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News Summary

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FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992
6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

TRIP NEWS

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(San Francisco Chronicle, Washington Post, AP, Reuter)

NATIONAL NEWS

GOP SUPPORT IN ORANGE COUNTY WAVERING AT CRITICAL TIME FOR BUSH - Republican loyalty in Orange County is wavering just when George Bush needs it most because of the recession and the growing popularity of Ross Perot. (AP)

URBAN AID EASILY APPROVED; RUSSIAN AID STILL HOSTAGE --

Congress Thursday approved a scaled-back \$1.1 billion urban aid bill and edged closer to passing a new extension of unemployment benefits.

(Washington Post, Washington Times, Los Angeles Times, AP, Reuter)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

CONGRESS SET TO OK RUSSIAN AID PACKAGE -- The legislative obstacles that stalled an aid package for the former Soviet Union disappeared Thursday, and Congress appears ready to approve President Bush's coveted proposal by the July 4th recess. (Washington Times, UPI)

NETWORK NEWS (Thursday evening)

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS --

President Bush was campaigning in California, including a photo opportunity at an oil recycling plant.

NEW AMERICA PLAN -- Boris Yeltsin got a close-up look at politics American style -- a compromise between President Bush and Democrats in Congress.

TRADE DEFICIT -- The trade deficit has grown -- nearly \$7 billion in April.

TRIP NEWS.....A-1
NATIONAL NEWS.....A-3
INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-9
NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

TRIP NEWS

PEROT, BUSH MAKE THEIR PITCH President Takes Hard Questions In The East Bay

Beginning a campaign swing through California, President Bush acknowledged Thursday that Ross Perot's candidacy is a "hurricane blowing out there" as he answered questions on the environment, homelessness and health issues from an East Bay audience.

The President began a three-day visit with an appearance at the Evergreen oil recycling plant in Newark, where he acted as his own television talk show host in a discussion with employees broadcast live on CNN.

The audience did not pull punches. They asked Bush to explain the popularity of Perot, who addressed a crowd of about 7,000 people in Sacramento while the President was in the East Bay.

Bush showed no reluctance in blaming Congress for blocking his initiatives. When a woman asked whether he will hold true to his promise "to be the education President," Bush said Democrats in Congress have blocked his education plan, which includes a voucher system for public schools. When a social worker asked about his plans for expanding access to health insurance, Bush again laid the blame on Capitol Hill for failing to enact a plan that would involve issuing vouchers to cover insurance costs for Americans who have no coverage.

After one questioner said, "We didn't look too well in Rio," the President gave a spirited defense of his appearance at the Earth Summit. (Robert Gunnison, San Francisco Chronicle, A1)

Bush Not Ready To Fight Yet; Clinton Works On Economics

NEWARK, Calif. -- Bragging about what he called his "really historic" arms agreement with Boris Yeltsin, President Bush resumed campaigning Thursday, vowing "I know how to fight" but insisting that he still was not yet ready to directly attack either Ross Perot or Bill Clinton.

"... Right now there's a hurricane blowing out there and all I can do is run this country as best I can," Bush told a group of workers at a small oil recycling plant in the San Francisco Bay Area. He acknowledged he was beset by widespread voter discontent, triggered by an economy that has been "in the dregs."

Campaign aides earlier Thursday had suggested that Bush would begin making veiled references to his opponents in a series of speeches scheduled for Southern California and Texas this weekend. But Bush went out of his way to point out that he had not criticized either opponent and did not plan to any time soon.

Bush used his appearance to repeat his environmental positions, and won polite applause, but appeared oblivious to suggestions that his policies put the 200-employee oil company he was visiting at a disadvantage -- and harm the environment.

Clinton, meanwhile, returned to Little Rock Thursday afternoon after a quick stop in Washington that included a visit with Yeltsin at Blair House. Before he left, he said that he is revising his economic program, but hedged on whether he was giving up on a tax cut for the middle class. (Bill McAllister, Washington Post, A24)

Bush, Flush With Summitry, Faces Questions On Domestic Issues

NEWARK, Calif. -- President Bush, fielding questions at an outdoor forum, boasted Thursday about the outcome of his summit with Boris Yeltsin but found that his audience wanted to talk instead about the environment, schools, the economy and medical costs.

Bush took a veiled shot at Bill Clinton, who made a pitch for the rock 'n' roll vote with an appearance on the Arsenio Hall show on the MTV cable channel. "I think in a campaign year you've got to draw the line somewhere. I am not going to be out there trying to be a teeney-bopper at 68," Bush said.

The President also sought to deny Perot exclusive claim on being a successful businessman. Bush said he had been a businessman for half his adult life and regarded that as a badge of honor.

A woman asked Bush how he would redeem his pledge to be the education President. The next questioner wanted to know if Bush would follow Perot's and Clinton's example to appear on call-in talk shows. Over more than a half hour, there was not a single question on foreign policy or his summit with Yeltsin.

(Terence Hunt, AP)

Bush Promises Tough Election Fight

NEWARK, Calif. -- President Bush said Thursday that he would not let himself be the constant target of attacks by the two candidates trying to unseat him, vowing to come out fighting later this summer....

The President was met at the oil recycling plant by a couple of hundred demonstrators protesting his environmental record with signs that read "We want forests, not bushes" and "I am not a criminal, I am an environmentalist."

(Rich Miller, Reuter)

NATIONAL NEWS

GOP SUPPORT IN ORANGE COUNTY WAVERING AT CRITICAL TIME FOR BUSH

IRVINE, Calif. -- Republican loyalty in Orange County, which helped elect the last two GOP presidents, is wavering just when George Bush needs it most because of the recession and the growing popularity of Ross Perot.

A Perot rally Thursday, upstaging Bush's arrival here Friday, drew 5,000 supporters, many of them dissatisfied Orange County Republicans who see Bush as a business-as-usual insider and Perot as the agent of change.

Although Bush got 62% of the Orange County GOP vote in the June 2 primary, an exit poll for the Orange County Register found that voters would prefer Perot over Bush in November by a margin of 41% to 27%. Bill Clinton got 13%. (Michael Fleeman, AP)

GOP PREPARES GOVERNMENT COMPLAINT OVER CLINTON FUND-RAISING

Republicans want the government to cut off public funding to Bill Clinton's presidential campaign, alleging he wrongly used Democratic Party funds to pay for a national television broadcast, documents show.

A complaint prepared by RNC lawyers alleges Clinton wrongly used \$395,000 in his party's general election money to help raise money for his cash-strapped primary campaign. The money was used for Clinton's half-hour TV appearance last Friday on NBC during which his toll-free fund-raising number was flashed across the screen several times, the complaint alleges.

"They used the money to underwrite and subsidize their effort to get money from taxpayers in public funding to help their debt-ridden primary campaign and that is illegal," said Ben Ginsberg, the GOP's general counsel. (John Solomon, AP)

TOP RTC LAWYER LINKED TO FIRM IN AGENCY SUIT

Gerald Jacobs, general counsel of the RTC, formerly served as real estate lawyer for a development company accused in a \$1.3 billion RTC lawsuit last week of participating in "sham" land deals with now-defunct Western Savings and Loan Association.

Transactions involving the development company, Dicor Inc. of Phoenix, were described in the civil racketeering case filed Saturday against some of Western's former owners and borrowers. Dicor, which had defaulted on \$39 million in loans to Western is the subject of a separate bankruptcy proceeding in which the RTC is trying to recover at least a portion of those funds. Dicor was not named a defendant in the racketeering case.

Jacobs, who joined the RTC in September 1990, represented Dicor and its wholly owned subsidiary, LTG Investments Inc., for at least a decade, according to public records.

(Susan Schmidt, Washington Post, A1)

NAVY REQUESTS AID IN TAILHOOK SCANDAL

Navy Secretary H. Lawrence Garrett Thursday asked the Defense Department's top investigator to scrutinize the service's handling of sexual assaults and misconduct at a convention of Navy and Marine aviators in Las Vegas last year.

Garrett Thursday asked the Pentagon's inspector general to examine how the investigations were conducted and look for any new evidence of misconduct.

"Questions have been raised regarding the completeness of the investigations," Garrett said in a memorandum to Deputy Inspector General Derek Vander Schaaf. "Criticisms of the investigations, along with rumor and innuendo of coverup, have eroded seriously the Department of the Navy's credibility to investigate further the Tailhook '91 matter." (John Lancaster, Washington Post, A25)

**HILL STUDY CHALLENGES MILITARY'S
EXCLUSION OF GAYS**

A new congressional study strongly challenges the U.S. military policy of excluding gay men and lesbians, estimating the cost of replacing uniformed men and women kicked out of the services for homosexuality at \$27 million in 1990 alone.

The investigators found virtually no scientific or sociological evidence to support the Pentagon's argument that the gay ban is necessary to ensure "good order, morale and discipline."

The report said "many experts believe that the military's policy is unsupported, unfair, and counterproductive; has no validity according to current scientific research and opinions; and appears to be based on the same type of prejudicial suppositions that were used to discriminate against blacks and women before these policies changed."

Christopher Jehn, the assistant defense secretary for manpower, said in a written response to the GAO study that the ban on gay service personnel is based on "military judgment... (and) that military judgments about overall combat effectiveness are inherently subjective in nature." As a result, Jehn said, "scientific or sociological analyses are unlikely" to affect the policy. (John Lancaster, Washington Post, A1)

FCC ALLOWS NETWORKS' CABLE ENTRY

The FCC voted Thursday to let television networks own and operate cable TV systems, ending a 22-year-old ban. Consumer advocates and some local affiliates of the networks opposed the 5-0 FCC vote, saying it would strengthen the cable industry and mark the beginning of the end of free television.

In an effort to prevent a return to the era of network domination, the FCC ruled that cable systems owned by a network cannot serve more than 10% of the nation's cable TV market or more than 50% of a community's potential cable customers.

(Robert Trautman, Reuter, Washington Post, C1)

U.S. OFFICIALS' PERKS ON CHOPPING BLOCK

The menu at the Treasury Department's executive dining room offers seafood bisque, shrimp and crabmeat pasta salad, fruit salad and strawberry sundaes. The Treasury executives' tab: \$4.75 each. The taxpayers' tab this year for the Treasury executives' meals: \$126,048.

Sen. Deconcini Thursday became the latest lawmaker to take a swipe at almost-free lunches. He introduced a bill that would prohibit taxpayer subsidies for executive meals, fitness centers, and on-site medical offices, which are available to all federal workers.

The bill also calls for opening military golf courses to the public and giving the Treasury profits from the fees, limiting chauffeur-driven cars to assistant secretaries and above, cutting the number of executive branch political appointees by 15% over three years and, most contentious, prohibiting the use of government aircraft for personal and "mixed" -- political and official -- trips, except for the president.

The bill comes from a highly partisan Democrat and is aimed at the Republican-controlled executive branch. But since it is an election year, even the Administration may end up supporting parts of it. "There's an interest in looking at some of these things," an Administration official familiar with the bill admitted.

(Dana Priest, Washington Post, A1)

BYPASSED BY THE JOB MARKET?

Federal job recruiters tend to bypass the nation's 117 historically black colleges and universities, according to a recent government report, and many students on these campuses say they can't find information about government job opportunities in their schools' career development offices.

An OPM study described the finding as a "tremendous void in the federal recruiting pipeline." OPM Director Newman said the pattern has emerged because federal recruiters tend to focus on large campuses rather than small ones, and historically black colleges and universities are relatively small. "I don't think it was that agencies avoided" such schools, said Newman.

(Lynne Duke, Washington Post, A25)

**URBAN AID EASILY APPROVED;
RUSSIAN AID STILL HOSTAGE**

Congress Thursday approved a scaled-back \$1.1 billion urban aid bill and edged closer to passing a new extension of unemployment benefits, clearing the way for Senate consideration of a broad package of aid to Russia as early as Tuesday.

But, even after the House overwhelmingly approved the urban aid bill and the Senate followed suit by voice vote several hours later, the Senate remained mired in partisan squabble over unrelated issues that threatened the timetable.

The dispute -- triggered by a maverick Republican effort to revive anti-crime legislation and a proposed constitutional amendment to balance the budget -- will have to be resolved before the Senate can take up the Russian aid bill.

The "emergency" urban aid bill was approved in the House by a vote of 249 to 168 after it was scaled back by half in order to satisfy objections from President Bush to an earlier \$2 billion version.

Many who voted Thursday for the emergency package voiced little enthusiasm for it. "Most of us on this floor think the (bill) is either too much or too little," said Rep. Dixon. Rep. Waters said the bill "does not begin to get at the problems."

(On Capitol Hill, Washington Post, A12)

Bush Compromises, Urban Aid Bill Passes

Congress passed an emergency aid bill for Los Angeles and Chicago Thursday, funding a summer jobs program President Bush did not request but cutting nearly \$1 billion for social programs Democrats wanted.

With the \$1.1 billion compromise, Bush sacrificed two key urban programs ballyhooed on the campaign trail while effectively breaking his 1990 agreement with Congress to cap federal spending. White House officials said they agreed to the plan to open the door for Congress to act on aid to the former Soviet republics.

But the price for getting quick consideration on the Russian aid package was giving up the "enterprise zone" proposal and the tough-on-crime "weed and seed" program.

While several lawmakers praised Bush, one senior GOP House member said the President made a "terrible mistake" by not insisting on retaining his proposal for enterprise zones.

"I thought we gave away our best leverage," said Rep. Weber. "The Administration should not have agreed to this.... It seriously diminished our chances of passage of enterprise zones and other things." (Jennings Moss & Frank Murray, Washington Times, A1)

Congress OKs Scaled-Down Urban Aid Bill

Congress on Thursday approved a compromise \$1.1 billion emergency urban aid package keyed to the Los Angeles riots and sent it to President Bush for his promised signature.

On Thursday, 117 Republicans and 51 Democrats voted against the bill in the House, with some opponents contending that it was a waste of money and Rep. James of Florida arguing that it would reward "negligence" by the Los Angeles police during the riots in late April. However, Rep. Bennett said, "This is only a scratch on the surface compared to what we ought to be doing."

(William Eaton, Los Angeles Times, A1)

Congress Approves \$1 Billion Urban Aid Compromise

Congress, breaking weeks of stalemate over its initial response to the Los Angeles riots, Thursday approved a scaled-down, \$1 billion emergency urban aid bill that would provide summer jobs for disadvantaged teenagers.

House and Senate Republican leaders pledged President Bush's support for the revised version, but it still had to overcome significant opposition from House Republicans.

Rep. Michel said the House Democratic leadership had promised a House vote this summer on urban enterprise zones. Rep. Gephardt said he hoped for a vote on a bill including enterprise zones before the July 4th recess.

(William Welch, AP)

HOUSE PANEL VOTES TO CREATE SPOTTED OWL RESERVE

A House committee voted Thursday to create a 6.8 million acre preserve in the Pacific Northwest to protect the rare spotted owl, but the timber industry and conservationists vowed to fight for changes in the bill.

Pacific Northwest lawmakers, worried about the loss of tens of thousands of timber jobs, were also split on the measure, which passed the House Agriculture Committee 27-15.

The committee also defeated a proposal to enact the so-called owl preservation plan crafted by Secretary Lujan. The plan, written outside the confines of the Endangered Species Act, would protect about 2.8 million acres of Northwest forest.

(Sue Kirchoff, Reuter)

**SHADOW OF BUDGET KNIFE
MAY FALL ON SPACE STATION**

The House's vote to scrap the multibillion-dollar Superconducting Super Collider signals new-found congressional resolve to whittle away at the deficit, members said Thursday, that could threaten other costly projects, such as the space station.

Thursday, several members pointed to the \$2.2 billion in proposed new space station funding as a likely target for attack later this month in the House Appropriations Committee. "I think any large program of that kind should be counted as probably being facing a stiff challenge," Speaker Foley said. "I'm not going to predict the results, but I think undoubtedly there are going to be efforts to move against the space station."

(Eric Pianin, Washington Post, A21)

**ON ONCE AND FUTURE
SUPREME COURT NOMINATIONS**

Sen. Biden has urged President Bush not to fill any vacancy that might open up on the Supreme Court until after the November election.

Warning that any election-year nominee "would become a victim" of a "power struggle" over control of the Supreme Court, Biden said he would also urge the Senate not to hold hearings on a nomination if Bush decided to name someone.

(E.J. Dionne, Washington Post, A25)

NEW JOBLESS CLAIMS FALL

New applications for state unemployment benefits are down, the Labor department said. In the week ended June 6, 407,000 people filed initial claims, down from 409,000 the previous week. The average for the latest four-week period was 406,500, the same as a week earlier, which was a 19-month low. Economists say the average is a more reliable indicator of labor market trends because the weekly number is volatile.

(Moneyline, USA Today, B1)

**BULLS HARDLY WAITING FOR
WHITE HOUSE CALL**

The Chicago Bulls don't know if they'll be invited back to the White House in recognition of their second straight NBA title, and they frankly aren't sure they'll go even if they are asked.

"First of all, we haven't been invited," said spokeswoman Joyce Szmanski. "And if and when we are invited, we'll decide then what will happen."

While the White House said no decision had been made, Michael Jordan indicated on Wednesday the team may already have decided a return to Washington isn't feasible.

(Fanfare, Washington Post, F2)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

CONGRESS SET TO OK RUSSIAN AID PACKAGE

The legislative obstacles that stalled an aid package for the former Soviet Union disappeared Thursday, and Congress appears ready to approve President Bush's coveted proposal by the July 4th recess.

Sen. Mitchell told reporters Thursday a vote could be held on the bill early next week. A key supporter of the package, Sen. Lugar, said Congress is poised to embrace the aid package.

Sen. DeConcini has said he will offer an amendment to withhold aid until soldiers with the CIS are removed from the Baltic republics.

(Major Garrett, Washington Times, A3)

Mitchell Hopes For Quick Action On Russian Aid Measure

Sen. Mitchell said Thursday he hopes to begin considering an aid package for Russia and the other former republics of the Soviet Union next week, but almost immediately ran into an unrelated and unexpected roadblock.

Mitchell said a specific timetable depended on agreement with Sen. Dole to passage of key bills dealing with pressing domestic needs and a pending financial measure. He said Dole was receptive to the program but needed to check GOP senators.

Mitchell's schedule was upset by Sen. Phil Gramm who said he would attempt to add a constitutional amendment to balance the budget on the first bill -- a financial measure -- that was expected to pass quickly. Mitchell changed the order after it became clear Gramm was ready to tie up the Senate and prevent action on the key domestic bills.

Mitchell said the stalemate would delay action on the disaster package, the extension of jobless benefits and "it will delay for a long time action on the Russian aid bill." (Robert Shepard, UPI)

U.S. BACKS EASIER TERMS FOR RUSSIAN AID

The Bush Administration, in a shift of approach toward aid for Moscow, has called on the IMF to ease some demands for harsh reform and not delay an aid agreement once Russia commits itself to broad economic changes.

Administration officials said Thursday that they now feared that a delay in signing an accord with the IMF would block the flow of economic assistance and destabilize the government of Boris Yeltsin at a time when Western governments want nothing more than to consolidate Moscow's fledgling democracy.

"The reason we have a sense of urgency on the economic side is if Boris Yeltsin can't succeed on economic reform, he will have a hard time staying as leader in Russia," a senior Administration official said. "This could seriously threaten the democratic reforms that are so much in our interest. The IMF agreement is key to this."

(Steven Greenhouse, New York Times, A1)

U.S. CONSIDERS DEACTIVATING MORE STRATEGIC MISSILES

The Defense Department said Thursday night that it is considering deactivating some additional U.S. strategic missiles after Boris Yeltsin's pledge in Washington this week to render the most threatening missiles in his nation's nuclear arsenal incapable of being launched on short notice. The announcement reversed an earlier statement Thursday by Pete Williams that the Bush Administration was not considering taking strategic missiles such as the MX off "alert" status.

(Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post, A33)

U.S., RUSSIA SAID TO SETTLE EMBASSY DISPUTE

The U.S. has agreed to drop claims totaling \$30 million against the former Soviet Union for "bugging" its new embassy in Moscow as part of an accord with Russia, a U.S. official said.

He told Reuter that in exchange for dropping the claims Washington will get a piece of land on which it can build a new embassy building in Moscow and a long-term lease on the existing U.S. embassy in Moscow valued at \$45 million. As part of the deal, the Russians will receive a piece of property in Washington near Mt. Alto where a new embassy built by the former Soviet government has been vacant for several years..

(Carol Giacomo, Reuter)

**U.S. TEAM STARTS SEARCH FOR
POWs IN RUSSIA**

MOSCOW -- A delegation of Russian and U.S. officials flew to an Arctic prison camp region Thursday to investigate a report that an American serviceman missing since the Korean War might be there.

At the first camp they visited, they found no evidence of American prisoners and officials there said there were none, AP reported. The delegation is to visit more camps Friday.

Deborah DeYoung, a spokeswoman for the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs, said the mission was prompted by information provided to a committee investigator working in Moscow. DeYoung described the information as a "recent account" and said there is "every reason to think this guy may be alive."

(Fred Hiatt, Washington Post, A34)

Prisons Yield No Yanks

LABOR CAMP PL-350-5 -- Russia-U.S. investigators came to this remote Stalinist prison Thursday looking into reports that an American POW was still alive. But all they found were freshly painted walls, smiling prisoners and officials who insisted the hunt was pointless....

