the air

Bush faces Rio 'lion's den,' counts on support at home

RIO TREATIES

Key treaties on the table at the Earth Summit.*

Agenda 21: The Summit's comprehensive program of action covering a wide range of measures from health care to "conservation and management of resources for development." Estimates for the package have varied widely from \$600 billion to \$675 billion dollars annually, with some \$550 billion coming from "existing, primarily domestic sources." An additional \$125 billion would have to come from new sources of funding.

Rio Declaration on Environment and Development: A set of principles outlining the "ecologically sound management of the environment."

Framework Convention on Climate Change: Primarily an answer to global warming, this treaty seeks to reduce carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000 to avoid dramatic climate changes predicted by many scientists. United States reportedly has pledged \$75 million to this effort.

Convention on Biological Diversity: Defines terms "under which industrialized countries will have access to genetic materials and other biological resources." Discourages cutting and commercial harvesting of old-growth forests to preserve diverse population of plants and animals, which are useful as sources of difficult-to-synthesize medicines and other vital compounds.

Statement on Forest Principles: A statement under which industrialized countries would agree on the protection of world forests.

* Cost estimates are unclear because treaties are still being negotiated and projected costs can be determined only after agreements are signed and bought home for scrutiny and ratification.

Sources: United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Time magazine, Wall Street Journal

or preserve public lands," he said.

Just before speaking today, the president will go to a side room to sign the global warming treaty — which adopted a U.S. formula that avoids targets and timetables. He will support the summit's final declaration tomorrow if all-night sessions ever get the wording settled.

But he apparently will stand alone among 118 heads of state or government — including Cuba's Fidel Castro, China's Li Peng and Iraq's No. 2, Tariq Aziz — against the biodiversity treaty being signed this week in Rio.

The treaty calls for conservation of biological diversity through protection of natural habitats for plants and animals but contains clauses objectionable to the United States. Mr. Bush maintains that the treaty was driven by misguided but noble intentions and would result in confiscation without payment of technology developed at great expense by private companies.

"Remove incentives and we'll see fewer of the technological advances that help us protect our planet," Mr.

Bush said. "This I promise: ... If the United States has to be the only nation to stand against the biodiversity treaty as now drawn, so be it."

Much of the opposition comes from European allies and Japan, which were roundly denounced by anonymous officials during the same White House briefing where one official said the meeting theme is "Forget what the record says, just blame the United States."

At a news conference last week, Mr. Bush said that if environmental interests at the Rio meeting don't understand his record, "that's too bad."

Yesterday he said, "The day of the open checkbook is over."

Playing his message against the meeting's formal name, he added: "Environmental protection and a growing economy are inseparable."

Barbara Bush accompanied the president, but she has her own agenda. Today she is scheduled to visit an orphanage and Museum of Modern Art exhibits on Brazilians and the Amazon.

Quayle defends moral ground

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Vice President Dan Quayle, in his latest effort to occupy the administration's pulpit, yesterday aggressively challenged the "cultural elite" to join in limiting abortions.

Trying to find middle ground in the emotional debate over the procedure, Mr. Quayle said it is time to support "limitations on abortion" as a starting point in resolving national divisions on the issue.

Noting a new Pennsylvania law requiring a 24-hour wait before an abortion, Mr. Quayle said the waiting period is "a reasonable effort ... to advance the cause of life. Such efforts deserve our support."

His encouragement of "limitations" on abortion rather than elaborating a thoroughgoing pro-life stance was another move by the administration to moderate its tough pro-life position, officials said.

Mr. Quayle used his appearance at a National Right to Life convention in Crystal City to expand his attack on a cultural elite he says resides in Hollywood and universities, newspapers and networks.

He accused this elite of advocating abortion and attempting to shrug off conservative demands that the 1992 presidential election focus on family values.

To cheers of "four more years" from the overflow crowd of 500, he said, "I know it can be discouraging playing David to the Goliath of the dominant cultural elite. But remember the final outcome of that biblical encounter: The Philistines fled."

His address was another example of Mr. Quayle speaking as the voice of the administration on morality. Aides said he decided to speak out on family values after the Los Angeles rioting that followed the Rodney King verdict.

"The starting point was the L.A. riots and the root causes of how you effect changes. He asked about the causes, like 'Is society contributing



Vice President Dan Quayle reacts as the crowd chants "Four more years" at a National Right to Life convention.

to it by what it says?" said a Quayle associate.