In Israel, meanwhile, Mikhail Gorbachev denied that he knew American POWs from the Vietnam War were transferred to the Soviet Union, as Boris Yeltsin claimed. "I know nothing of the existence of such facts that Yeltsin was talking about," Gorbachev said at a news conference.

Margaret Tutwiler said in Washington that the U.S.-Russia commission had received information that an American POW might have been at the camp "as recently as 18 months ago."

(Thomas Ginsberg, AP, Washington Times, A1)

**BOTH SIDES EMBRACE 'NEW RELATIONSHIP'
FORGED DURING SUMMIT**

In the wake of the first summit meeting between the U.S. President and the elected president of a democratic Russia, officials moved Thursday to make a reality of the "new relationship" proclaimed by President Bush and President Yeltsin.

The best news for both leaders came from Capitol Hill. After weeks of delay, Sen. Mitchell announced he plans to bring the U.S. aid bill for Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union to the floor for Senate action as early as Tuesday.

Another piece of favorable news came from a meeting between Russia's economic czar, Yegor Gaidar, and Managing Director Michel Camdessus of the IMF. The IMF said the talks could lead to "early agreement" on an economic program that the IMF would help finance.

The seven agreements signed by Bush and Yeltsin and more than a dozen other accords signed by lower-ranking officials provide many possibilities for eradicating some lingering barriers to relations and moving on to normal ties. Among the expected developments, according to Administration officials, are an end to the seven-year logjam over a new U.S. embassy in Moscow; a start on expanded military cooperation; broader security discussions and expanded U.S.-Russian trade under MFN tariff arrangements established Wednesday. (Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post, A33)

BAKER SAYS NO FURTHER CUTS EXPECTED SOON

Secretary Baker said Thursday the latest agreement to cut U.S. and Russian long-range nuclear missiles is likely to be the last one between the two countries for several years. Baker said the U.S. and Russia will be very busy implementing the cuts as well as reductions under START.

"I would not anticipate that there would be substantial negotiations within the next five to six years," he said on the MacNeil-Lehrer program. (AP)

EAGLEBURGER ANGUISHES OVER YUGOSLAV UPHEAVAL

Oldtimers call Larry Eagleburger "Lawrence of Macedonia," an allusion to his exploits 29 years ago as a diplomatic troubleshooter handling American relief efforts after a major earthquake in the southernmost republic of Yugoslavia.

The current Yugoslav crisis is an inter-ethnic war that has resisted all diplomatic interventions, making this an agonizing time for Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger.

(David Binder, New York Times, A6)

WHITE HOUSE IS REFUSING TO ALLOW TESTIMONY BY AIDES ON IRAQ POLICY

In a confrontation with Congress over its investigation of Administration policy toward Iraq before the Persian Gulf War, the White House has rejected a request to allow two presidential aides to testify before the House Judiciary Committee.

This rebuttal is likely to lead the committee to request the appointment of an independent counsel, who would also be asked to investigate allegations of a coverup by the Administration of its Iraq policy after the Gulf War.

Nicholas Calio said the "longstanding practice" of the executive branch was to deny requests for testimony by members of the President's personal staff. Calio added, however, that the Administration was prepared to make the two aides available to members of the committee. This suggestion was likely to be viewed as unsatisfactory by the committee, which seeks public testimony.

(Martin Tolchin, New York Times, A14)

U.S., TAIWAN REACH ACCORD ON IMPORTS OF MACHINE TOOLS

Trade negotiators from the U.S. and Taiwan reached agreement Thursday on a pact that will extend for two years voluntary caps on the level of imports into the U.S. of machine tools made in Taiwan.

Carla Hills said in a statement that the understanding will provide a gradual return to full competition while allowing U.S. companies time to complete efforts to finish modernizing their production facilities.

(AP)

FRANCE CLOSES AIR SPACE TO U-2S ON SARAJEVO MISSION

The French government has denied a U.S. request for permission for U-2 reconnaissance flights to cross French airspace as part of a mission to gather intelligence on Sarajevo, a senior U.S. official said Thursday.

The U.S. official suggested that Washington and Moscow could coordinate their strategies to help bring an end to the fighting that has nearly annihilated Sarajevo.

In Sarajevo, hunger gripped parts of the blockaded city Thursday, as some residents were reported eating grass. But the fighting subsided, and an agreement appeared to be near on reopening the airport to U.N. relief shipments.

(Combined Dispatches, Washington Times, A8)

**U.S. REPORTS ITS APRIL TRADE DEFICIT
WAS LARGEST SINCE NOVEMBER 1990**

The U.S. trade deficit widened in April to its worst showing since November 1990 as exports slipped further and imports jumped to the second-highest level on record, the Commerce Department said Thursday.

The Bush Administration insisted that the deterioration was temporary but private economists worried that weak overseas economies will cut into export growth this year and act as a further drag on an already-weak economy.

The Commerce Department said the \$6.97 billion April trade gap was 24.8% larger than a March deficit of \$5.58 billion, reflecting a 16% surge in oil imports and a decline in U.S. exports for a second straight month, primarily because of a slump in aircraft sales.

(Martin Crutsinger, AP, Washington Post, C1)

NETWORK NEWS

(Thursday evening, June 18)

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

CBS's Dan Rather: President Bush was out and around campaigning in California today, including a photo opportunity at an oil recycling plant.

(TV coverage of President Bush touring plant.)

It turns out the plant owners are part of a group suing the Bush Administration -- charging it with not enforcing environmental rules on the oil industry. (CBS-5)

ABC's Peter Jennings: We begin tonight with how each of the presidential candidates was trying today to make a little progress where one of the others thought he had the advantage. Translation: Governor Clinton talking foreign policy, deemed to be the President's strength; the President trying to soothe environmentalists after having been ridiculed at the Earth Summit last week; and Ross Perot just chipping away at those voters in California who are all too eager to abandon either the Democrat or the Republican candidate. We begin with Mr. Perot.

ABC's Mort Dean reports Perot came to California to say thank you to his volunteers for getting enough signatures to place him on the state's November ballot. Perot says he's having an impact on the other candidates. His comments about them are filled with ridicule.

(Perot: "Now hold your hat here. The President had a press conference. Wow! Governor Clinton is on TV playing the sax. And Vice President Quayle is trying to figure out how to spell potato.")

Jennings: President Bush has also spent the day in California. We remind you what a rich prize California is in the November election: fifty-four electoral votes -- 20% of what a candidate needs to be elected. Mr. Bush, the self-proclaimed environmental president, set about today to repair his environmental image.

ABC's Brit Hume: In California mostly on a political fundraiser expedition, the President took time to do a bit of the closest thing he does these days to actual campaigning.

(TV coverage of President Bush deplaning Air Force One.)

In a display of concern for the environment, he toured a plant near San Jose that recycles used oil.

(TV coverage of President touring plant.)

The company though is part of a group of firms suing the government to get tighter environmental regulations, which would mean more business for them. In a Q&A session with employees and guests, the President didn't seem to know much about that controversy but wanted everyone to know he approved of the company's work.

(President Bush: "I want to be identified with those who are innovating and those who are conservation oriented and those who are doing their part to clean up our environment and make us more efficient, and that's what I think you're doing.")

-more-

Inevitably he got a question about Ross Perot and what he would do about the public mood that has propelled such a newcomer into the lead in the race. The people, he said, have yet to focus on his achievements. But the President stuck to his policy of not taking on either Perot or Bill Clinton directly. But he said the time for that would come.

(President Bush: "Until maybe the middle of August. Because -- but then you are -- because I know how to fight, and I'm not going to be their spear catcher for the rest of this year. I can tell you that.")

The President's advisers think it would be unwise for him to attack Perot at this time, believing that doing so might hurt Perot but might also backfire on the President, leaving Bill Clinton the only beneficiary.

ABC's Jackie Judd reports Bill Clinton asked for the meeting with Yeltsin as a signal that he won't concede the foreign policy arena to George Bush. Clinton endorsed the newly announced arms-control agreement and said that Congress should join ranks across party lines to pass a multi-billion aid package for Yeltsin's Russia. Clinton refused to say if he discussed if American POWs are in Russia. But he said it would be wrong to tie the aid package to the resolution of that issue.

(TV coverage of Presidents Bush and Yeltsin and their wives on the front steps of the White House.) (ABC-Lead)

NBC's Andrea Mitchell reports Bill Clinton's meeting with President Yeltsin was Clinton's big chance to show that a governor from Arkansas can play on the world stage. Clinton's foreign policy would be very different from George Bush's. What about his lack of experience?

(Rep. Lee Hamilton: "President Bush didn't call it right on the trip to Japan. He did not call it right on the trip to Panama. He did not call it right with regard to the Rio de Janeiro treaty. So experience doesn't necessarily mean you don't stumble.")

Lee Hamilton is a key adviser on foreign policy. So is former deputy secretary of state Warren Christopher. But Clinton also listens to more liberal Democrats like Anthony Lake, a former Carter official. After 12 years of Republicans, a new cast of characters.

(TV coverage of President Bush and Secretary Baker.)

(Michael Mandelbaum, Clinton adviser: "You have the same people carrying out the same policies even though the world has undergone one of the most dramatic revolutions in modern period.")

(CBS-6, NBC-2)

NBC's Lisa Myers says after weeks of praying Perot would fade, his opponents temporarily have a strategy to cope: Clinton, by reminding voters how little they know. Bush, by having surrogates portray Perot as risky.

(TV coverage of President Bush shaking hands in a crowd.)

(Vice President Quayle: "It would be a serious mistake to replace a genuine statesman with a temperamental tycoon who has contempt for the Constitution of the U.S.")

A senior Perot adviser said Quayle's attacks aren't hurting, but unflattering media accounts are. The campaign's top priority in the next 3 weeks is a TV advertising blitz to counter those negative images.

(NBC-3)

CBS's Bill Lagattuta says Perot was rallying them in ultra-conservative Orange County. Voters here feel overtaxed and overregulated and frustrated, so much so that one of George Bush's biggest fundraisers [Kathryn Thompson] even invited Bill Clinton in to speak.

(TV coverage of still photo of President and Thompson.)

Her secretary is supporting, guess who? [Perot.] Kathryn Thompson still supports the President, however:

(Thompson: "If the elections were held today, I would predict that Perot would win by a very large margin.")

But at the GOP here they think the Perot honeymoon is bound to come to an end.

(Thomas Fuentes, Orange County Republican Party: "I think that there will be an undressing of this Texas billionaire between now and November.")

If anything, Ross Perot is proving that all points on the political map are now fair game, so much so that when President Bush visits Reagan country this week he'll find himself doing the unthinkable: actually hustling for votes.

(CBS-4)

NEW AMERICA PLAN

NBC's Stone Phillips: Boris Yeltsin today got a close-up look at politics American style -- a breakthrough compromise in the Cold War between President Bush and Democrats in Congress: the President giving ground on a billion dollar urban aid bill passed by the House, and in return from Capitol Hill tonight, brighter prospects for what the President wants -- more aid to Russia.

NBC's John Cochran: Only one day after Boris Yeltsin's stirring plea for help, the House acted -- voted overwhelmingly to help America's cities. The political reality was always that if Congress was going to approve emergency help it would first help American taxpayers and voters and then maybe get around to foreigners.

(Rep. Flake: "We hear the term we must invest in Russia because it guarantees for us peace abroad. I would say that we must invest in America because it guarantees for us peace at home.")

(Rep. Boxer: "I will not vote to help Mr. Yeltsin in Russia, although I would like to do that, until I can help the people of the U.S.A.")

But even aid for American cities was scaled down. Immediately after the L.A. riots Congress and the White House agreed to cooperate on quick action. But lethargy and partisan bickering slowed action. Democrats wanted \$2 billion -- far more than the White House wanted to spend on rebuilding L.A. and helping other inner cities with loans and summer jobs.

(TV coverage of President touring L.A. after riots.)

Faced with a presidential veto, Democrats settled for half a loaf -- \$1 billion. Bush thinks the compromise will make it a lot easier for Boris Yeltsin to get his aid package.

(TV coverage of Presidents Bush and Yeltsin walking from Marine One behind White House.)

But after saying goodbye to Yeltsin today Bush was back on the campaign trail trying to be the domestic president -- stopping at a California oil recycling company which removes pollutants from used oil.

(TV coverage of Bush touring plant.)

-more-

But when Bush's aides set up the visit recently they did not know the company had joined in a lawsuit against the Bush Administration -- a lawsuit aimed at forcing the government to crack down on the burning of dirty fuel oil which still has lead in it. When a worker asked Bush how he felt about it he seemed puzzled.

(President Bush: "I'll just have to say I don't know it.")

Bush promised more unrehearsed exchanges with the public but some things he will not do.

(President Bush: "You got to draw the line somewhere. And I am not going to out there kind of being a teeny-bopper at 68. I just can't do it.")

And the President won't be playing a saxophone on the "Arsenio Hall Show" either. Aides say Bush thinks that Bill Clinton's musical appearance on the late-night TV show was undignified. (NBC-Lead)

Rather: A \$1 billion overall urban aid package is headed for final approval tonight in Congress. It's a scaled-down measure because President Bush threatened to veto anything more. This election-year help will go to many cities, including L.A. where civil unrest erupted seven weeks ago. And as Ron Allen reports tonight, there are some surprising facts about those troubled days and nights that are just now coming out.

CBS's Ron Allen says the picture that emerged from the riot has been mostly black and white: African-Americans venting rage at the system. But a detailed study released today of who got arrested during the violence adds another hue to the story.

(Joan Petersilia, Rand Criminal Justice Expert: "Blacks it appears might have started the riots. But after that first day, in fact, Hispanics took over in terms of their numbers and their arrests.") The Rand report says of more than 5,600 arrests it looked at for charges such as looting and curfew violations, 51% were Latino, 36% black and 11% white.

(Petersilia: "It definitely was not a black riot. In fact, if you look at the official numbers, it was a young-Hispanic riot.")

(CBS-Lead)

TEXAS SUPERCOLLIDER

NBC's John Chancellor asks did you ever think George Bush and Ann Richards would be in agreement? Today they are allies in what may be a losing cause. Last night the House cut off all funding for a Texas atom smasher called a supercollider. On one side were the Republican President, the Democratic Governor, a prestigious science project and maybe 8,000 jobs. On the other side was a desperate need to cut spending. The spending cut won. If this catches on, we at last may see some budgeting backbone in the Congress. At the same time it's a tragedy; other countries will build it and America will be less important in the future. This is the kind of penalty which must be paid when a government like ours spends every day a billion dollars more than it takes in. We know the deficits will hurt future generations, but they're hurting all of us right now.

(NBC-12)

TRADE DEFICIT

Jennings reports the trade deficit has grown larger again -- nearly \$7 billion in April. It is the biggest deficit in a year-and-a-half.

(ABC-6)

LOAN DELINQUENCIES

Jennings reports there is another indication of not enough money available. Americans are having a hard time getting out of debt. At the end of March nearly 3% of the people who owed money on everything from credit cards to bank loans were at least 30 days late in their payments. That's the highest level in 2.5 years. (ABC-5)

GORBACHEV

Jennings reports Mikhail Gorbachev said today he has no idea what Boris Yeltsin is talking about on the question of U.S. POWs from the Vietnam War in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev denies concealing any information from the U.S., and he accuses Mr. Yeltsin of defaming him. (ABC-3)

U.S.-RUSSIAN TEAM OF POW INVESTIGATORS

Phillips says a joint U.S.-Russian team of investigators travelled deep into Russia today searching and hoping [to find American POWs].

NBC's Bob Abernathy reports at Camp P.L. 350 today in the northern Ural mountains the U.S. and Russian investigators were told no Americans are there. The team was following up a report that an American had been seen there 18 months ago. (NBC-4)

CBS's Anthony Mason reports Russian investigators have found themselves chasing a mirage. In Moscow investigators say they've combed their archives, studied thousands of documents and checked hundreds of names. But despite President Yeltsin's comments they have no solid leads. Retired KGB colonial Oleg Nitchaparenko [phonetic] was sent to Vietnam in 1973 to interrogate an American POW.

(Abernathy: "Did the KGB ever bring any American POWs from Vietnam back to Russia?")

(Nitchaparenko: "No.... I think that it was impossible without our knowledge..") (CBS-3)

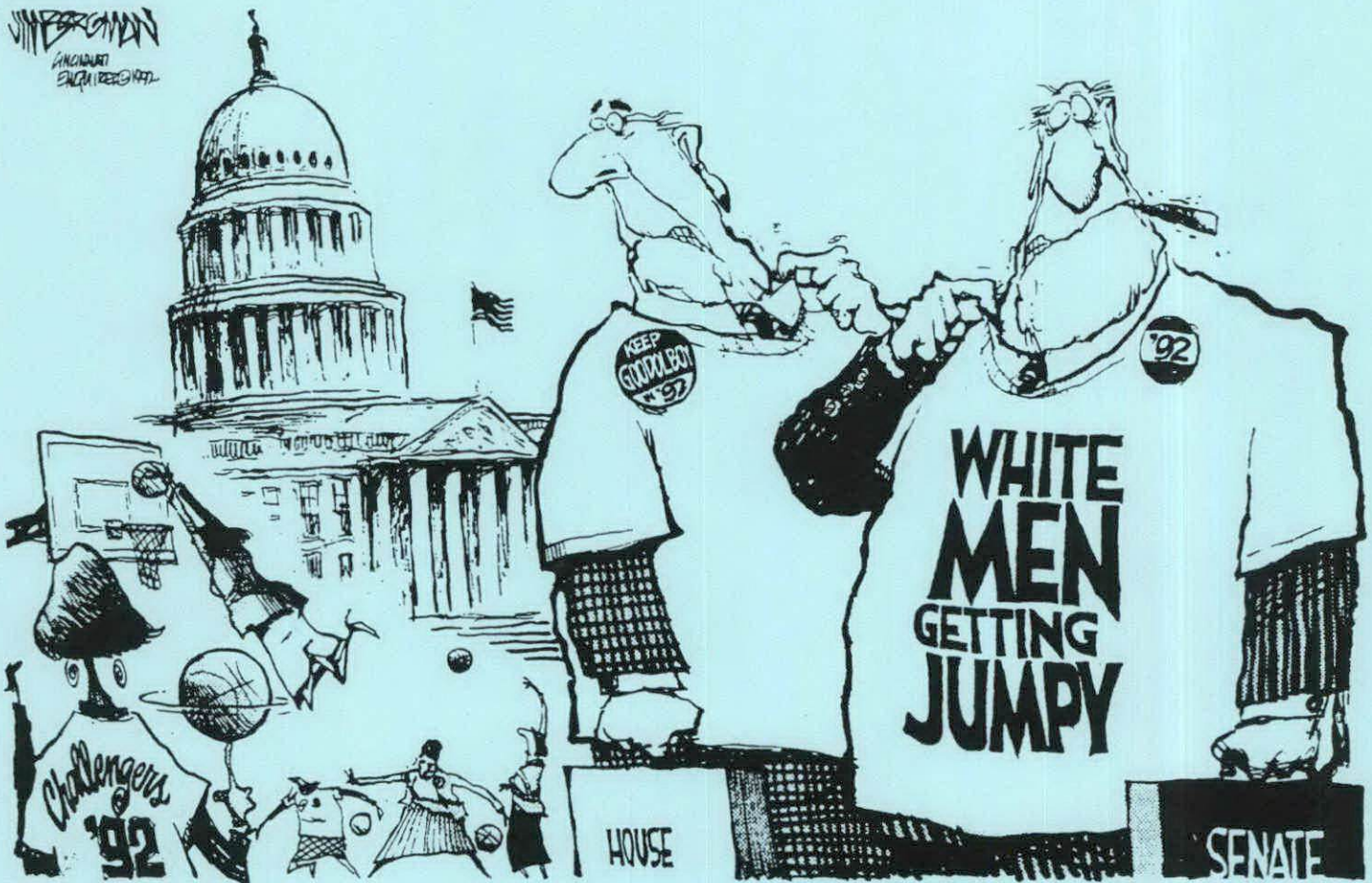
SARAJEVO

Jennings reports the U.N. convoy carrying tons of food and medicine did make it safely to Sarajevo today. It the first U.N. relief shipment in nearly a month. (NBC-10, ABC-11)

-End of B-Section-

Friday Follies

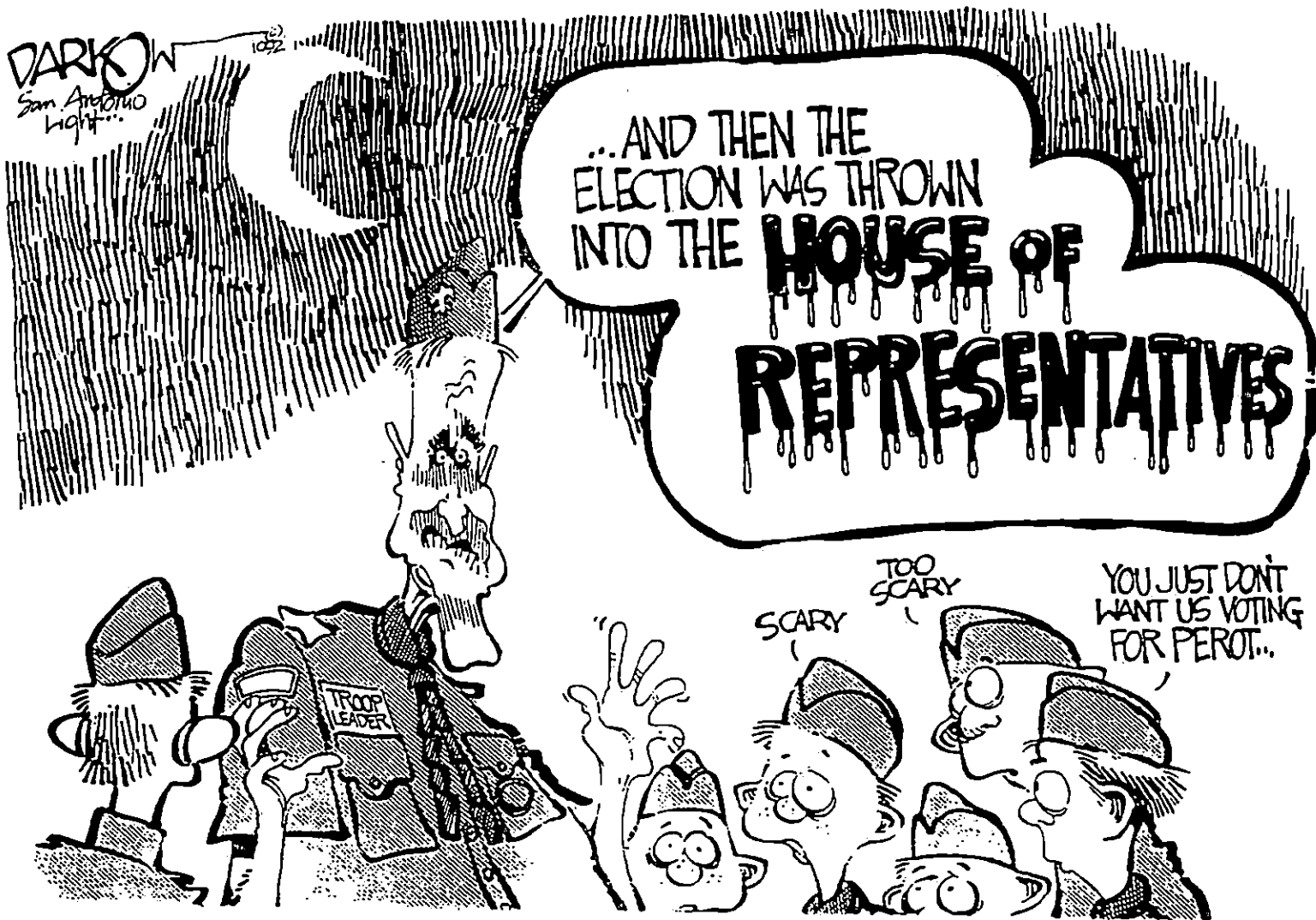
SHANE BROWN
ANIMATED
EVENING 1992

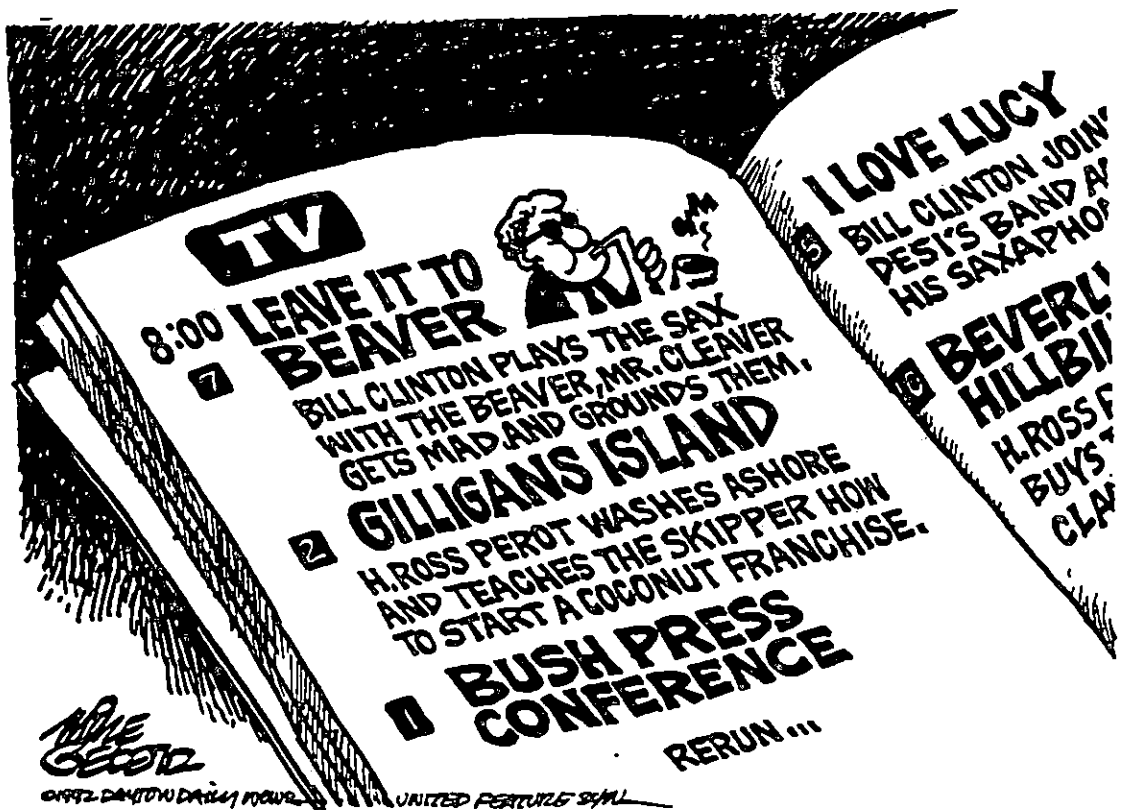


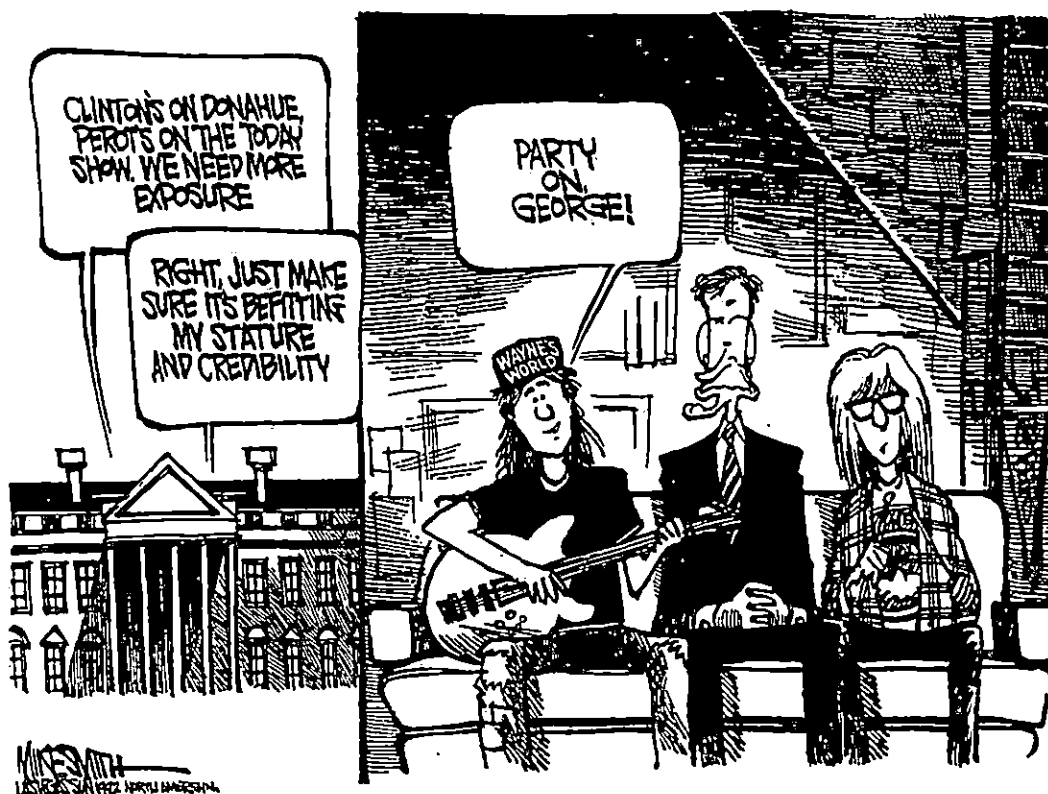
- a look at politics through the eyes of the political cartoonist -

"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)

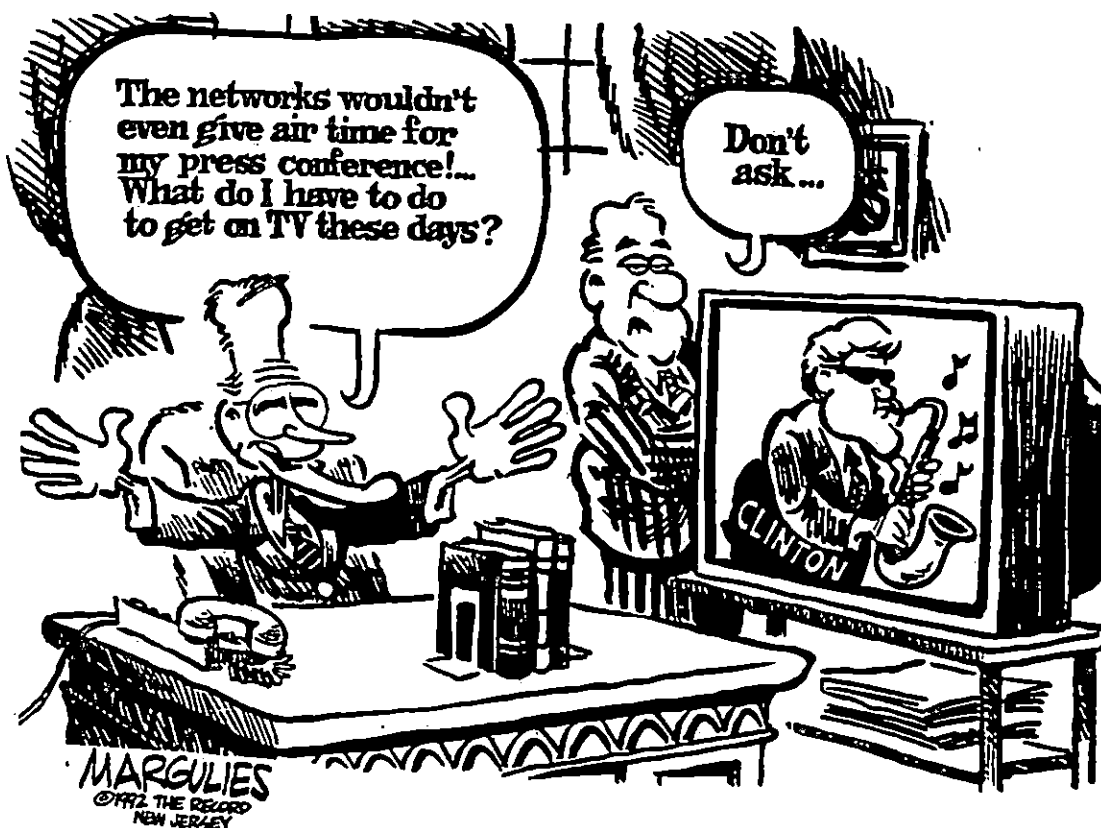
WHITE HOUSE NEWS SUMMARY SPECIAL EDITION
VOLUME IV ISSUE 24 -- June 19, 1992





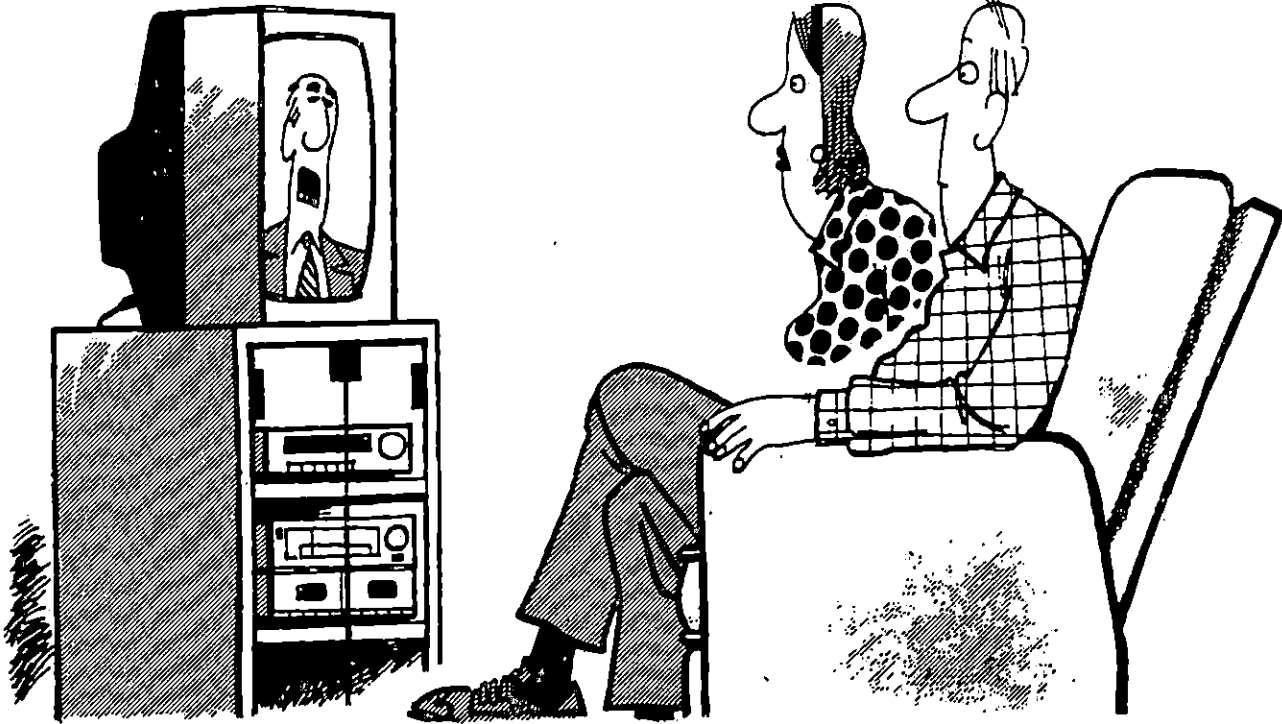


A Variety Show?



MY OPPONENT
IS AN
INCUMBENT!

THIS NEGATIVE
CAMPAIGNING
IS GETTING
REALLY NASTY...



..I'LL CALL FOR AN ELECTRONIC
TOWN MEETING...



..GET INPUT FROM ACROSS THIS
GREAT NATION...



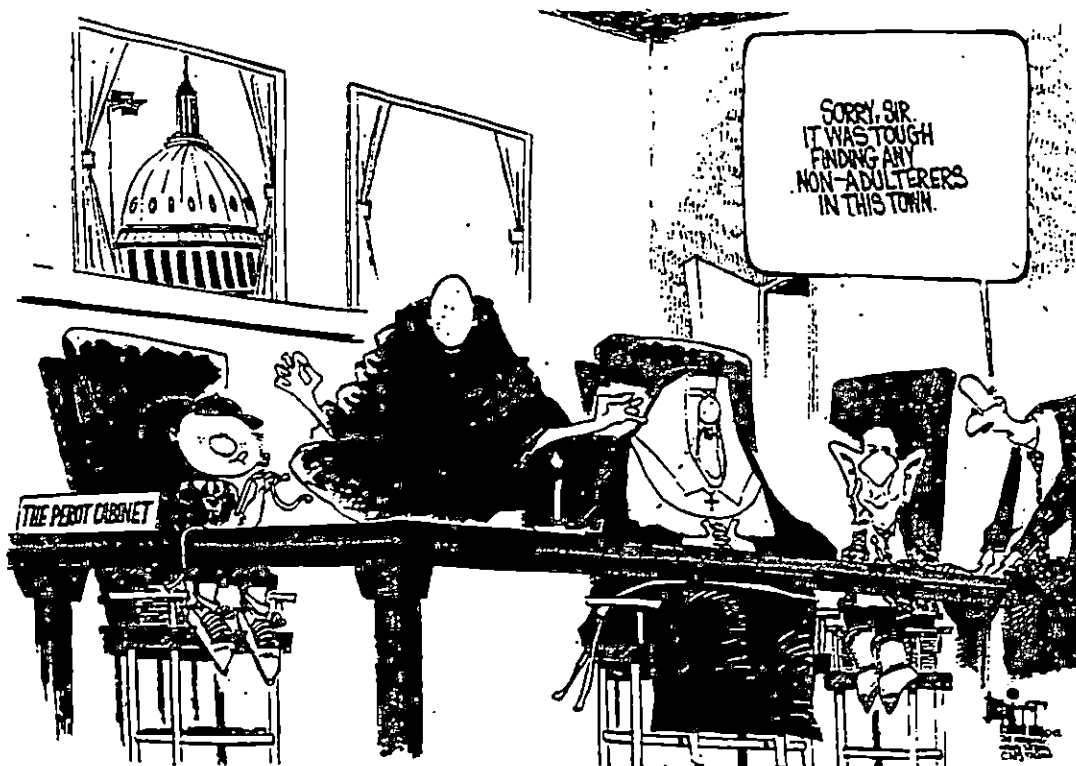
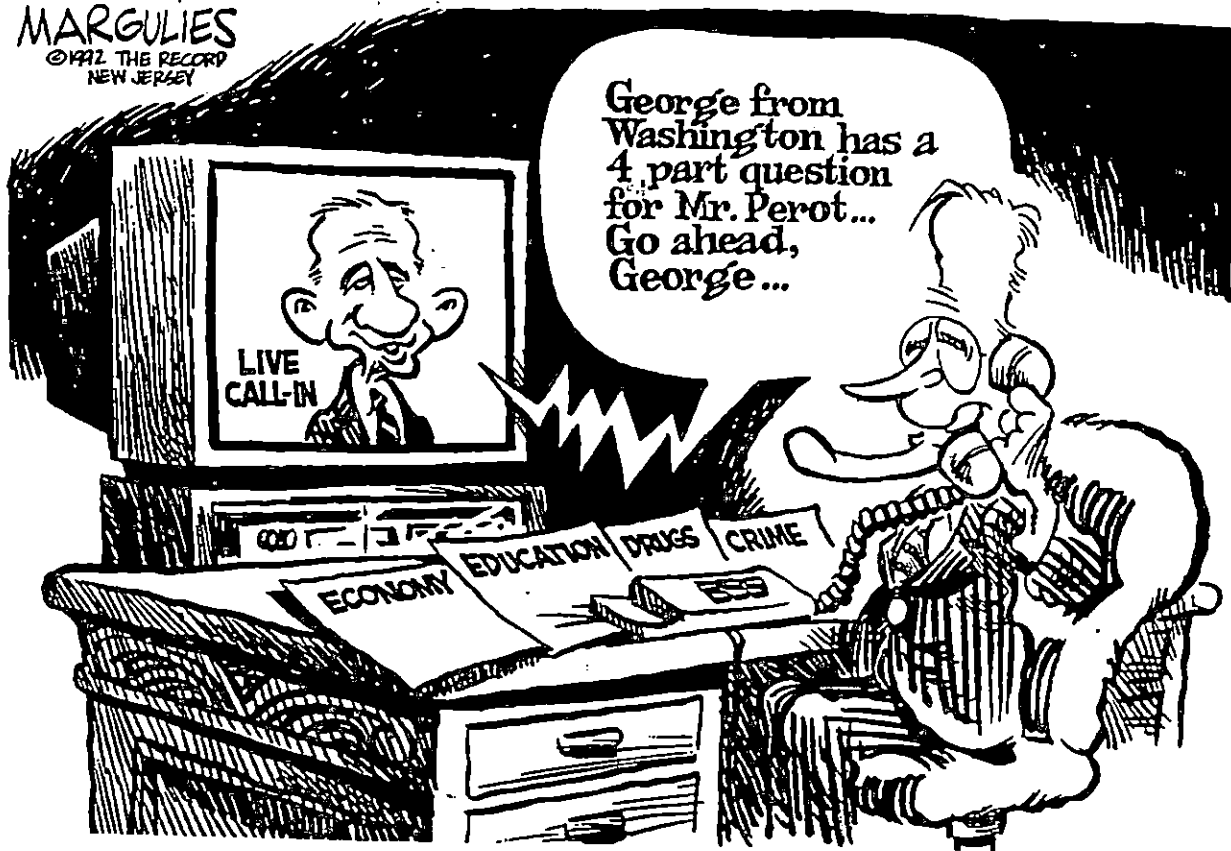
...REVIEW ALL THE OPTIONS...



...AND COME UP WITH THE BEST DARN
ANSWER I CAN!..



MARGULIES
©1992 THE RECORD
NEW JERSEY





THANKS FOR THE CAMPAIGN
BOOST, BORIS—I'M IN A RACE
WITH A BILLIONAIRE WHO'LL
SPEND ANYTHING TO GET
WHAT HE WANTS.

NOW, WHAT
CAN I GIVE
YOU?...

AN
INTRODUCTION?...



SK
STAR TRIBUNE

YELTSIN SAYS THERE MAY BE VIETNAM ERA US POW'S IN SOVIET PRISONS

YOU ARE FREE TO GO NOW,
BUT THINGS HAVE CHANGED.
BREZHNEV IS GONE.
MAO IS GONE.
HO CHI MINH
IS GONE...

IS VERY STRANGE.
THEY ALL ASK
ABOUT NIXON.