Mr. Quayle feels the media, especially Hollywood, is undermining the American family by glamorizing non-traditional values. This prompted his attack on the TV sitcom "Murphy Brown" for romanticizing unwed motherhood.

In addition, Mr. Quayle's recent concern for family issues stems from his boyhood in central Indiana and the recent graduation of his eldest son, Tucker, from Washington's Gonzaga High School, associates said.

The vice president received what is now considered a "traditional" Midwestern upbringing, complete with two parents, financial security, a drug-free schooling, and such pastimes as fishing and golf.

Mr. Quayle feels that with a push from government and "radically renewing our commitment to Judeo-

Christian values," America can revive traditional values despite the growth of single-parent households, drugs and violence.

Rapping the cultural elite for its failure to support a return to traditional values "is a natural," said Mr. Quayle's father, James. "The Eastern elite just doesn't understand" these issues, he added.

Mr. Quayle's associates also claim that the vice president has turned family values into a political issue due to his son's graduation and expected enrollment in college.

Both Mr. Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, were actively involved in their children's upbringing and have tried to set an example of community service, a core ingredient of Gonzaga's education, according to associates.

Discounting charges that Mr. Quayle's call for renewal of family values is a political ploy to recapture

conservatives in time for the 1992 election, one associate said the vice president "was moved by Tucker's graduation."

In an emotional commencement not covered by the media, Mr. Quayle told Gonzaga seniors: "Everywhere I go, people tell me it's time to change things. I agree. However, we shouldn't change our commitment to faith and family, or our code of integrity and compassion to hard work."

In language that until recently was uncharacteristic for Mr. Quayle, he said: "Gonzaga emphasizes the importance of faith and the role of God in your life."

"Our country would be stronger if all had a deeper appreciation of faith. After all, we are one nation under God and we should never forget that God holds you in the palm of his hand. For you, 'Men for Others' is not simply a slogan."

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



A dangerous gap for the unwary

Bill Clinton may be falling into the generation gap. The generation gap is the cousin of the gender gap, but different.

These gaps were discovered by brave political writers who are always on the scout for new gaps. Some years they find more gaps than usual. This year there is no gap gap.

One guru believes that most of us are looking for a president who will take care of us as well as lead us, and this is bad news for Slick Willie, who is perceived as little more than a whippersnapper.

These are confusing times. Presidential candidates are pushing the lesbian dwarf anorexics off the Donahue show, men in the Philippines are trying to have babies, and in America, while our generals grovel, we're talking about recruiting girls to fight our wars.

Long-in-the-tooth congressional feminists insist that a female soldier can take anything a male soldier can, except a leer, a wink or a pinch on the bottom. Leers, winks and pinches must be punished.

This could pose a genuine problem if Slick Willie becomes the commander-in-chief, since he is said to be an authority on successfully sneaking pinches, and a lot more, from the ladies. But a lot of younger voters — younger defined here as anyone under 40 — are wary of Mr. Slick for other reasons, beginning with his youthful appearance and demeanor.

Mr. Slick was only 29 when he was elected governor of Arkansas, where newspaper cartoonists drew him as a tyke on a tricycle, and his command presence is still undermined by his looks.

"He can't shake his baby face and his big hair and his ebullience," says Todd Gitlin, a sociologist at the University of California in Berkeley. "He seems very eager. People don't want a wunderkind. They want a sage. There's a desire to be led, to find the missing father."

Demands one boomer voter who is Mr. Slick's age (43): "How can I vote for Bill Clinton when he reminds me of myself?"

When Ronald Reagan was elected in 1980, everyone thought he would be the last president of the



Father figure

can-do generation that emerged from a killer depression to organize and prosecute the most destructive war in history, without whining. But he was followed by Lt. J.G. George Bush, 68 today, who was shot down in the South Pacific.

This may be the year of the golden oldies. Ross Perot, 62, missed the war, but he is clearly a child of that generation, at least in the minds of most voters.

Growing numbers of them seem to be taking him on faith, just as they took Mr. Reagan on faith.

"Perot's co-opted the outsider notion that the old boys ought to step aside and let us in," says Charles Black, a Bush strategist. "All the air is out of the generational argument," agrees analyst Stuart Rothenberg.