...AND
NIXON?
GONE?

WHO IS
NIXON?



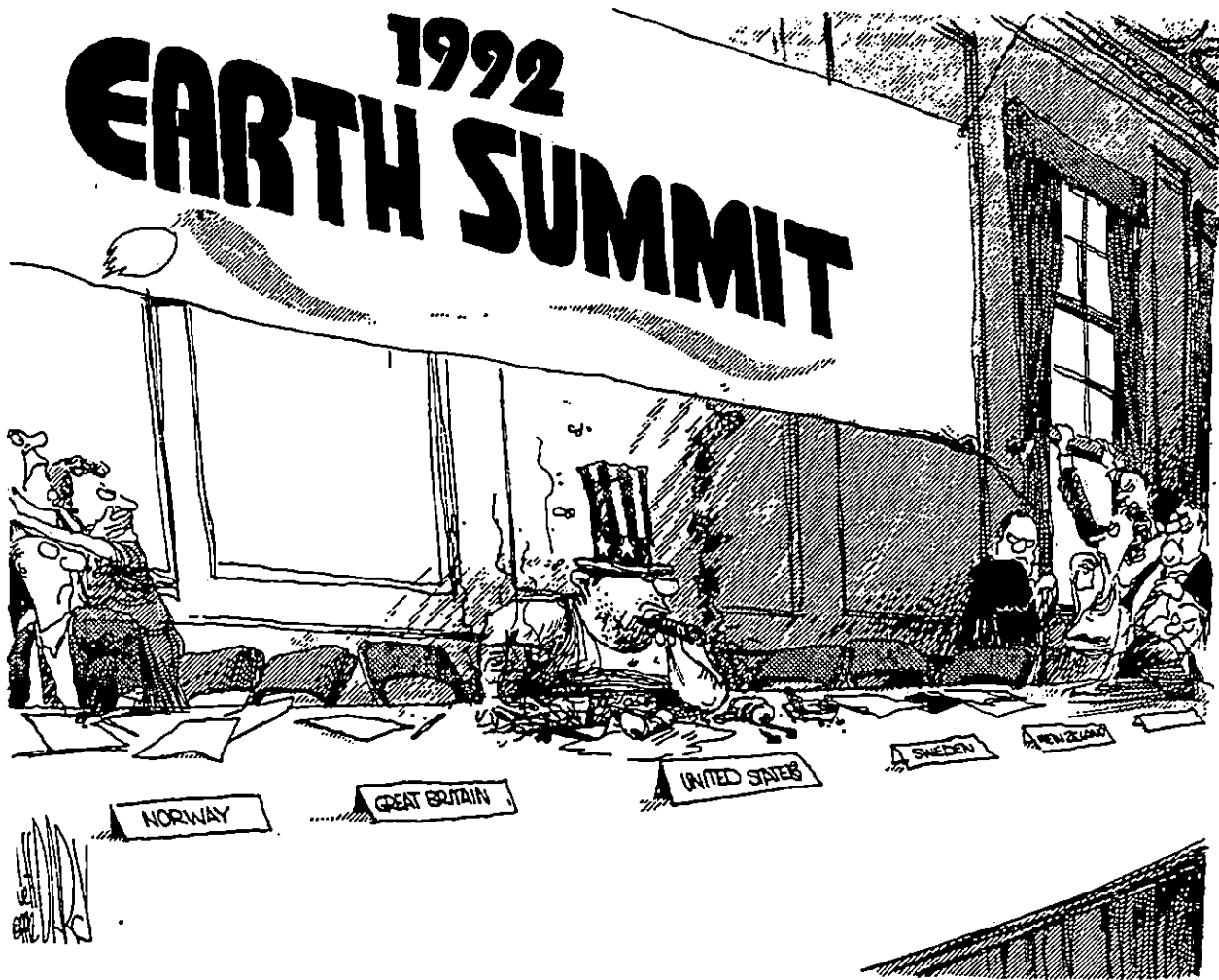
DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor



Signe Wilkinson
PHILADELPHIA NEWS

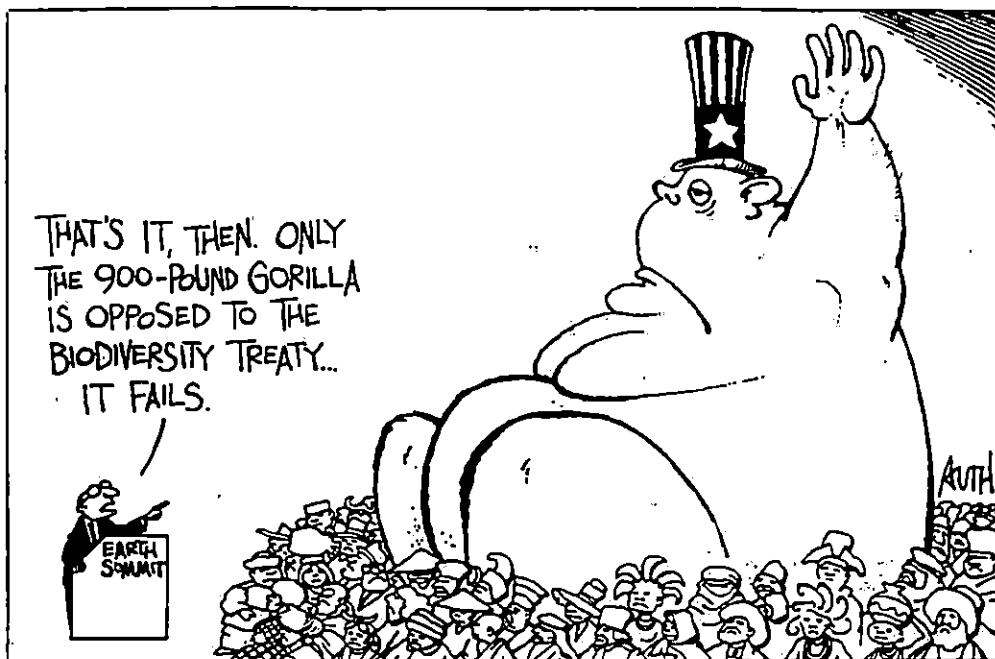


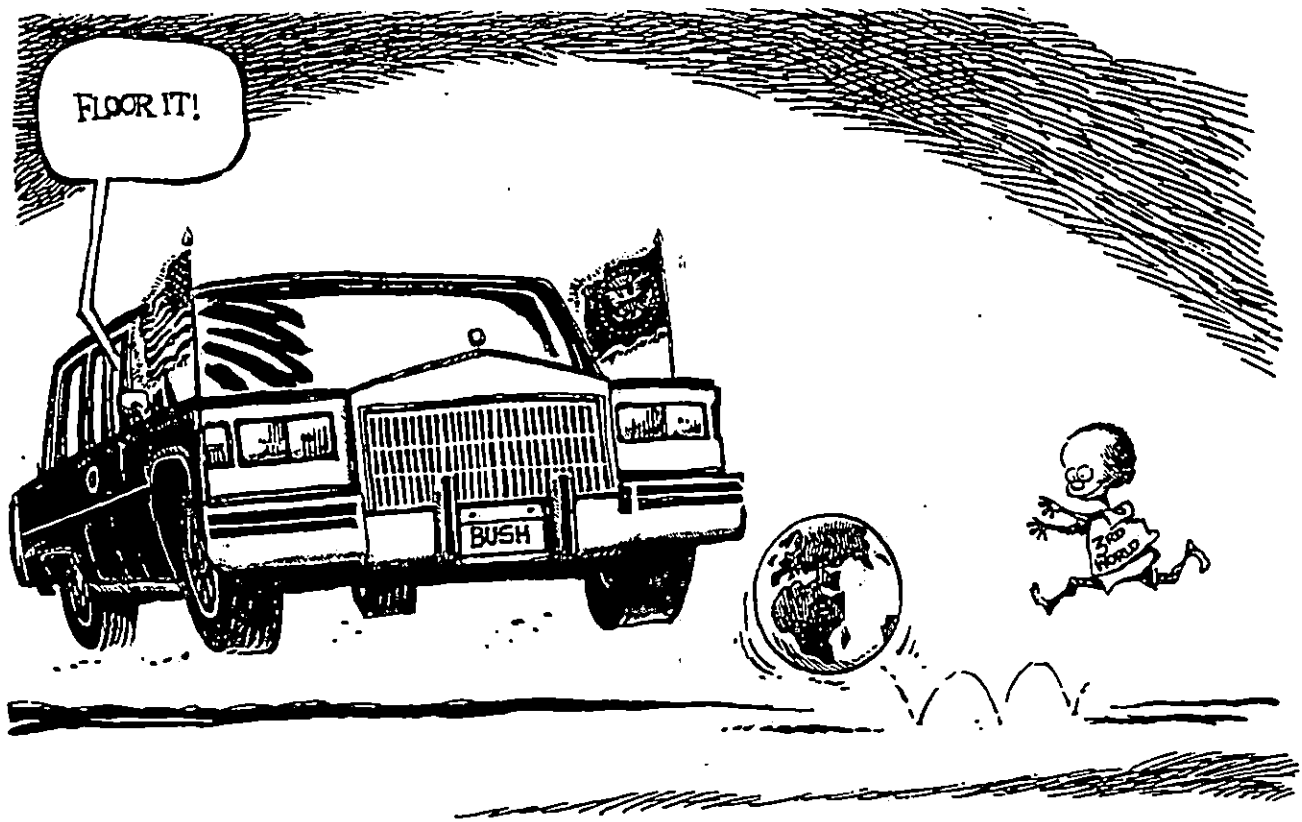
1992 EARTH SUMMIT



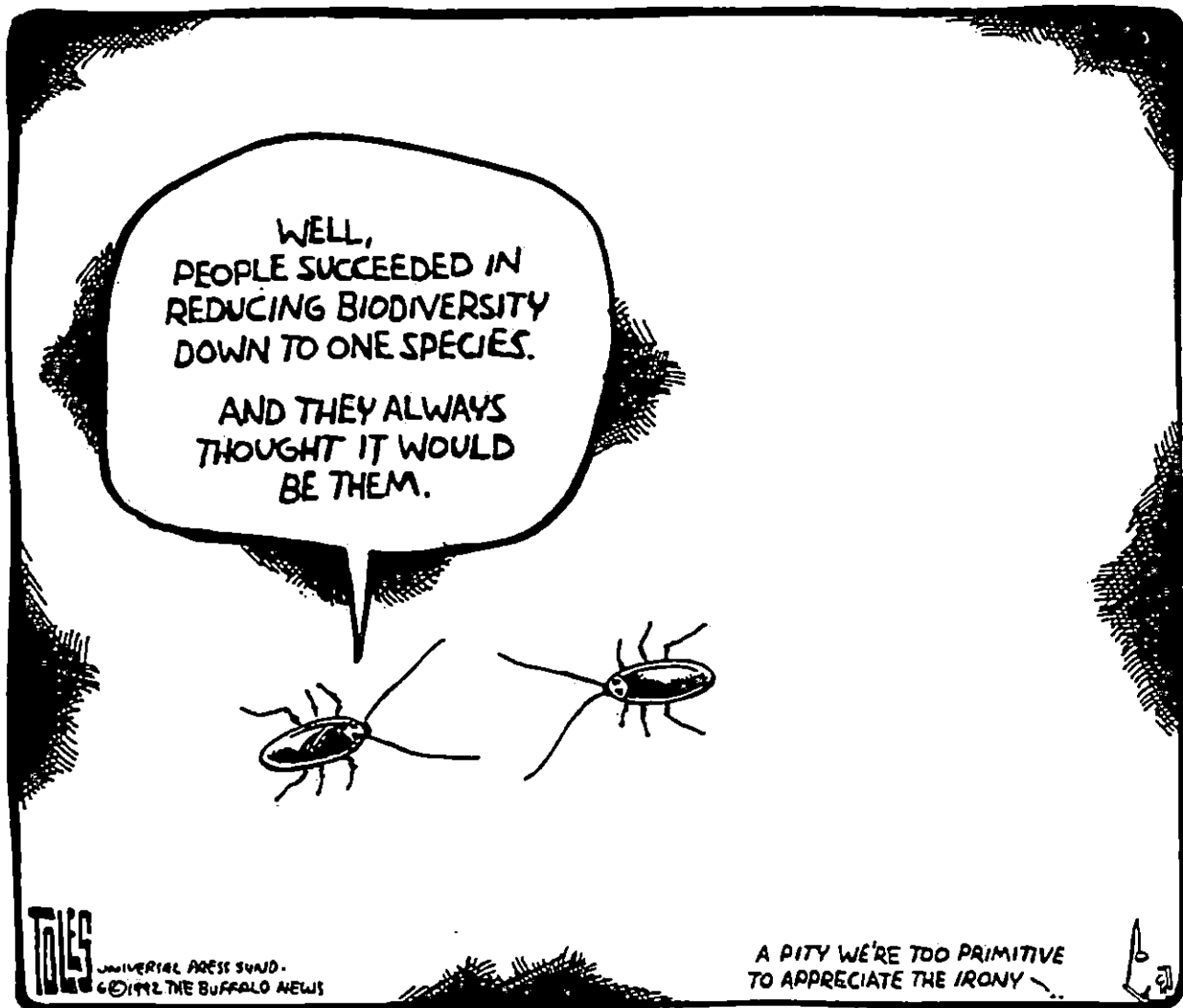


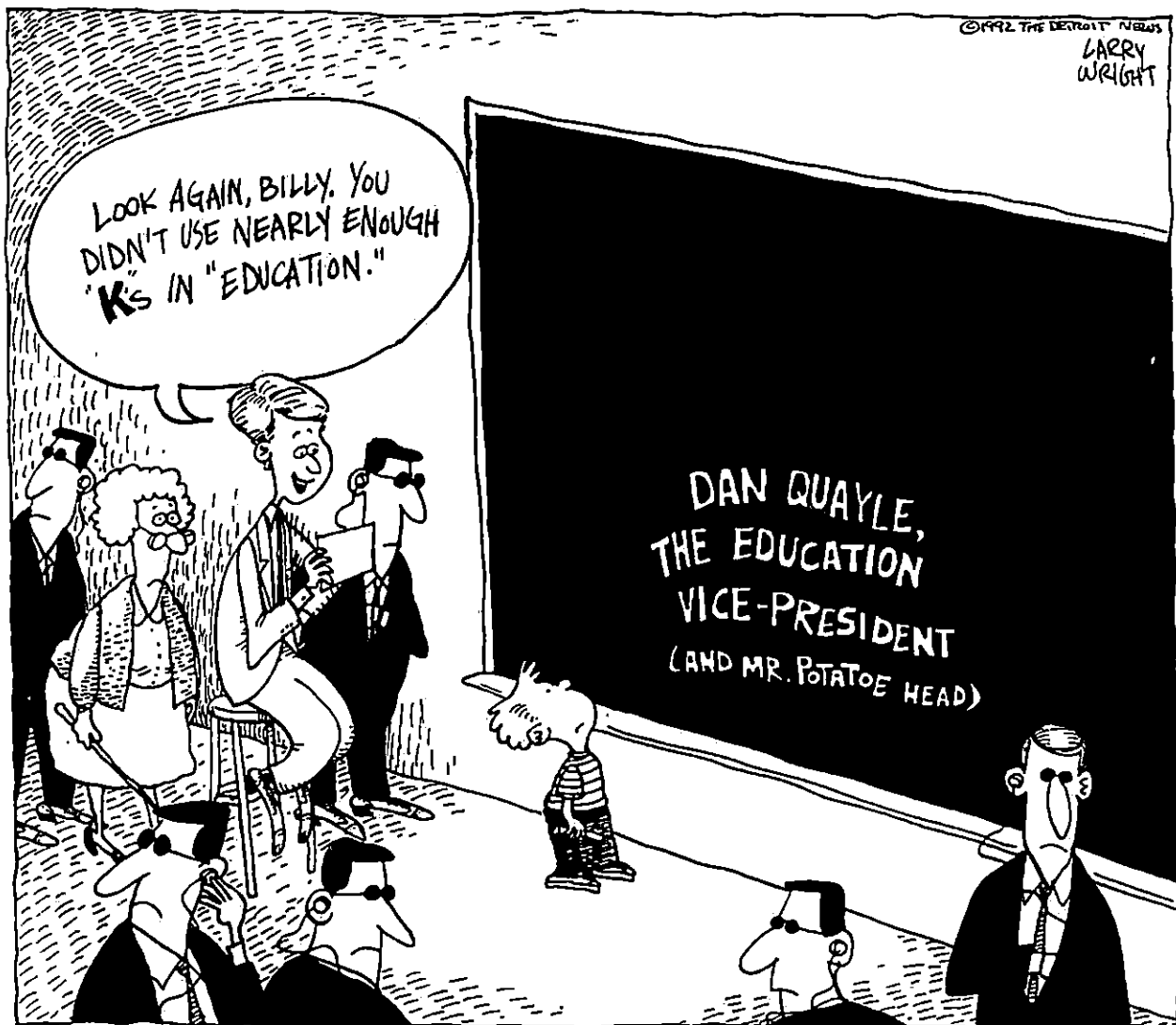
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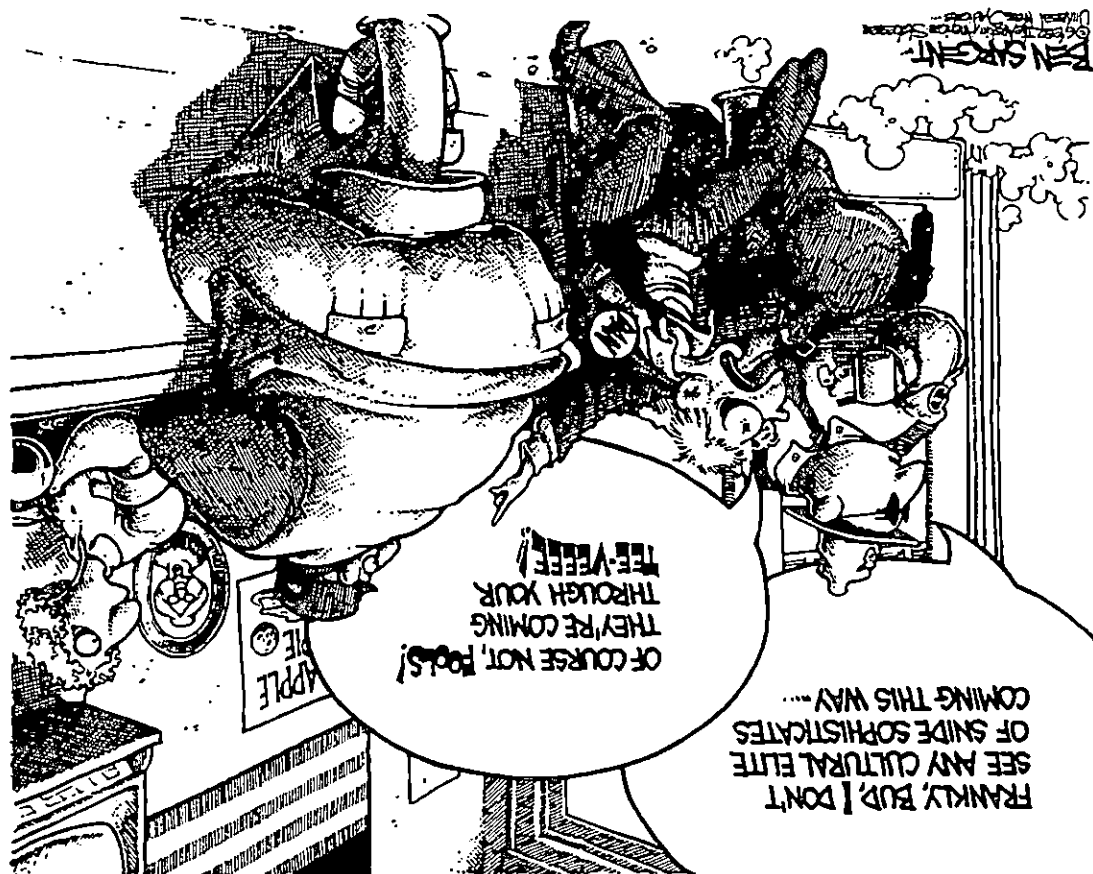