Mr. Slick is actually more popular among older voters than among voters of his own generation, according to the exit polls, just as Mr. Reagan, the original golden oldie, was more popular with the young. Like many of the privileged members of his generation, Mr. Slick assumes, falsely, that because he thought he was "too educated to fight in Vietnam" and smoked pot and felt "alienated," everyone else in his generation did.

"In 1980, the group most concerned about Reagan's age was older people," Charles Black recalls. "Some of them were saying, 'God, I'm 65 and I don't feel like working a 12-hour day or working under all this pressure.'"

Ross Perot is not only a child of his generation, he still expresses the values of the primitive white male of the 1950s, which is no doubt the secret of his phenomenal ride to the crest of the early wave of '92. In an era of cowed and cowardly public men, who are intimidated at the first feminist squeal, Mr. Perot makes no apology for who he is.

When he tells an interviewer that he has noticed "some really cute young volunteers," some young women faint at the audacity of the man who notices that certain young women are, well, cute. Scolds the Associated Press, primly: "Few office-seekers could get away with remarks like that."

Indeed, talk like that could get most any other politician banished to the rap gap.

AID inspectors accused of fraud and death threat

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Agency for International Development investigators responsible for uncovering public corruption within the agency have themselves been guilty of "inappropriate behavior" ranging from fraud to threatening a pregnant woman with a pistol, according to a confidential Senate letter.

The alleged misconduct is outlined by Sen. John Glenn, chairman of the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, in a letter to AID Inspector General Herbert L. Beckington and focuses on Mr. Beckington's own staff.

Mr. Glenn's committee is investigating AID, which administers and distributes U.S. foreign aid, amid allegations that the IG's office at the agency has intimidated and threatened employees and senior officials.

"It is an unavoidable conclusion ... that something is fundamentally wrong with the existing relationship between the IG and the agency," the Ohio Democrat wrote.

Cited in the letter are comments by one IG official who allegedly bragged his job was to "hurt people for the U.S. government" and quotes by AID employees who said the IG "has intimidated senior AID staff by threats of blanket fishing expedition-type audits of personal conduct."

Mr. Beckington was on leave yesterday and not available for comment. Ronald W. Roskens, head of AID, was in Rio de Janeiro for the Earth Summit and also unavailable. Acting IG Robert S. Perkins declined comment.

Mr. Glenn's letter cited four instances of alleged "inappropriate behavior," including:

- Fraudulent use of agency funds in the purchase of airline tickets by an IG official in Kenya.
- Use of threats and intimidation against AID staffers by an IG official in Singapore.
- Abuse of time and attendance

records by an IG deputy assistant in Washington, resulting in salary overpayments of between \$12,000 and \$25,000.

- Threatening of a pregnant woman by an IG official in Manila who demanded at gunpoint that she get an abortion.

AID has come under fire in recent months for alleged wrongdoing, wasteful spending practices and financial improprieties. A May 1991 report by Mr. Beckington said AID had more high-level employees convicted of federal crimes than any other agency in the federal government.

In 1978, Congress passed the Inspector General's Act in an effort to beef up oversight capabilities of individual agencies. It stopped department heads from being able to block IG investigators from conducting audits or investigations, issuing subpoenas and gaining access to records.

The Glenn letter was sent May 8. A Governmental Affairs Committee staff member declined yesterday to discuss the allegations but said the panel's probe remained "in progress."

Of the Manila incident, Mr. Glenn wrote: "An AID official was told, 'The general doesn't like to get into these boys-will-be-boys activities by the IG staff.' I would be dismayed if this is truly the policy of your office."

The Manila IG official in question, according to the letter, had "impregnated his Filipina golf caddy" and, after learning of the pregnancy, "drew his pistol, placed it to the woman's head and told her that she must get an abortion or he would kill her."

The letter said that a week later, the man was "pursued by his wife in another car in a Manila suburb" and that she "repeatedly smashed into [his] car and called him an adulterer."

The alleged fraud case, the letter said, involved use of airline tickets by an IG staffer in Kenya. He allegedly bragged it was easy to alter tickets.

What's it mean?