STEVE BENSON/ARIZONA REPUBLIC

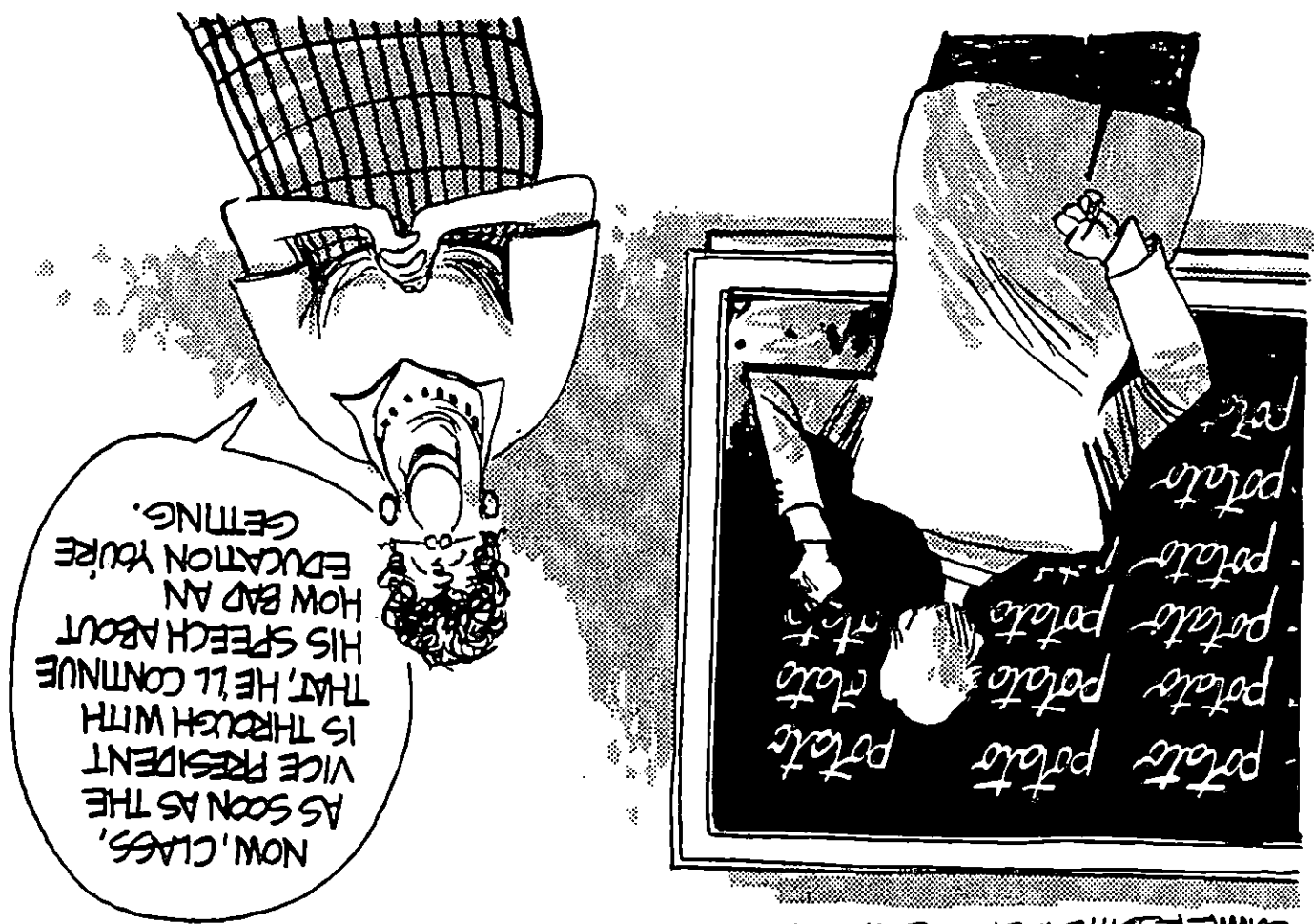






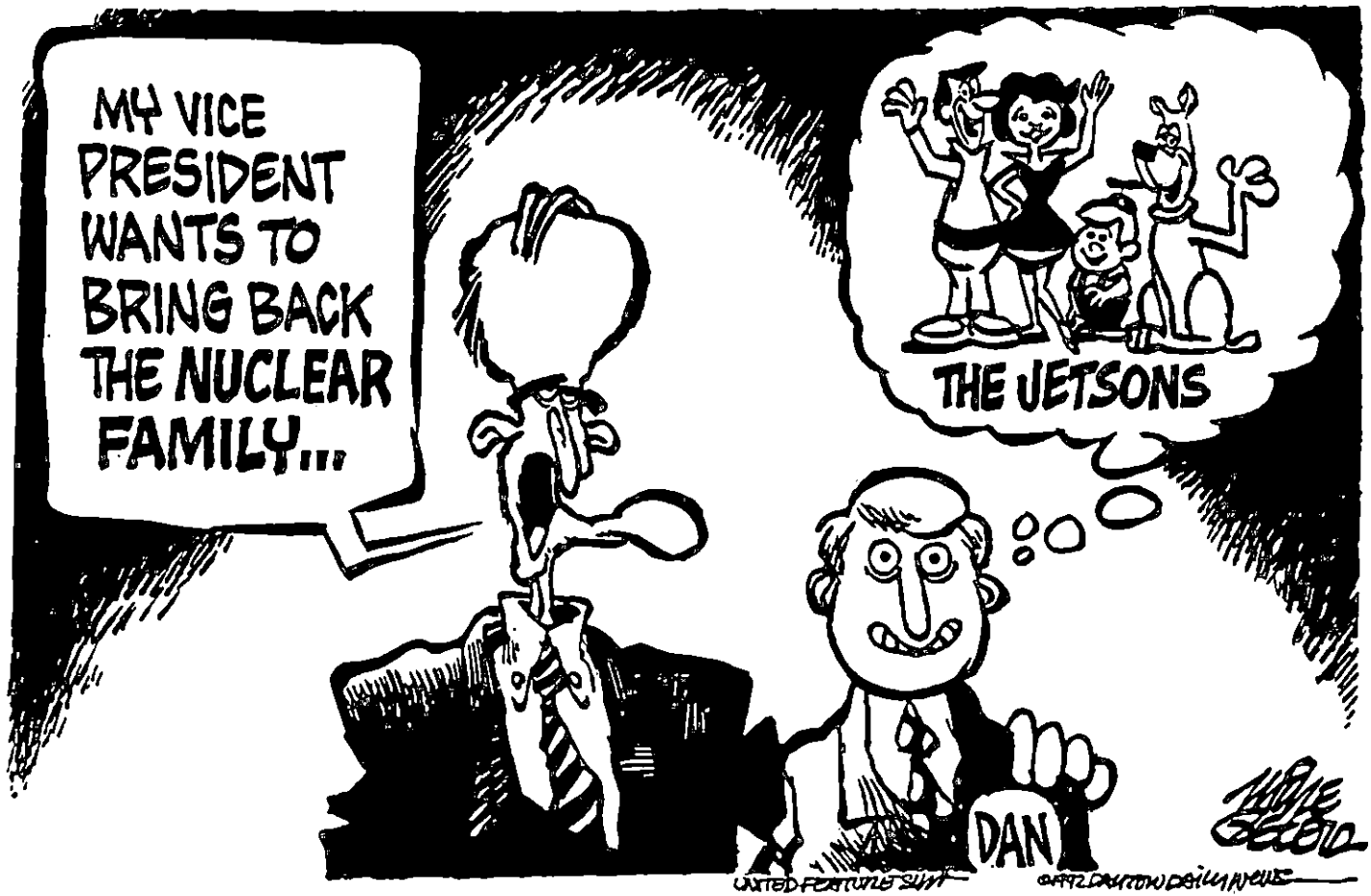
FRANKLY, BUD, I DON'T
SEE ANY CULTURAL ELITE
OF SNIDE SOPHISTICATES
COMING THIS WAY....

OF COURSE NOT, POOLS!
THEY'RE COMING
THROUGH YOUR
TEE-VEE!!!



NOW, CLASS,
AS SOON AS THE
VICE PRESIDENT
IS THROUGH WITH
HIS SPEECH ABOUT
HOW BAD AN
EDUCATION YOU'RE
GETTING.

SUMNER



**1960's
LIBERAL**



**HELL NO,
I WON'T
GO...**

**1990's
LIBERAL**

Wright PROVIDENCE
JOURNAL-BULLETIN



**BUT I'M ALL
FOR HER
GOING!**



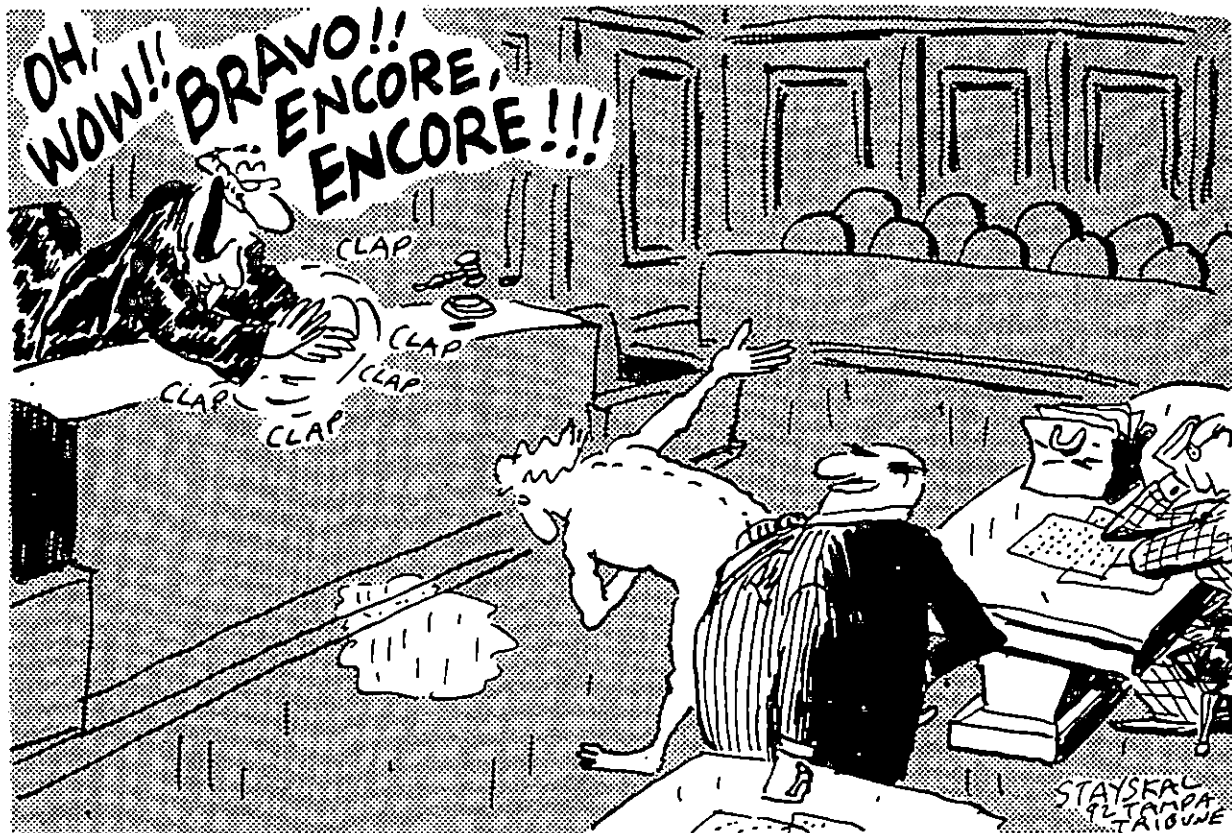


BEAT
© 92 Dipping Duck Media, Inc.
Copy this scene

"There's no way I'm trying on that glass slipper. Haven't you heard how unhappy Princess Di is?!"

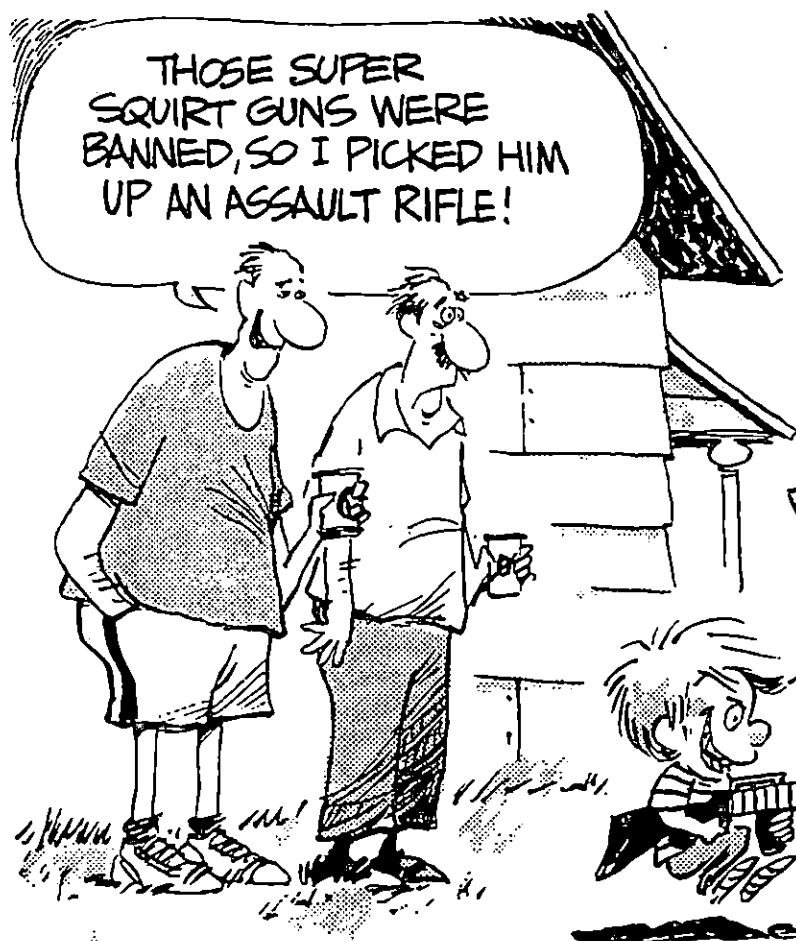


WATTI ANDERSON
© 92 THE TIMES-PICAYUNE

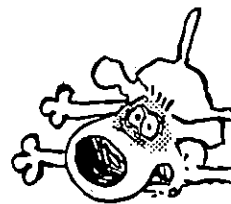


JUDGE KILLS THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS' NEW DECENCY RULE... SAYS NUDE, URINATING PERFORMER DESERVES GRANT.

THE GRAND FANTASY SUMMER 2012



BAW!
BLAM!
 RAT-TAT-TAT-TAT!
BANG!



S. KELLY ©1992 SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE



THEY CAN HAVE
MY SUPER SOAKER
WHEN THEY PRY IT
OUT OF MY
PINK, WRINKLED
FINGERS.



12 P.M. EDT/9 A.M. PDT NEWS UPDATE

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS (AP) -- The Senate ignored objections by President Bush and approved a Democratic bill extending soon-to-expire extra benefits for Americans who have been out of work the longest. The measure, approved on a voice vote, would keep the current system of providing up to 33 extra weeks of coverage running until as late as March 6, 1993. Sen. Dole predicted Bush would reject the measure, saying, "The unemployment package...is just headed for another veto." Although some Republicans supported the Democratic plan, others rallied behind a Bush-endorsed alternative that Dole presented.

CLINTON/FINANCING (AP) -- Republicans asked the government to cut off public financing to Gov. Clinton's presidential campaign, alleging he wrongly used Democratic Party funds to pay for a national television broadcast. The complaint prepared by RNC lawyers alleges Clinton wrongly used \$395,000 of his party's general-election money to help raise money for his cash-strapped primary campaign. The money was used for Clinton's half-hour TV appearance last Friday on NBC, the complaint alleges.

RUSSIA/POW (Moscow/UPI) -- Russian and U.S. investigators emerged from a Siberian prison camp empty-handed after rushing to the far north outpost at the suggestion that an American POW was being held there. No trace was found at the Pechora camp, members of the delegation said in Pechora and Russian Foreign Ministry officials confirmed in Moscow.

(Hanoi/Reuter) -- U.S. experts searching for three years for American servicemen missing from the Vietnam War have found no evidence to back President Yeltsin's statement that some were sent to the Soviet Union, Western diplomats said. But they did not rule out the possibility that it had happened. A Russian diplomat in Hanoi commented: "I really have no information on this. I can't say whether it's true or not."

RUSSIA/EMBASSY (AP) -- The U.S. is dropping a \$30 million claim for the bugging of the new embassy in Moscow as part of a property deal signed during President Yeltsin's visit, a U.S. official revealed. The deal, struck at the summit but not made public, would drop the U.S. claim for construction losses. In exchange, the U.S. would get property and other considerations estimated to be worth \$45 million -- an overall gain of \$15 million, the official disclosed.

CHINA/TRADE (Beijing/AP) -- U.S. and Chinese teams have drafted an agreement to keep Chinese prison products off American markets, the U.S. embassy said, but the Beijing government said it would not permit inspections of its prisons. Embassy spokeswoman Lorraine Toly said the draft, reached Thursday at the end of two days of talks, needs approval by both governments.

YUGOSLAVIA/GATT (Geneva/Reuter) -- GATT effectively suspended Yugoslavia from its operations until it can be decided who should represent the crumbled federation. The governing council of GATT ruled that "the representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should refrain from participating in the business of the GATT Council."

###

4:30 P.M. EDT/1:30 P.M. PDT NEWS UPDATE

PRESIDENT'S TRIP (Newport Beach/AP) -- President Bush sought to quell a potential storm in U.S.-Mexican relations by promising there will be no "wave of kidnappings" of foreigners wanted by American authorities. "We have made very, very clear to the Mexican government that we will not be in the mode of reaching out and taking back everybody who's offended the United States," Bush said in an interview with Hispanic-American journalists.

DEFENSE/FEDERAL FEES (Reuter) -- In a move to aid the battered U.S. defense industry, President Bush will eliminate federal fees paid by firms on the sale of arms and commercial goods products developed from military contracts, Administration officials said. A draft of the announcement was obtained by Reuter and said the move "will preserve tens of thousands of American jobs in high-technology firms located throughout the country." Administration officials said the announcement was expected shortly.

IRAQ/HOUSE PANEL (Reuter) -- The White House, in a letter made public, refused to allow two presidential aides to testify to a House panel considering naming a special prosecutor to investigate U.S.-Iraq relations prior to the Gulf War. The two aides were Boyden Gray and Nicholas Rostow. "It is the long-standing practice of the executive branch to decline requests for testimony by members of the President's personal staff," the letter, signed by Nicholas Calio, said.

MIDEAST/PEACE TALKS (Reuter) -- The U.S. broke a five-week self-imposed embargo on comments about the Middle East to complain about a public meeting between the PLO and Palestinians involved in Arab-Israeli peace negotiations. "While I intend to stick to our position of not getting into a discussion of such issues, I will make one brief comment," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher. "We've repeatedly stated that the PLO is not part of the peace process that we have helped construct, and we're thus troubled by the meeting and we have conveyed our concerns to the Palestinians."

IRAQ/NUCLEAR (Vienna/Reuter) -- Iraq has slackened cooperation with international experts destroying its nuclear facilities and is refusing to disclose where it obtained its equipment, the International Atomic Energy Agency said. Director-General Hans Blix said that while Iraqi authorities had initially shown cooperation, the latest inspection team reported a change in attitude. "There were numerous instances involving attempts, subsequently relinquished, to prohibit or limit the taking of photographs and the placing of seals."

RUSSIA/FEDERAL RESERVE (New York/Reuter) -- The Fed announced that it had set up a special unit to help advise Russia on how to build a Western-style banking system. A group of public- and private-sector bankers called the "Russian-American Bankers Forum" has been formed to spearhead the effort, said E. Gerald Corrigan, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

U.N./ARMED FORCES (U.N./UPI) -- Facing the possible spread of small-scale conflicts around the world, Secretary-General Boutros Ghali asked the Security Council to set up a permanent armed forces to be used as a deterrent against aggression. Western diplomats said the plan, if approved, would draw the U.N. closer to goals set by its founders.

U.N./PICCO (U.N./AP) -- Assistant Secretary-General Giandomenico Picco, who helped negotiate the release of the last Western hostages in Lebanon, has resigned for personal reasons, U.N. officials announced. Chief U.N. spokesman Francois Giuliani told his daily press briefing that Picco was expected to leave his U.N. post in late July.

WEINBERGER (AP) -- Caspar Weinberger pleaded innocent to charges he lied to Congress and prosecutors about the Iran-Contra affair. He was ordered by a federal judge to stand trial the day before election day on five counts of perjury, making false statements and obstruction of Congress. Weinberger requested a quick trial.

###

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Friday, June 19, 1992

Volume 28, Number 99

News From the Hill

URBAN AID bill cleared after Democrats agree to cut funding.

The Senate last night cleared legislation (HR 5132) that would provide disaster aid to Los Angeles and Chicago, as well as to other struggling cities.

Senate action came one day after House Democrats dropped a demand that \$925 million in additional aid be included in the fiscal 1992 supplemental appropriations bill.

Earlier yesterday, the House voted 249-168 to adopt a modified version of the conference agreement.

Conferees had approved a \$2 billion measure that included \$175 million more for a summer youth jobs program than President Bush would support. Bush threatened to veto the measure over the extra funding for the jobs program and because of \$750 million included in the measure for the Head Start pre-school education program, a summer school program and an anti-drug initiative. (See chart, p. 2)

Bush refused to support the additional spending, and Democrats threatened to place the president in the politically risky position of rejecting a measure designed to help urban areas just months after the Los Angeles riots. But Democrats backed down.

Besides \$500 million for the summer youth jobs program, the measure would also provide the Small Business Administration with \$169.7 million to subsidize about \$500 million in loans for businesses in Los Angeles. The bill also includes \$300 million for Federal Emergency Management Agency disaster payments, mostly to businesses damaged by flooding in Chicago.

HOUSE FLOOR: Congressional review panel gets approval.

House members voted 412-4 yesterday to pass legislation (H Con Res 192) that would set up a 28-member joint committee to make recommendations on

how the House and Senate could improve operations and legislative procedures.

The Senate must also approve the measure, however, for the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress to be authorized.

The panel would be required to make its final recommendations by Dec. 31, 1993, but could make interim suggestions in time for the organization of the 103rd Congress after the November elections.

Late Wednesday. In what could be a harbinger of future congressional cost-cutting moves against big-ticket federal projects, the House late Wednesday voted, 232-181, to cancel funding for the superconducting super collider.

The action came as the House dealt with the first fiscal 1993 spending bill of the year — a \$21.3 billion measure (HR 5373) for energy and water development and nuclear weapons. The House passed the spending bill, 365-51.

The vote on the superconducting super collider came after a heated debate over whether the United States can afford costly science projects. Nearly \$1 billion in federal funds have already been committed to the super collider — a giant atom smasher being built in Texas.

As approved last week by the Appropriations Committee, the bill included \$484 million for the project, but the House vote cut most of that funding. About \$34 million was left in the measure to shut down production of the project.

SENATE FLOOR: Jobless benefits debated, GSE bill put aside.

At press time last night, the Senate was debating its version of an unemployment benefits extension bill (HR 5260) that would provide 26 to 33 weeks of benefits through March 6, 1993.

As approved by the Senate Finance Committee, the bill would provide benefits as long as the national unemployment rate is at least 7 percent.

The Bush administration objects to

provisions in the House-passed version of the bill that would make permanent changes to the federal unemployment system and to the inclusion of taxes on employers that would help pay for the measure.

GSE Bill. The Senate temporarily put off consideration of legislation (S 2733) to establish a new oversight office in the Department of Housing and Urban Development to regulate the affairs of government-sponsored entities (GSE).

The bill was pulled from consideration after Texas Republican Phil Gramm threatened to offer an amendment to S 2733 to require a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

Late Wednesday. The Senate gave voice vote approval to legislation (S 1623) that would clear the way for widescale introduction of blank digital audio tapes in the United States. Because the tapes allow those with digital recording equipment to make extremely high quality copies of music, the recording industry is concerned that unrestricted tape-to-tape copying would reduce sales and royalties.

S 1623 would add a royalty fee to the price of digital tapes and recording equipment that would be used to compensate music publishers, recording companies and artists for copyright infringement.

The bill would also require modifications to be made to digital tapes and recording equipment to prevent tape-to-tape copying.

FOREIGN AID bill sails through Appropriations Committee.

The House Appropriations Committee yesterday approved with little debate a bill (HR 5368) that would fund a variety of foreign military and civilian aid programs in fiscal 1993.

Approved by voice vote, the measure would provide \$13.8 billion in foreign aid, about \$1.3 billion less than requested by the administration and \$249 million less than appropriated for fiscal 1992.

The bill represents the lowest level of foreign aid since fiscal 1983, reflecting the decreased political support for foreign assistance in Congress this year.

In This Issue

NEWS FROM THE HILL..... 1

TODAY

Committee & News Listings..... 6

FUTURE

Senate Committees..... 7

House Committees..... 9

Conference Committees..... 13

Joint Committees..... 13

Other Events..... 14

Campaigns & Elections..... 15

STATUS CHARTS

FY93 Appropriations..... 17

House Floor..... 18

Senate Floor..... 20

Appropriators decided to allocate \$691 million less than the 4.2 billion sought by the president for military aid.

Many of the military aid reductions came from changing grant programs for Greece, Turkey and Portugal to loan programs.

MILITARY BASE closing account gets funding hike.

In an effort to save money by spending money, the House Appropriations Committee yesterday approved an \$8.6 billion military construction spending bill (HR 5428) for fiscal 1993 that would greatly boost funding to close or reorganize more than 100 unneeded military bases.

The bill would provide \$2 billion for the base closing effort, almost \$1.3 billion more than the current level.

Although the bill total of \$8.6 billion is almost the same as that provided for fiscal 1992, that amount is likely to slip lower: The Senate Appropriations Committee on Wednesday allocated \$340 million less for its Military Construction Subcommittee.

The House panel yesterday approved the bill by voice vote with no significant amendments.

The emphasis on base closings comes at the expense base construction projects, which would be cut by \$1.6 billion from the \$4.2 billion appropriation for fiscal 1992.

The Defense Department estimates it needs \$8 billion to implement the base closings approved in 1991 and 1989. Another base closing effort is expected next year. But the Pentagon must first clean up significant environmental hazards before military base property can be turned over to states and local governments, or used for private development. Saying that administration foot-dragging is delaying the transfer of bases to the public or private sector, appropriators earmarked \$444 million for environmental restoration.

The committee provided about \$500 million more than requested by the administration for construction of bases in the United States.

About three-fifths of the unrequested money landed in states represented by members of the Military Construction Subcommittee, which approved the measure on June 11.

LEGISLATIVE SPENDING measure advances.

In a 15-minute markup yesterday, the House Appropriations Committee approved a \$1.8 billion fiscal 1993 spending bill (HR 5427) for the legislative branch. When the Senate adds funding to the measure to pay for its operations, the bill's total is expected to reach \$2.3 billion.

In approving the bill by voice vote, the full committee made no changes to the measure as approved by the Legislative Branch Subcommittee.

The bill's spending cuts would require the elimination of about 1,800 positions in the House and about 500 positions from joint House-Senate staffs and other congressional agencies. Few of these positions are currently filled.

The spending bill also provides \$53 million for free mailings or House members. The fiscal 1992 spending bill provided \$80 million for House mailings, although a rescissions package enacted June 4 cut \$20 million from the fiscal 1992 mailing total.

The legislative branch spending bill is expected to go to the Rules Committee on Monday, with House floor action scheduled for Tuesday.

Rules Committee Chairman Joe Moakley, D-Mass., is expected to ask for a restrictive rule to prevent the bill from becoming a vehicle for Congress-bashing amendments.

DEFENSE SPENDING bill gains; LTV sale blocked.

The House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee yesterday approved a fiscal 1993 defense spending bill that would block the proposed sale of a U.S. company's missile division to a French corporation.

The subcommittee, working in closed session, approved the draft bill with a total dollar figure of about \$252 billion, according to sources present at the markup.

In one of the most significant decisions made, the subcommittee agreed to block the proposed sale of LTV Corp.'s missile division to a subsidiary of France's Thomson-CSF.

A federal bankruptcy court has already approved the sale of the missile division to Thomson-CSF, a U.S. subsidiary of the state-owned French electronics firm of the same name.

But opponents of the sale say a Defense Intelligence Agency report concluded U.S. missile secrets inevitably would be turned over to the French firm if the sale were approved.

Subcommittee Chairman John P. Murtha, D-Pa., disclosed to reporters few of the details of the markup, except to say of the LTV missile division: "We blocked the sale."

As approved, the bill includes funding for four additional B-2 stealth bombers, which would bring the B-2 fleet to 20.

The panel also agreed to language providing \$1.1 billion for the Navy's F/A 18 "E" and "F" advanced tactical combat fighters, about the same funding level requested by the president.

The defense authorization legislation (HR 5006), passed by the House, would limit funding of the advanced F/A 18s to \$600 million.

ABORTION RIGHTS bill wins panel approval.

Legislation that would guarantee a woman's right to an abortion in all but the later stages of pregnancy won the approval of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights by a vote of 5-3.

The bill (HR 25) would prohibit states from restricting a woman's access to an abortion before fetal viability. In addition, the right to an abortion would be guaranteed regardless of the state of the fetus if the woman's health or life were in danger.

Supporters of the measure say that it codifies the 1973 Supreme Court ruling in *Roe v. Wade*, which legalized abortion nationwide. The court is about to hand down a new abortion decision that many say will overturn *Roe*.

Opponents contend that HR 25 would go beyond *Roe*, giving states even less latitude in regulating abortion.

Ranking subcommittee member Henry Hyde, R-Ill., offered amendments that would have required spousal notification and, in the case of a person age 18 or under, parental consent before an abortion could be performed. Both were defeated by voice vote.

Urban Supplemental

(budget authority, in millions of dollars)

	Initial Conference Agreement	Modified Conference Agreement
SBA		
Disaster Loans	\$169.7	\$169.7
Administrative Expenses	25.0	25.0
Business Loans	70.3	70.3
Administrative Expenses	2.0	2.0
Microloans and Grants	9.0	9.0
FEMA		
Disaster Relief	300.0	300.0
Urban Aid		
Head Start Summer Program	250.0	
Summer School Program	250.0	
Summer Youth Jobs Program	675.0	500.0
Weed and Seed Program	250.0	
Other		
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms	5.5	5.5
Federal Law Enforcement Training Center	1.5	1.5
Rescissions	-7.5	-7.5
TOTAL	\$2,000.5	\$1,075.5

Another Hyde amendment that would have allowed states to block abortion after the first three months of pregnancy except in cases of rape, incest or threat to the life of the mother was also rejected by voice vote.

HOUSING BILL would boost federal housing assistance.

The Senate Banking Committee yesterday approved, by voice vote, a draft two-year bill that would authorize federal housing programs at a fiscal 1993 level of \$22 billion. The fiscal 1994 authorization would be \$800 million higher.

The measure includes elements of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack F. Kemp's proposal for flexible housing subsidies, called RESTORE. It would also give residents of certain public housing complexes the right to choose either alternative management or ownership.

The bill would reinstitute a requirement that local housing groups match federal money for the HOME project, which provides grants to low-income assistance groups to acquire, renovate and build housing. A matching requirement for HOME activities was removed by appropriators for fiscal 1992 because local entities faced economic difficulties. The measure would require a 25 percent match and offer waivers to financially distressed localities.

HOME would be authorized at \$2.1 billion for fiscal 1993, \$600 million above current appropriations.

EXPORT-IMPORT authorization includes tied-aid funding.

In a move designed to keep pressure on countries that place strings on their foreign aid, the Senate Banking Committee gave voice vote approval to a bill (S 2864) yesterday that would continue funding for a tied-aid war chest administered by the Export-Import Bank.

The measure would authorize the agency, which finances purchases of U.S. goods by overseas companies, through fiscal 1997. Through direct loans and guarantees, the agency facilitates about \$4 billion in export credits a year. It insures another \$5 billion in export credits.

The tied-aid war chest was created to combat the use of similar financing deals by U.S. competitors. Under tied-aid agreements, the United States provides credit to a country on the condition that the money be used to buy U.S. products.

Although the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) reached an agreement in February to restrict the use of tied-aid, the panel voted to keep annual funding at \$500 million through fiscal 1995.

Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., chairman of the panel's International Finance and Monetary Policy Subcommittee, has ex-

pressed concern that the OECD agreement will prevent the Export-Import Bank from countering tied-aid practices by U.S. competitors. He included language in the measure that would allow the agency to offer tied-aid deals to countries if it is in the United States' economic interest.

FAIR CREDIT measure would pre-empt state consumer laws.

Legislation that would revise the nation's laws regulating consumer credit reporting agencies won the voice vote approval of the House Banking Committee yesterday, but Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Texas, is already planning to try to amend the bill (HR 3596) when it reaches the floor.

The 1970 Fair Credit Reporting Act would be amended to strengthen provisions on consumer privacy and speed the correction process for credit report inaccuracies. The bill would impose new regulations on the agencies, including restrictions on the use of credit reports by potential employers.

Gonzalez opposes a provision in the measure that would pre-empt state credit laws, prohibiting states from passing laws stricter than the federal statute. Gonzalez said he would try to remove the provision during floor consideration.

IMF AUTHORIZATION OK'd after amendments are rejected.

The House Banking Committee yesterday approved by voice vote legislation (HR 3428) that would provide an additional \$12 billion in U.S. contributions to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in part to help Russia stabilize its currency.

The IMF increase is part of a broad international aid package for Russia.

The boost in the U.S. contribution would fulfill a 1990 agreement by IMF-member countries to raise their funding by 50 percent.

But lawmakers have been reluctant to approve the increase, fearing election-year attacks that they are helping other countries while ignoring domestic problems.

Members rejected, 16-35, an amendment by Republicans that would have eliminated the IMF authorization from the bill, which also would reauthorize U.S. involvement in various other international organizations. Another amendment, rejected 15-32, would have imposed collateral requirements on oil and gas development loans to Russia.

INSURANCE STUDY bill approved by House Banking panel.

Concerned that the nation's insurance industry is headed for tough economic times, the House Banking Committee yesterday endorsed a bill (HR 4731) that would require a government

study of the industry.

The measure, approved by voice vote, would direct the Treasury secretary to conduct a one-year study of the industry and to report recommendations to Congress on how to promote the solvency of insurance companies.

The bill is designed to protect the Banking panel's jurisdiction over insurance issues should a measure overhauling the industry be pushed by the Energy and Commerce Committee.

COIN BILLS approved over lawmakers' objections.

The House Banking panel approved several commemorative coin bills over the objections of some members who said Congress would be flooding the coin market.

One measure (HR 3654), approved by voice vote, would authorize the U.S. Mint to produce a special set of coins memorializing the 1996 Olympic Games to be held in Atlanta. Members agreed, by voice vote, to an amendment that would allow the Treasury secretary to ban the sale in the United States of foreign coins commemorating the Atlanta Olympics.

Another bill (HR 2448), also approved by voice vote, would authorize the minting of special commemorative medals to mark the contribution of Benjamin Franklin to the advancement of science and to American firefighters.

But two bills were OK'd over the protests of some members who said the measures would hurt the sales of other commemorative coins. One bill (HR 5126), approved 32-8, would commemorate the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the protection of Civil War battlefields. The other (HR 1623), approved 39-5, would mark the 50th anniversary of the allied invasion of Normandy.

ANCIENT FORESTS measure emerges from House Agriculture.

After a bruising daylong markup, a highly controversial bill to create an ancient forest preserve in the Pacific Northwest was approved by the House Agriculture Committee.

The bill (HR 4899) aims to balance the protection of threatened species such as the northern spotted owl with the need to preserve timber-related jobs.

The Agriculture Committee's action came the day after Interior Committee Chairman George Miller, whose panel shares jurisdiction over the bill, abruptly pulled a more sweeping version — favored by environmentalists — from the committee's agenda.

The Agriculture panel approved the measure on a 27-15 vote, generally split along party lines. Republicans slammed the bill, saying it would cost too many jobs.

The measure is a "terrible, horrible, vicious blow" to the Northwest, said Bob

Smith, R-Ore. The committee rejected Smith's substitute amendment, similar to an administration-backed proposal, on a 15-26 vote.

But committee Chairman E. "Kika" de la Garza, D-Texas, said that the bill strikes a good balance. "My hope is that no one will be entirely satisfied. That means we have a good measure," he said.

The Agriculture bill would create a 6.8-million-acre old-growth forest preserve and allow timber harvests of 2.8 billion board feet (bbf) in 1993. The level would gradually be reduced to 1.9 bbf annually. In recent years, harvests have reached over 4 bbf per year.

The Interior Committee must report the bill before it can head to the floor.

RCRA MARKUP starts, but work is put off.

The House Energy and Commerce Committee yesterday began marking up legislation (HR 3865) that would rewrite the nation's principal solid and hazardous waste disposal law.

But after the committee approved two technical amendments concerning disposal of used tires, opponents halted the markup through a procedural tactic. The markup is scheduled to resume next Tuesday.

The bill would reauthorize the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), last amended in 1984, to place greater emphasis on recycling and to address the lack of landfill space faced by many municipalities.

The measure would also put heavy pressure on states exporting their trash across state lines to adopt tougher garbage management plans.

CHOKING WARNING labels for children part of CPSC bill.

The House Energy and Commerce panel also approved a bill that would require new warning labels on products that might cause children to choke, after reducing authorized funding levels for consumer product safety programs.

The committee passed the measure (HR 4706), which would reauthorize the Consumer Product Safety Commission through fiscal 1994, by a vote of 32-10.

In a compromise offered by Jim Slattery, D-Kan., the panel agreed, 26-17, to fund the agency at \$42 million in fiscal 1993 and \$44 million in fiscal 1994.

The original bill would have set levels at \$45 million for fiscal 1993 and \$48 million for fiscal 1994. Alex McMillan, R-N.C., had proposed even deeper cuts.

Congress appropriated \$40 million for the agency in fiscal 1992.

The bill would require manufacturers to warn consumers of the possible hazard to children of using any toy or game that contains small parts, balloons, small balls or marbles. The measure would also set a minimum size require-

ment of 1.75 inches in diameter for balls intended for children under three years of age.

In addition, the measure would establish new performance standards for bicycle helmets.

YEW TREE bill gets House Agriculture Committee's blessing.

Legislation aimed at ensuring a constant supply of a cancer-fighting agent found in the bark of the Pacific Yew was approved by the House Agriculture Committee yesterday, clearing the way for House floor action.

By voice vote, the committee approved the bill (HR 3836), which would require that yew trees be harvested from federal forests before the areas are opened to commercial logging.

Drug manufacturers remove from the bark of the tree the chemical compound taxol, which has been successful in fighting certain types of cancer.

The measure would also require that the yew trees be cut in such a way as to allow for their regeneration.

The legislation has been approved by the Interior and Merchant Marine committees.

HAITIAN DEMOCRACY bill wins Foreign Affairs backing.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday approved, by voice vote, legislation (HR 4761) that aims to help restore democracy to Haiti, which is being run by a military junta.

The legislation would freeze U.S. assets of Haitians who assisted in the military coup last September that overthrew the democratically elected government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The measure would also authorize funding for diplomatic missions of the Organization of American States to help restore democratic rule in Haiti. For that task, the bill would allot \$3 million in fiscal 1993, \$5 million annually in fiscal 1993 and 1994, and \$6 million in fiscal 1995. Funds would come from foreign aid money previously appropriated for Haiti but withheld after the coup.

Members agreed, by voice vote, to an amendment by Robert G. Torricelli, D-N.J., that would bar ships that use Haitian ports from entering U.S. ports for at least 180 days. The amendment is intended to strengthen the trade embargo against Haiti, Torricelli said.

BILINGUAL VOTING aid continued under Senate Judiciary bill.

Provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act that guarantee bilingual assistance during elections would be extended for 15 years under legislation approved, 12-2, by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The act requires that in any jurisdiction where at least 5 percent of the popu-

lation is non-English speaking, election officials must offer bilingual services to voters. The bill (S 2236) would expand these requirements to cover jurisdictions in which non-English speakers do not make up 5 percent of the population, but number more than 10,000.

The current authorization for these provisions is due to expire on Aug. 6.

The committee defeated a number of amendments offered by Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., who argued that the bilingual provisions tend to divide, rather than unite, people in a community.

One Simpson amendment, defeated 4-10, would have required that any foreign-language voting assistance on a ballot include a warning that the English-language version is the "accurate, complete and official version."

Simpson also tried to limit the reauthorization to one year in order to have more time to study the requirement. This amendment was defeated, 4-10.

CABLE OPERATORS must purchase local signals, says panel.

The House Judiciary Subcommittee on Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration approved amended legislation (HR 4511) by voice vote yesterday that would alter the current copyright law allowing cable operators free use of local broadcasting signals.

The substitute bill requires cable operators to pay royalty fees every six months at a cost of 5 cents per subscriber per month for each local channel and 12 cents per subscriber per month for each long-distance transmission.

The royalties would be split equally between the local broadcasters and the producers of the retransmitted programs.

The bill sunsets, in six years, the current requirement that cable operators who pick up local signals and rebroadcast them outside the region to more than 2,500 subscribers pay copyright fees into a shared pool. Under a 1976 law, after contributing to the pool, operators were allowed to use the local signals for free.

The bill aims to eventually allow each local broadcaster, program producer and cable operator to decide on retransmission fees privately.

The legislation also sets a flat distance of 75 miles as the "local service area" of a television broadcasting station. The definition is crucial to the assessment of fees on cable operators who retransmit local signals.

It is expected that the bill approved yesterday will serve as a floor amendment to a cable deregulation bill (HR 4850) approved Wednesday by the House Energy panel.

JOBS FUNDS to go to some states, under Ways and Means bill.

A House Ways and Means sub-

committee yesterday approved, by voice vote, a draft proposal that would help financially strapped states draw federal funds for JOBS, the welfare-to-work program created by the 1988 Family Support Act. The recession has kept many states from claiming their full allotments for JOBS because they are required to put up matching funds.

The proposal by Thomas J. Downey, D-N.Y., acting chairman of the Human Resources Subcommittee, and full committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., who drafted the 1988 law, would make unclaimed funds available to states without requiring that they be matched.

It would also raise the rate at which the federal government matches state expenditures for the JOBS program. The rate would be increased for funds states spend in fiscal 1992 and 1993 that exceed the amount they claimed for fiscal 1991. The plan would cost an estimated \$400 million over five years.

The package also includes some welfare-reform proposals sought by the Bush administration in its fiscal 1993 budget, including one allowing current welfare recipients to save up to \$10,000 in an effort to become self-sufficient through work, training or education, without losing their welfare benefits.

The panel adopted an amendment offered by Fred Grandy, R-Iowa, that includes the text of HR 3450, legislation calling for a demonstration of "microenterprise" programs that enable welfare recipients to start small businesses.

SOCIAL SECURITY Administration would be independent.

Under draft legislation approved by a Ways and Means subcommittee yesterday, the Social Security Administration would be made an independent agency.

The Social Security Administration, which maintains records and administers Social Security benefits, is currently a part of the Health and Human Services Department.

The Social Security Subcommittee approved the measure by voice vote.

The subcommittee also agreed to a draft measure that would add a series of miscellaneous and technical amendments to the 1935 Social Security Act, including one provision that would facilitate enforcement of penalties for non-government groups that imitate federal letterheads in mailings to Social Security recipients.

Under the provision, names, letters, symbols and emblems of the Department of Health and Human Services would be designated as protected items. Disclaimers found on fraudulent mailings would not excuse violations of the act.