Bill Simon's endorsement of Ross Perot has caused concern in certain circles, among them those dependent on his influence as president of the Olin Foundation, a nurturer of many conservative organizations. More specifically, Mr. Simon was considered a staunch ally of leading neoconservatives, many of whom share President Bush's assessment of Mr. Perot as a "mean-spirited little nut." Libertarian thinkers are said to be going even further, with at least one foundation honcho blasting Mr. Perot as "another Hitler."

A friend of the wealthy, influential former Treasury secretary speculated that Mr. Simon is probably "impressed by someone who speaks the language of the average American." The friend added, "Perot's sentences even have beginnings and endings, rather than sounding like an AM radio on scan."

Mr. Simon was not in his East Coast or West Coast offices yesterday, but we are pursuing comment.

Stern stuff

Ross Perot fielded calls from viewers on NBC's "Today" show yesterday and the first came from "Bob in Bowie, Maryland." Moderator Katie Couric even corrected her first pronunciation, "Bo-ee," to "Boo-ee."

Bob came on. "First of all, is it realistic that a [mumble, mumble] outsider can go to Washington and convince Congress to make major changes in government? And secondly, have you ever had the desire to mind-meld with Howard Stern's [uh, instrument of manhood]?"

There is little doubt that the most seasoned among us would have fallen out of our chairs, but Miss Couric hung in: "Oh, thank you very much. Not a good second question, but let's go ahead and ask the first — answer the first one. As an outsider coming into Washington, do you feel like you could

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Howard Stern, shock-radio personality.

handle Congress as an independent and an outsider?"

Mr. Perot didn't miss a beat, launching off into a reply about "gridlock."

An empty suit

"Ross Perot is Ronald Reagan without the substance," Bill Clinton's presidential campaign consultant, Paul Begala, quipped yesterday. The comment came during what was supposed to be a heady philosophical discussion about elitism vs. populism by a panel of journalists and political consultants at the National Press Club. But Mr. Perot's name dominated the discussion.

The panel was assembled to discuss "Populism and Elitism: Poli-

tics in the Age of Equality," the new must-read book by Jeffrey Bell, a former aide to Ronald Reagan and Jack Kemp. Besides Mr. Begala, the panel had Bush campaign senior consultant Charles Black, columnist Robert Novak, author Michael Barone, Wall Street Journal bureau chief Al Hunt and Mr. Bell.

Fuming at FEMA

It'd take a top CIA analyst to sort out all the intrigue at the Federal Emergency Management Agency, where the flap continues over efforts by Wally Stickney to compile a list of homosexual staffers.

Staffers up and down the line are described as disgruntled and distressed. They are hoping for a thorough, independent investigation, believing that a proposed "blue-ribbon" investigation by friends and appointees of the director will bring on more "scapegoating." That refers to Mr. Stickney's decision to assign the agency's executive director, Thomas McQuillan, to work in an underground government bunker in Berryville, Va., with no staff and no job assignment.

Sen. Barbara Mikulski, Maryland Democrat, is holding hearings on the FEMA budget and looking into Mr. Stickney's maneuverings. The director's reaction to the situation has been a binge of lock-changing and debugging.

Bearding the lion

Mr. Perot answered a lot of questions on the "Today" show, some more substantive than others. Miss Couric asked him about the policy against beards that's reported to have been in effect at his computer

firm, EDS. She wanted to know if he is going to make Ed Rollins shave off his beard.

Mr. Perot said there had never been any such policy, and furthermore he has no intention of getting rid of Mr. Rollins' beard.

Hardball 101

Juan Williams of The Washington Post fired this sizzler at Sen. Phil Gramm on CNN's "Crossfire": "You're the guy that was involved with Gramm-Rudman, weren't you?"

Anybody home?

The co-chairman of the Bush-Quayle '92 committee in a very large state is having trouble getting her calls returned by the Republican National Committee. If she can ever get through, she wants to tell them she quits.

We also hear that a former ambassador from the Reagan era is having similar problems. He can't get a call-back either, so he's having some second thoughts about his inclination to donate \$100,000.

He's confident

Energy Secretary James Watkins is so sure that President Bush will prevail in November that he's telling top staffers who they'll be working for in the second Bush-Quayle administration. The new secretary will be Henson Moore, Mr. Watkins' former deputy, who is now assisting Sam Skinner at the White House.