The provision would also lift the present cap of \$100,000 on penalties that could be levied against individuals who

send mail mimicking official correspondence from the Social Security Administration or the Health Care Financing Administration. Bill supporters believe that lifting the cap would allow the secretary of Health and Human Services to set fines high enough to deter future fraudulent mailings.

Last month, the panel heard testimony that some direct-mail marketers have made a multimillion-dollar business of bilking money from Social Security recipients through deceptive mail campaigns.

HOMELESS VETERANS bill OK'd, funding prospects uncertain.

The House Veterans Affairs Subcommittee on Housing and Memorial Affairs gave quick voice vote approval yesterday to a measure that would expand programs for homeless veterans.

The legislation (HR 540Q) would authorize the Veterans Affairs Department (VA) to establish up to four new comprehensive homeless centers. It would also send veterans benefits counselors to 83 VA-run facilities providing readjustment counseling, shelter for homeless veterans and assistance for mentally ill veterans.

The measure would authorize grants to establish new outreach programs for homeless veterans. In addition, the VA would make VA-properties available for homeless veterans.

Total authorization levels would be \$48 million each year for fiscal 1993, 1994 and 1995. "This is just a minimum step," said subcommittee Chairman Harley O. Staggers Jr., D-W.Va. "Basically, we're just laying the foundation here."

Because funding for the veterans programs still faces Appropriations panel scrutiny, Staggers said he is trying to be realistic about the chances for the funding levels. Full committee action on the bill is expected during the week of July 20.

PASSENGER VESSEL loophole targeted by House panel.

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Coast Guard Subcommittee yesterday approved by voice vote a bill (HR 5257) that aims to stop foreign-flag vessels from getting around a law that forbids them from transporting passengers from one U.S. port to another.

To circumvent the law, foreign ships have sponsored "voyages to nowhere," which leave from and return to the same U.S. port. The measure would close that loophole.

Foreign-flag ships that sponsored voyages to nowhere before Jan. 1, 1992, would be allowed to continue, but the trips to nowhere would eventually be phased out.

The panel approved, by voice vote, a substitute amendment that would clarify the restrictions on foreign-flag vessels

and grandfather provisions for existing voyages to nowhere.

ABANDONED BARGE measure aims to prevent pollution.

To better preserve the nation's coastal and inland waterways and their marine environments, a House Merchant Marine subcommittee yesterday approved yesterday legislation (HR 5397) that would make it illegal to abandon barges.

Under current law, it is not illegal to abandon a barge. When barge owners feel their vessels are no longer economically viable, it is common practice for them to set their barges adrift or run them aground.

These abandoned vessels are often used illegally as receptacles for hazardous waste.

The legislation, approved by voice vote by the Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee, aims to prevent environmentally dangerous dumping before it occurs by giving the Coast Guard the authority to track down the owners of abandoned barges and require them to pay for barge removal.

The legislation would also authorize the Department of Transportation to fine violators, and it would require barges to be numbered so the Coast Guard can better trace barge owners.

TAX-FREE MEDICAL plans reviewed by Senate Finance panel.

Continuing its review of America's health-care system, the Senate Finance Committee yesterday explored how the federal tax code could be revised to help individuals pay medical expenses.

Daniel R. Coats, R-Ind., detailed his bill (S 2540), which would allow individuals to establish tax-free savings accounts to pay for routine medical expenses. In addition, employers would be encouraged, through tax incentives, to offer health plans for employees that would cover large medical expenses.

Called Healthsave, Coats' plan would do away with restrictions imposed by many health plans on which doctors and health-care facilities can be used.

J. Patrick Rooney, head of the Golden Rule Insurance Company, supported Coats' plan, saying it would reduce out-of-pocket costs for workers. "We need to have the employees asking about cost because it's their money," he said.

Rep. Michael A. Andrews, D-Texas, said the main problem is that businesses receive practically unlimited tax breaks for health insurance, which does not encourage cost-effectiveness or efficiency. His proposal would limit the tax deduction for businesses to the cost of the least expensive insurance plan in the company's area. If a business chose a more expensive plan, it would have to pay all other costs. ■

Meetings & Events Today

Senate Committees

■ WILDLIFE REFUGES

Senate Environment Committee

Environmental Protection Subcommittee (Chairman Baucus, D-Mont.) 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 National Wildlife Refuge System.

10am SD-406 Dirksen Bldg. June 19

Witnesses scheduled: John Turner - director, Fish and Wildlife Service; David Harrison - Moses, Wittemyer, Harrison and Woodruff; William Reffalt - consultant, Wilderness Society; Catherine Tollerton - Defenders of Wildlife; Roland Sparrowe - president, Wildlife Management Institute; R. Max Peterson - International Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies; John Grandy - vice president, Humane Society; Lorrie Ann MacDonald - Sierra Club; John Crider - Crystal River, Fla., Chamber of Commerce

■ CROW INDIAN COMPENSATION

Senate Indian Affairs Committee

The full committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2833) to compensate the Crow Indian Tribe of Montana for land dispute.

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

Note: This hearing has been rescheduled for July 23.

House Committees

■ MEDICAID MANAGED CARE

House Energy and Commerce Committee

Health and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Waxman, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on Medicaid managed care issues.

9:45am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. June 19

Witnesses scheduled: Janet Shikles - director for health financing and policy issues, General Accounting Office; Richard Jensen - senior economist; Ed Stropko - assistant director

News Events

TOXIC PRODUCTS

U.S. Public Interest Research Group and the National Environmental Law Center release report concerning toxic products used during the summer and release results of a study of campaign contributions from chemical company political action committees.

10am, 2322 Rayburn Bldg. June 19

Contact: Carolyn Hartmann, Rob Gruber, 202-546-9707

END OF COLD WAR

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., speaks about U.S. budget policy and his views on the causes and consequences of the end of the Cold War, "Solvency as a Condition of Stability," at Washington Area Forum on Economic Reform program.

★ New listing

Noon, Cosmos Club, 2121 Massachusetts Ave. N.W. June 19

Contact: 202-387-7783

ALCOHOL & THE BRAIN

Congressional Biomedical Research Caucus holds briefing on impact of alcohol abuse on the brain, with speakers including Dr. Ivan F. Diamond, Gallo Institute on Alcoholism, University of California, San Francisco, and Dr. Steven M. Paul, director of Intramural Research Program, National Institute of Mental Health.

Noon, B-338 Rayburn Bldg. June 19

Contact: Brian Sansoni, Garth Fitzgerald, 202-225-4315

HEALTH CARE FORUM

The Alliance for Health Care Reform, a non-partisan policy organization founded by Sen. Jay Rockefeller, D-W.Va., in 1991, holds a forum on "Health Care Costs: What's the Problem? Where's the Beef?" Participants include Sens. Rockefeller and John Danforth, R-Mo.; Dr. Philip Lee, director of the Institute for Health Policy Studies and chairman of the Physician Payment Review Commission; and G. Lawrence Atkins, director of employee benefits policy at Winthrop, Stimson and a member of the Steelman Commission. They will discuss alternative approaches to hold down health care costs and the state of political debate on the issue.

1pm to 2:30pm SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. June 19

Contact: Ed Howard, 202-466-5626

Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 19-22

No campaign events are scheduled.

Bill Clinton

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

June 19

In Little Rock, Ark.

1pm CDT: Addresses the National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts conference at the Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C., via satellite from KARN Radio studio, 4021 West Eighth St., Little Rock, Ark.

2pm CDT: Holds an "electronic town meeting" in conjunction with the 10th annual conference of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials in Santa Fe, N.M. Clinton will be at KARN Radio studio in Little Rock, Ark., and participate via satellite to Santa Fe, N.M. Contact Patrick Lacefield, 505-986-9084 or 505-988-2811

REPUBLICANS

Bush-Quayle

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

June 19

PRESIDENT BUSH

In California

12:05pm: Boards motorcade and departs Four Seasons Hotel en route Hyatt Regency Irvine.

12:20pm: Arrives Hyatt Regency Irvine.

12:30pm to 1pm: Addresses Orange County business community. Open press.

1:05pm: Boards motorcade and departs Hyatt Regency Irvine en route Four Seasons Hotel.

1:20pm: Arrives Four Seasons Hotel.

2:35pm to 3:20pm: Attends Southern California Republican Party Leadership meeting. Closed press.

RON Orange County, Calif.

INDEPENDENTS

Ross Perot

Contact: 214-716-6500

June 19

In Denver, Colo.

Noon: Addresses a petition rally. Greek Amphitheater, Denver Civic Center, Broadway and Colfax streets, Denver. Contact Diane Rees, 303-494-4605.

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■ Revised listing

Senate Committees Future Listings

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

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, focusing on the court system.

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. June 24

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

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

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

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

■ AUTOMOBILE LABELING

Consumer Subcommittee (Chairman Bryan, D-Nev.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2322) to make available to consumers certain information regarding automobiles. The bill would require that manufacturers reveal how much of an automobile was manufactured in the United States.

9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 24

MARITIME REFORM

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

hearing on maritime reform.

10am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 25

FEDERAL POLICY TOWARD ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGIES

Science, Technology and Space Subcommittee (Chairman Gore, D-Tenn.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on new technologies for a sustainable world. The subcommittee will release a World Resources Council report entitled: "Backs to the Future: U.S. Government Policy toward Environmentally Critical Technologies."

9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 25

PUBLIC BROADCASTING NOMINATION

Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee (Acting Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a confirmation hearing on the nomination of Ritajejan Hartung Butterworth to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

10:30am SR-236 Russell Bldg. June 30

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

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 - Expand the boundaries of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Va.

S 1925 - 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 - 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 - Establish the Fox River National Heritage Corridor in Wisconsin

HR 2181 - 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 - Revise the boundaries of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument

HR 3519 - Authorize the establishment of the Steamtown National Historic Site

June 25:

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

S 1990 - Authorize the transfer of certain facilities and lands in the Wenatchee National Forest, Washington

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

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

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

S 2749 - 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

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 24

Agenda:

HR 2896 - Minute Man National Historical Park

HR 3359 - Amend the Geothermal Steam Act of 1970

HR 2790 - Withdraw certain lands located in the Coronado National Forest from the mining and mineral leasing laws of the U.S.

S 2725 - Authorize extension of time limitations for a FERC-issued license

HR 1514 - Disclaim or relinquish all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to certain lands conditionally relinquished to the United States under the act of June 4, 1897

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

S 2572 - Authorize an exchange of lands in the states of Arkansas and Idaho

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for June 17

PACIFIC YEW

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) of Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2851) to provide for the management of the Pacific Yew tree on federal lands to ensure a steady supply of Taxol, a cancer-fighting drug derived from the yew.

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 24

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

★ New listing

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

Environment & Public Works

224-6176

★ SUPERFUND

Superfund, Ocean and Water Protection Subcommittee (Chairman Lautenberg, D-N.J.) of Senate Environment and Public Works Committee will hold an oversight hearing on the Superfund cleanup process.

9:30am SD-406 Dirksen Bldg. **June 25**

Finance

224-4515

COMPETITIVENESS

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

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

Foreign Relations

224-4651

■ START TREATY

Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will hold hearings 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, 25 & 26**

10am S-116 Capitol Bldg. **June 30**
Time TBA S-407 Capitol Bldg. **closed June 30**

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. **July 1**

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

June 23: James A. Baker III - secretary of State
June 25: Treaty Assessment

Ronald Lehman II - director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Linton Brooks - chief START negotiator, Delegation to the Nuclear and Space Talks

June 26: Defense Implications and Military View
Richard Cheney - secretary of Defense; Gen. Colin Powell - chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Gen. Gordon Sullivan - chief of staff, Army; Adm. Frank Kelso II - chief of naval operations, Navy; Gen. Carl Mundy - commandant, Marine Corps; Gen. Merrill McPeak - chief of staff, Air Force

June 30: Intelligence Community
Robert Gates - director, Central Intelligence Agency

At the conclusion of the open session the committee will move to room S-407 of the Capitol and go into closed session

July 1: Implementation of the START Treaty
Maj. Gen. Robert Parker - director, On-Site Inspection Agency

★ FOREIGN RELATIONS NOMINATIONS

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

2:30pm SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. **June 23 & 24**
4pm SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. **June 25**

★ *New listing*

Agenda:

June 23: William Clark Jr. to be assistant secretary of State

June 24: Robert Barry to be ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia; David Fields to be ambassador to the Republic of the Marshall Islands

June 25: Alison Rosenberg to be assistant administrator for Africa, Agency for International Development; Kenneth Brown to be ambassador to the Republic of Ghana; Princeton Lyman to be ambassador to the Republic of South Africa; Joseph Charles Wilson to be ambassador to the Gabonese Republic and, concurrently to be ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe; Joseph Monroe Segars to be ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde.

Governmental Affairs

224-4751

HEALTH-CARE FRAUD

Permanent Investigations Subcommittee (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**

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

10am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. **June 25**

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for June 17

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 a 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

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

■ CROW INDIAN COMPENSATION

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2833) to compensate the Crow Indian Tribe of Montana for a land dispute.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **July 23**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 19.

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**

Intelligence

224-1700

■ INTELLIGENCE MATTERS

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

2pm 219 Hart Bldg. **closed June 24**

Judiciary

224-5225

LACK OF CONSUMER DISCLOSURE IN THE LIFE INSURANCE INDUSTRY

Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Metzenbaum, D-Ohio) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold an oversight hearing on inadequate consumer disclosure and fraudulent sales practices in the life insurance industry.

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

CHILD SUPPORT PAYMENTS

Juvenile Justice Subcommittee (Chairman Kohl, D-Wis.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold hearings on legislation to impose a criminal penalty for flight to avoid payment of arrearages in child support.

10am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. **July 2**

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.

■ *Revised listing*

Senate continued. . .

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. date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 16.

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

Rules & Administration

224-6352

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Senate Rules and Administration Committee (Chairman Ford, D-KY) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2748) to establish a separate revolving fund for the Library of Congress. The bill would update the library's authority to provide bibliographic products and services to the nation's libraries. It would clarify the authority to be compensated for such services and set up a mechanism to administer the services.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. July 22

Veterans' Affairs

224-9126

PENNSYLVANIA VETERANS Field Hearing

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will hold a field hearing on the quality and timeliness of health care and benefits for Pennsylvania veterans.

10am Allegheny County Courthouse, Pittsburgh, Pa. June 19

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 com-

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

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

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

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— FY93 VA Medical Construction Project Approval Resolution

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for June 17.

SEXUALLY ABUSED WOMEN VETERANS

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on needs of women veterans who were sexually abused during service.

10am SD-G50 Dirksen Bldg. June 30

WOMEN VETERANS HEALTH CARE

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2028) to improve and expand health care and health-care related services furnished to women veterans by the Department of Veterans Affairs.

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. July 2

House Committees Future Listings

Aging

POVERTY AND THE ELDERLY

House Select Aging Committee (Chairman Roybal, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on the poverty among the elderly and the effectiveness of current federal programs.

9:30am B-318 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

Witnesses scheduled: Arthur S. Flemming - chairman, Save Our Security; Ron Pollack - executive director, Families USA Foundation; Samuel J. Simmons - president, National Caucus & Center on Black Aged Inc.; Marta Sotomayor - president, National Hispanic Council on Aging; A representative from the General Accounting Office; Rose Taylor - resident, Prince Georges County; other witnesses TBA

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

SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING & MARKUP: WELFARE & FOOD STAMPS

Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations and Nutrition Subcommittee (Chairman Tallon, D-S.C.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing and mark up legislation (HR 4046) to provide for a "Welfare Simplification Report."

9:30am 1302 Longworth Bldg. June 23

SURPLUS FOOD COMMODITIES

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman de la Garza, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on foreign and domestic use of surplus domestic commodities.

9:30am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 24

HEALTH OF U.S. FORESTS

Forests, Family Farms and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Volkmer, D-Mo.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold hearings on the health of the trees in the National Forest System.

10am 1302 Longworth Bldg. June 30; July 1

Agenda:

June 30: Forest health issues.

July 1: HR 4980 - Require an annual report from the secretary of Agriculture evaluating the overall health of trees in the National Forest System and identifying opportunities to salvage dead and dying trees and to provide expedited procedures for conducting salvage sales and reforestation activities that are consistent with land and resource management plans

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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 APPROPRIATIONS BILLS

House Appropriations Committee (Chairman Whitten, D-Miss.) will mark up fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its

■ Revised listing

House continued...

jurisdiction.

Time & Room TBA June 25, 29; July 1

Tentative Agenda:

June 25:

Agriculture

Treasury/Postal Service

June 29:

Interior

July 1:

Transportation

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

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

Armed Services

225-4151

★ GOVERNMENT USE OF GASOLINE

Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Mavroules, D-Mass.) of House Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on the use of gasoline by the federal government.

10am and 2pm (if needed) 2212 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

★ LTV MISSILE SALE

Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Mavroules, D-Mass.) of House Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on the sale of the LTV missile unit to a foreign company.

10am & 2pm (if needed) 2118 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs

225-4247

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.

★ New listing

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL: John P. LaWare - board of governors, Federal Reserve System; William Taylor - chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; Timothy Ryan - director, Office of Thrift Supervision; Stephen R. Steinbrink - acting comptroller of the currency

PANEL: Howard L. McMillian Jr. - American Bankers Association; Robert Hawkins - Independent Bankers Association of America; Adam A. Jahns - chairman of the board, Cragin Federal Bank for Savings; Robert J. Meuleman - executive vice president, Amcore Financial; Tiney M. McComb - chairman, Heartland Bancorp

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

District of Columbia

225-4457

■ SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING & MARKUP: D.C. JUDICIAL REVISION

Judiciary and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Dymally, D-Calif.) of House District of Columbia Committee will hold a hearing on and mark up pending legislation.

9:30am 1310A Longworth Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

HR 4096 - 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.

HR 4396 - Provide expanded penalties for individuals convicted of crimes of violence in the District of Columbia or of distributing drugs in the vicinity of schools in the District of Columbia, to revise standards for bail and pretrial detention in the District of Columbia.

HR 2694 - Amend title 11, District of Columbia Code, to remove gender-specific references.

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for March 17.

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: D.C. SUPREME COURT

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

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

Education & Labor

225-4527

■ SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Employment Opportunities Subcommittee

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

10am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Reps. Schroeder, D-Colo., Morella, R-Md.

PANEL 2: Nancy C. Pease - Smithville, N.J.; Jennifer Harrison - Kensington, Calif.; Dawn Munday - Pasadena, Md.; Maureen Polsby - Washington, D.C.

PANEL 3: Linda Wilson - president, Radcliffe College; Catherine Didion - executive director, Association for Women in Science; Donna Milgram - director, Nontraditional Employment Training Project, Wider Opportunities for Women; Dottie Jones - assistant director, Women's Department, United Auto Workers

★ TAFT INSTITUTE Field Hearing

Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Williams, D-Mont.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a field hearing on oversight on the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government.

Time TBA Missoula, Mont. June 29

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

Energy & Commerce

225-2927

■ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: RCRA

House Energy and Commerce Committee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. June 23 & addl dates if needed

Agenda:

HR 3865 - National Waste Reduction Recycling and Management Act

★ NATURAL GAS REGULATIONS

Energy and Power Subcommittee (Chairman Sharp, D-Ind.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on the impact of new state and federal natural gas regulations.

10am room TBA July 1

LONG-TERM CARE INSURANCE

Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness Subcommittee (Chairman Collins, D-Ill.) House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on long-term care insurance issues and on legislation (HR 5376) to establish federal standards for long-term care insurance.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 18, but was postponed due to the full committee markup.

■ Revised listing

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

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

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 23

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 16.

★ DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE

Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee (Chairman Hamilton, D-Ind.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on developments in Europe.

10am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee (Chairman Hamilton, D-Ind.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on developments in middle east.

10am 2200 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

Witness scheduled: Edward Djerejian - assistant secretary of State

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 17.

★ UNESCO PROGRAMS**Joint Hearing**

Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee (Chairman Yatron, D-Pa.) and International Operations Subcommittee (Chairman Berman, D-Calif.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee and House Science, Space

and Technology Committee (Chairman Brown, D-Calif.) will hold an oversight hearing on the United Nations Education, Cultural and Scientific Organization (UNESCO).

9:30am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

★ POW/MIA OVERSIGHT

Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Solarz, D-N.Y.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold an oversight hearing on American prisoners of war and service personnel missing in action.

Time & Room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 17.

Government Operations

225-5051

BANKING AND FINANCE

Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Barnard, D-Ga.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on the current problems and prospects for the country's banking and finance system

9:30am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

■ REDUCING INTEREST PAYMENTS ON GOVERNMENT DEBT

Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Barnard, D-Ga.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on a plan to reduce the cost of interest on government debt by issuing long-term Treasury bonds that are indexed to inflation.

9:30am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

Witnesses scheduled: Michael Boskin - chairman, Council of Economic Advisers; Jerome Powell - acting under secretary of Treasury for finance

Interior & Insular Affairs

225-2761

ENERGY SUBCOMMITTEE 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

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 room TBA June 23

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. June 30

Agenda:

June 23:

HR 4325 - 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 - 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 - 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 - Establish the Keweenaw National Historical Park

HR 5021 - 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 24

PUBLIC LANDS**SUBCOMMITTEE 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 25

Judiciary

225-3951

INDEPENDENT COUNSEL TO INVESTIGATE IRAQ AID

House Judiciary Committee (Chairman Brooks, D-Texas) will continue hearings to consider the appointment of an independent counsel in connection an investigation into the Bush Administration's assistance to Iraq prior to the Gulf War.