Show no mercy

Jay Leno lobbed another live one in the direction of almost-disappeared candidate Jerry Brown on NBC's "Tonight Show." Mr. Brown has vowed he will stay in a homeless shelter during the Democratic National Convention in New York. "Haven't these homeless people suffered enough?" Mr. Leno asked.

— John Elvir

Nixon briefs Texan on foreign policy

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dallas billionaire Ross Perot visited former President Richard Nixon yesterday and got a foreign policy briefing that lasted nearly two hours, a Republican source said.

The undeclared independent candidate for president went by car from New York, where he appeared on the "Today" show, to Mr. Nixon's office at Woodcliff Lake, N.J., to meet with the former president, the source said.

Mr. Perot and Mr. Nixon then went for lunch to Mr. Nixon's home in nearby Park Ridge.

Mr. Perot requested the briefing, according to the

source who spoke on condition of anonymity. He said several weeks ago he needed to devote more study to the issues and would cut back on public appearances while he did so.

But he later said supporters were more interested in his principles than in the details of his positions.

Mr. Nixon, who recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, had made it clear he stands ready to talk about foreign policy with any candidate.

The former Republican president has said he supports the re-election of President Bush because he has the greatest amount of experience in foreign policy. But Mr. Perot was close to the Nixon White House.

**ARNOLD
BEICHMAN**

Legacy sold for a mess of policy

"George Bush needs somehow," wrote Robert Bartley the other day, "to show that he, not Ross Perot, is Ronald Reagan's true heir."

A great prescription by the editor of the Wall Street Journal, but George Bush won't adopt it and even if he did, it's almost too late to do much good. Why, George Bush, who owes everything he has achieved to President Reagan, won't even mention him in public. Did you notice that at his press conference last week, he referred to President Reagan as his "predecessor." I can't remember when President Bush last spoke of Mr. Reagan by name; perhaps at the dedication of the Reagan Library last November. It looks to me as if Mr. Bush would rather go down to defeat than claim that he is Mr. Reagan's true heir.

I suppose there would be a good Freudian explanation as to why Mr. Bush won't mention Mr. Reagan's name in public. But Mr. Reagan is fully aware of how he has been slighted by his successor. The Bush Inaugural address in 1988, with its call for a "kinder and gentler America," was interpreted by the former president and Mrs. Reagan as insulting to Mr. Reagan's eight years. Was President Bush implying that under President Reagan America was less kind, less gentle?

That is why you haven't seen many photos of the two presidents together. In fact, during one panic-stricken moment a few months ago, Mr. Bush rushed out to visit Mr. Reagan at his California ranch. The Bush press people told TV cameras

to wait at the ranch gate when there would be a photo opportunity. After an hour or so of waiting, the cameras were told sorry, no photo op, the White House would supply the photos. The photo of the two presidents and their consorts looked as stiff and humorless as P.S. 62 graduation photos in the South Bronx.



It is utterly mad and self-defeating to have ignored Mr. Reagan as the White House has done. Here we have the man who presided over the dismemberment of the Soviet empire, the leader about whom one can say, more than metaphorically, that he led the West's victory in World War III without firing a shot or losing life, the man who was denounced by the liberal-left for fighting the "evil empire," who was sneered at by liberal commentators for allegedly being a hands-off president. And yet it was in Mr. Reagan's eight years that what no one predicted could happen in our lifetime — that the Berlin Wall would come down and the Soviet empire crumble — happened. You would think Mr. Bush would have the wit to recognize that Mr. Reagan or, as Mr. Bush called him, "my predecessor," is an election campaign asset. But he doesn't.

An informed British view in the London Economist has raised a profoundly troubling question: "Does George Bush really want to be president for another four years?" In the May 30 issue of the British weekly, the writer, who goes by the pseudonym "Lexington," says that recent conversations with members of the administration and the Bush campaign "[reveal] a picture of a listless, indecisive man, unable to take steps that might rescue his tottering reputation."

Some weeks ago, I was asked for some ideas to help the Bush campaign, and I put them in a column for this paper. One of the ideas I suggested is that when Mr. Bush is in Europe next month, he ought to make a speech at the Brandenburg Gate where once there was a Berlin Wall and to proclaim World Freedom Day. And standing right beside President Bush should be former President Reagan. The American voter and indeed the world should not be allowed to forget that in the Reagan-Bush presidency a great victory for peace was won without a shot being

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