9:30am 2141 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

Merchant Marine & Fisheries

225-4047

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

★ FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

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

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

HR 5013 - Promote the conservation of exotic wild birds

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

HR 3418 - Regulate fishing and other maritime activities in certain waters of Alaska

House continued...

HR 3486 - Amend the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 to provide for the examination of the health of marine mammal populations and for coordinated response to strandings and catastrophic events involving marine mammals
 HR 5419 - International Dolphin Conservation Act of 1992

Narcotics Abuse & Control

226-3040

■ 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.

11am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. **June 30**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for March 10.

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**

Post Office & Civil Service

225-4054

DIVISION DIFFICULTIES

Field Hearing

Postal Operations and Services Subcommittee (Chairman McCloskey, D-Ind.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a field hearing to service problems in the Indianapolis division.

7pm Monroe County Courthouse, Bloomington, Indiana **June 22**

■ 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, July 28**

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. **July 29**

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

June 23: Frances K. Goldscheider - professor of sociology, Brown University; Kristin A. Moore - director of research, Child Trends, Inc.; Clifford M. Johnson - director of family support, Children's Defense Fund

June 24: Patricia Ruggles - senior research associate, The Urban Institute; Margaret C. Simms - director of research programs, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

July 28 & 29: U.S. educational system, U.S. workforce trends

★ New listing

FULL COMMITTEE BUSINESS

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

9:45am 311 Cannon Bldg. **June 24**

DAY-CARE FACILITIES

Postal Personnel and Modernization Subcommittee (Chairman Hayes, D-Ill.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a hearing on daycare facilities for U.S. Postal Service workers.

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

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**

POSTAL SERVICE FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

Postal Operations and Services Subcommittee (Chairman McCloskey, D-Ind.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a hearing on the financial activities of the United States Postal Service.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. **July 23**

Public Works & Transportation

225-4472

APPALACHIAN DEVELOPMENT

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

9:30am 2253 Rayburn Bldg. **June 23 & 25**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 14.

Rules

225-9486

★ RULES FOR FLOOR DEBATE

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

Time TBA H-313 Capitol Bldg. **tentative**

June 22 & addl dates TBA

Agenda:

June 22:

HR 542 - Legislative Branch Appropriations

Dates TBA:

HR 5368 - Foreign Operations Appropriations

HR 5428 - Military Construction Appropriations

HR 5095 - Intelligence Authorization

Science, Space & Technology

225-6371

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

Technology and Competitiveness Subcommittee (Chairman Valentine, D-N.C.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will meet to consider pending business.

10am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. **June 24**

Agenda:

HR 5231 - Amend the Stevenson-Wydler Technology Innovation Act of 1980 to enhance manufacturing technology development and transfer, and authorize appropriations for the Technology Administration of the Department of Commerce, including the National Institute of Standards and Technology

HR 4400 - Provide the administrator of the Small Business Administration continued authority to administer the Small Business Innovation Research Program

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for June 17.

★ UNESCO PROGRAMS

Joint Hearing

Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee (Chairman Yatron, D-Pa.) and International Operations Subcommittee (Chairman Berman, D-Calif.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee and House Science, Space and Technology Committee (Chairman Brown, D-Calif.) will hold an oversight hearing on the United Nations Education, Cultural and Scientific Organization (UNESCO), focusing on current UNESCO programs.

9:30 2172 Rayburn Bldg. **June 25**

ENVIRONMENTAL COSTS OF TRANSPORTATION ENERGY

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

Time & room TBA **date TBA**

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

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 19.

Small Business

225-5821

REFORESTATION

Field Hearing

Regulation, Business Opportunities and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Wyden, D-Ore.) of House Small Business Committee will hold a hearing to discuss reforestation and forest improvement on public lands.

10am World Forestry Center, 4033 Southwest Canyon Road, Portland, Oregon. **June 22**

■ Revised listing

House continued...**Veterans' Affairs**

225-3527

COMPENSATING SURVIVORS OF VETERANS

Compensation, Pension and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Applegate, D-Ohio) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (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

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

Note

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

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

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

10am room TBA June 24

Agenda: Hospital mergers and joint ventures

★ New listing

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, Oliver, Goodling, Gunderson, Henry

FAMILY PLANNING

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees: TBA

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

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees:

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

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

Additional conferees from House Energy Committee: Dingell, Markey, Collins of Ill., Lent, Rinaldo

Additional conferees from House Government Operations Committee: Conyers, English, Wise, Horton, Kyl

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

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

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

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

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: Fancell, 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: Oaker, 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

■ Revised listing

Conference continued...

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, Sarpalus, Johnson, Huckaby, Glickman, Penny, Espy, Long, Stenholm, Tallon, Coleman, Smith of Ore., Gunderson, Combest, Allard, Barrett, Nussle, Boehner, Roberts

From the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, for consideration of section 263 and title III of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Gonzalez, Annunzio, Neal, Hubbard, LaFalce, Oaker, Wylie, Leach, McCollum, Roukema

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

Other Events

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

GENETIC RESEARCH

Congressional Biomedical Research Caucus will sponsor a briefing on genetic research.

Noon B-339 Rayburn Bldg. June 22

Contact: Garth Fitzgerald at 202-225-4315

AGRICULTURE AND RUNOFF POLLUTION

Environmental and Energy Study Conference will sponsor a briefing on government programs designed to curb water pollution from agricultural runoff, which carries pesticides, animal wastes and nutrient-rich sediments into lakes and streams.

Noon H-137 Capitol Bldg. June 22

Contact: Brian Gardner at 202-226-3300

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

HIV/AIDS PANDEMIC

Congressional Task Force on International HIV/AIDS and the Human Rights Project will sponsor a three-day congressional forum on the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

8:50am to 5pm 2175 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

9am to 5pm 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

9am to 5pm 345 Cannon Bldg. June 25

Contact: Carol Vargo at 202-225-3106

PROSPECTS FOR FREE TRADE

Citizens for a Sound Economy will sponsor a conference on the prospects for free trade in an election year.

8am to 1:30pm, Hyatt Regency on Capitol Hill, 400 New Jersey Ave. N.W. June 23

Contact: Mary Beth Morris at 202-488-8200

Note: There is a \$50 charge for this event, there is no charge for congressional staff, executive branch staff and the media

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

TELECOMMUNICATIONS, ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY ISSUES

American League of Lobbyists will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear Rep. Billy Tauzin, D-La., discuss telecommunications, environmental and energy issues including the reauthorization of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) and the pending cable bill.

Noon, Hyatt Regency Capitol Hill, 400 New Jersey Ave. N.W. June 24

Contact: Patti Jo Baber at 703-960-3011

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$35 for members and \$45 for non-members. For reservations send a check, made payable to ALL, to:

American League of Lobbyists
P.O. Box 30005
Alexandria, Va. 22310

Other continued...**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.

WHISTLE-BLOWERS

The Cavallo Foundation in association with the Fund for Constitutional Government, the Government Accountability Project and the Project on Government Procurement will sponsor an event highlighting moral courage in the workplace.

5:30pm to 7:30pm, 122 Maryland Ave. N.E. **June 25**

Contact: Christy Law at 202-408-0034

Congressional highlight: Rep. John Dingell, D-Mich.

WRITING EFFECTIVE CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

Communications Skills and Congressional Relations Committees of the Government Relations Institute will sponsor a workshop on writing effective congressional testimony.

2pm to 4pm, Bellcore, 2101 L St. N.W. **June 26**

Contact: Stephanie Mensh at 202-737-6662 or Mag Gottlieb at 202-347-1222

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

Janet Allen
Women in Government Relations
1325 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Deadline is June 18

LOBBYING TECHNIQUES

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

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

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

STEEL TRADE POLICY

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

for a Multilateral Steel Agreement."

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

SUPERFUND

Natural Resources Committee of District of Columbia Bar Association will sponsor a panel discussion on damage claims for injuries to natural resources under the Superfund law.

Noon to 2pm, D.C. Bar Association meeting room, 7th floor, 1707 L St. N.W. **July 15**

Contact: 202-331-4364

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$18 for members, \$23 for non-members and \$10 for section government and public interest lawyers.

For reservations send a check, made payable to D.C. Bar, to:

Natural Resources Damage Claims Program
D.C. Bar, Sections Office
1707 L St. N.W., 6th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036-4203

Campaign Future Listings

--from Reuters

REPUBLICANS**Pat Buchanan**

Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292

June 19 (indefinitely)

In Washington, D.C.

No campaign-related events are scheduled.

Bush-Quayle

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

June 19

PRESIDENT BUSH

In California

See "Meetings Scheduled Today" section for schedule

June 20

PRESIDENT BUSH

In California and Dallas, Texas

7:30am: Boards motorcade and departs Four Seasons Hotel en route Tustin Marine Corps Air Station.

7:45am: Arrives Tustin Marine Corps Air Station and boards Marine One.

7:50am: Departs Tustin Marine Corps Air Station en route Universal City landing zone.

8:15am: Arrives Universal City landing zone and boards motorcade.

8:20am: Departs Universal City landing zone en route Universal City Hilton & Towers.

8:25am: Arrives Universal City Hilton & Towers.

8:30am to 8:55am: Attends roundtable discussion with leadership of taxpayer organizations. Pool coverage.

9am to 9:25am: Addresses Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association. Open press.

9:30am: Boards motorcade and departs Universal City Hilton & Towers en route Universal City landing zone.

9:35am: Arrives Universal City landing zone and boards Marine One.

9:40am: Departs Universal City landing zone en route El Toro Marine Corps Air Station.

10:10am: Arrives El Toro Marine Corps Air Station and boards Air Force One.

10:20am: Departs Orange County, Calif., en route Dallas, Texas.

3:15pm: Arrives Love Field, Dallas, Texas, and boards motorcade.

3:25pm: Departs Love Field en route Dallas Convention Center.

Candidates

DEMOCRATS**Jerry Brown**

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 19-22

No campaign events are scheduled.

Bill Clinton

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

June 19

In Little Rock, Ark.

See "Meetings Scheduled Today" section for schedule

June 20

In Conway, Ark.

10:45am: Gives a speech. Governor's School, Hendrix College, Staples Hall.

RON Little Rock, Ark.

June 23

In New York City

7am to 8am: Appears on ABC's Good Morning America program. Clinton will participate in a conversation with an undetermined panel.

Campaign Events *continued*...

3:45pm: Arrives Dallas Convention Center.
3:50pm to 4:20pm: Addresses Texas State Republican Convention. Open press.
4:25pm: Boards motorcade and departs Dallas Convention Center en route Love Field.
4:45pm: Arrives Love Field and boards Air Force One.
4:50pm: Departs Dallas en route Andrews AFB, Md.
8:20pm: Arrives Andrews AFB, Md.
8:30pm: Departs Andrews AFB en route Camp David, Md.
9:05pm: Arrives Camp David, Md.

INDEPENDENTS**Ross Perot**

Contact: 214-716-6500

June 19

See "Meetings Scheduled Today" section for schedule

June 20

In Boston, Mass.

1pm: Parade from City Hall Plaza to Boston Common.

2:30pm: Rally. Contact Phillip Rierdan, 508-435-0940.

June 24

In Annapolis, Md.

Noon: Meets 24 boats from throughout Maryland carry petitions. Annapolis City Dock.
Contact Anne Hallett, 410-263-8600

Status of Appropriations — Fiscal 1993

Week of June 15

FULL COMMITTEE

House: 225-2771; Senate: 224-3471

House full cmte markup scheduled:

Agenda (tentative):

Agriculture	June 25
Defense	date TBA
Interior	June 29
Transportation	July 1
Treasury/Postal Service	June 25

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
House subcmte markup completed:	June 18
Senate subcmte hearings completed:	June 3

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7236

House subcmte markup completed:	June 17
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ENERGY & WATER DEVELOPMENT

House: 225-3421; Senate: 224-7260

Bill No:	HR 5373
House subcmte hearings completed:	March 31
House subcmte markup completed:	June 4
House full cmte markup completed:	June 11
	H Rpt 102-556

FOREIGN OPERATIONS

House: 225-2041; Senate: 224-7209

Bill No:	HR 5368
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House subcmte hearings completed:	May 1
House subcmte markup completed:	June 12
House full cmte markup completed:	June 18

INTERIOR

House: 225-3081; Senate: 224-7233

House subcmte hearings completed:	May 27
House subcmte markup completed:	June 16
Senate subcmte hearings scheduled:	June 18

LABOR/HHS/EDUC

House: 225-3508; Senate: 224-7283

House subcmte hearings completed:	May 19
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LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7338

Bill No:	HR 5427
House subcmte hearings completed:	January 29
House subcmte markup completed:	June 10
House full cmte markup completed:	June 18
	H Rpt 102-579
Senate subcmte hearings completed:	February 7

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

House: 225-3047; Senate: 224-7255

Bill No:	HR 5428
House subcmte hearings completed:	March 25
House subcmte markup completed:	June 11
House full cmte markup completed:	June 18
	H Rpt 102-580

TRANSPORTATION

House: 225-2141; Senate: 224-7245

House subcmte hearings completed:	April 30
House subcmte markup completed:	June 11
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
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House Floor Action

Week of June 15

Monday, June 15:

Under suspension of the rules

- HConRes 331 **Authorizing use of Capitol Grounds for the Soapbox Derby** passed by voice
- HR 4548 **Authorize Contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities** passed by voice
- HR 4999 **Additional appropriations for implementation of the development plan for Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House** passed by voice

Tuesday, June 16:

- S 250 **National Voter Registration Act of 1991**
Rule, H Res 480, providing for consideration of S 250, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 264-157
Earlier, the House agreed to order the previous question on the rule, by yeay-nay vote: 256-163
SOLOMON, R-N.Y., point of order against consideration of the rule, H Res 480, on the grounds that it violates both House rule XI, clause 4(b) and House rule XLIII, overruled
Subsequently a WHEAT, D-Mo., motion to table the SOLOMON appeal of the ruling of the Chair on the SOLOMON motion, was agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 250-158
THOMAS, R-Calif., substitute amendment, to authorize a total of \$25 million for fiscal years 1992 through 1994 for a block grant to states to support, facilitate and enhance voter registration, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 133-290
S 250 passed in House by yeay-nay vote: 268-153.
S 250 is now cleared for the president.
- HR 2660 **Authorization of appropriations for the United States Holocaust Memorial Council**
HR 2660, as amended, passed in House by voice vote, under suspension of the rules (two-thirds vote required). (title amended).

Wednesday, June 17:

- HR 5373 **Making appropriations for energy and water development for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993**
Rule, H Res 485, waiving certain points of order during consideration of HR 5373, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 377-44
BURTON, R-Ind., amendment, to strike \$110,000 from the preconstruction engineering and design funds for the Casino Beach, Ill., project, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 104-323
BURTON, Ind., amendment, to strike \$800,000 from the preconstruction engineering and design funds for the Chicago Shoreline, Ill., project, rejected by voice vote
BURTON, R-Ind., amendment, to strike \$2,800,000 from the preconstruction and design for the Red River Waterway, between Shreveport, La., and Daingerfield, Texas, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 105-319

SCHUMER, D-N.Y., amendment, to provide \$4,300,000 for the Reduced Enrichment Research Test Reactor Program for fuel development and technical assistance, agreed to by voice vote

WOLPE, D-Mich., amendment, to strike the funding for the advanced liquid metal reactor, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 141-282

WALKER, R-Pa., amendment, to provide \$6,000,000 for hydrogen research, agreed to by voice vote

WOLPE, D-Mich., amendment, to strike \$26,000,000 for the SP-100 space reactor program, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 189-233

BROWN, D-Calif., amendment, to provide that no funds made available by the bill may be obligated for the superconducting super collider after June 1, 1993, unless commitments for contributions from international sources meet or exceed a total of \$650,000,000 for fiscal years 1993, 1994 and 1995, agreed to by voice vote

ROEMER, D-Ind., amendment, to state that no appropriated funds be used to allow any country, with a financial obligation to the United States, to be allowed to exchange or supplant, in any way, machinery, equipment, technology or other substitute in lieu of their monetary obligation, withdrawn by unanimous consent

ECKART, D-Ohio, amendment, to eliminate all funding for continuation of the superconducting super collider project, for which the bill earmarks a total of \$484 million, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 232-181

PENNY, D-Minn., amendment, to reduce the Energy Department's departmental administration account by 5 percent or about \$21 million, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 404-12

On a subsequent WALKER, R-Pa., demand for a separate vote, the above PENNY amendment was agreed to by voice vote

SKEEN, R-N.M., motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Appropriations, rejected by voice vote

HR 5373, as amended, passed in House by yeay-nay vote: 365-51

HR 5099 **Central Valley Project Improvement Act**

Rule, H Res 486, providing for consideration of HR 5099, agreed to by voice vote
[Continued June 18]

HR 4996 **Jobs Through Exports Act of 1992**

Rule, H Res 489, providing for consideration of HR 4996, agreed to by voice vote

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, pending at recess

GEJDENSON, D-Conn., amendment, to the above FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to make technical changes and clarifications to allow the use of local currencies for direct loans and investments by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, pending at recess

[Continued]

Thursday, June 18:

- HConRes 192 **Establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress** passed 412-4

House continued...

HR 5132 CONFERENCE REPORT: dire emergency supplemental appropriations agreed to 249-168

Friday, June 19:

Not in session

Week of June 22

Monday, June 22:

Convenes at Noon

HR 5055 Coast Guard reauthorization begin consideration

Under suspension of the rules:

HR 1624 Provide for the establishment of a memorial on federal land within the District of Columbia to honor members of the armed forces who served in World War II, and to express the sense of congress concerning the U.S. participation in that conflict begin consideration

HR 3711 Authorize grants to be made to state programs designed to provide resources to persons who are nutritionally at risk in the form of fresh nutritious unprepared foods begin consideration

HR 5412 Authorize the transfer of certain naval vessels to Greece and Taiwan begin consideration

HR— Designate Robert Roe federal building begin consideration

HR— Designate John Paul Hammerschmidt federal building begin consideration

S 2703 Authorize the president to appoint General Thomas C. Richards to the Office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration begin consideration

HR 4771 Designate the facility of the U.S. Postal Service being constructed at FM 1098 Loop in Prairie View, Texas, as the "Esel D. Bell Post Office Building" begin consideration

HR 4786 Designate the facility of the U.S. Postal Service located at 20 South Main in Beaver City, Utah, as the "Abe Murdock United States Post Office Building" begin consideration

HR 4505 Designate the facility of the U.S. Postal Service located at 20 South Montgomery Street in Trenton, N.J., as the "Arthur J. Holland United States Post Office Building" begin consideration

Tuesday, June 23:

HR 5427 Legislative branch appropriations begin consideration

Wednesday, June 24:

HR 5368 Foreign operations appropriations begin consideration

HR 5428 Military Construction appropriations begin consideration

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

HR 5095 Authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the U.S. government and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System begin consideration

HR 3247 Establish a National Undersea Research Program within the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration begin consideration

HR 4310 Reauthorize and improve the national marine sanctuaries program, and to establish the Coastal Sanctuary Foundation begin consideration

HR 2637 Transfer ownership of the Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP) in New Mexico from the Interior Department to the Energy Department begin consideration

Senate Floor Action

Week of June 15

Monday, June 15:

- 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 14]
 LABOR & HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE modified substitute amendment, pending at recess.
 [Continued June 16]

Tuesday, June 16:

- SRes 315 **Congratulate the Chicago Bulls on winning the 1992 National Basketball Association Championship** agreed to by voice vote
- 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 15]
 LABOR & HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE modified substitute amendment, pending at recess
 MITCHELL, D-Maine, motion to close debate (cloture motion) on consideration of the LABOR & HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE modified substitute amendment to S 55, rejected by yea-nay vote: 57-42 (3/5's vote required)
Cloture not having been invoked, S 55 was pulled from Senate consideration.
- S 1985 **National Bankruptcy Review Commission Act**
 JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, pending at recess
 HEFLIN, D-Ala., substitute amendment no. 2424, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, agreed to by voice vote
 GRAHAM, D-Fla., modified amendment no. 2425, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to clarify the treatment of employee-sponsored pension plans, agreed to by voice vote
 DANFORTH, R-Mo., modified amendment no. 2426, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to express the sense of the Senate that public officials and candidates for public office should make proposals and engage in discussion on reducing the deficit, and that the candidates for president should agree to a formal discussion that focuses entirely on the federal budget deficit, pending at recess
 HEFLIN, D-Ala., unanimous consent request providing for further consideration of the bill, the pending DANFORTH amendment and certain amendments to be proposed, on Wednesday, June 17, 1992, agreed to by unanimous consent
 [Continued June 17]

- SJRes 310 **Designate August 1, 1992, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day."** passed by unanimous consent

Wednesday, June 17:

- S 1985 **National Bankruptcy Review Commission Act**
 [Continued from June 16]
 JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, as amended, agreed to by voice vote
 SANFORD, D-N.C., amendment no. 2427, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to make technical corrections to section 205, relating to small business provisions, agreed to by voice vote
 SANFORD, D-N.C., amendment no. 2428, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to clarify the interpretation of section 206, which sets out the circumstances in which a bankruptcy judge can issue injunctive relief with respect to tort claims against the debtor in certain circumstances, agreed to by voice vote
 HEFLIN, D-Ala., amendment no. 2429, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to strike section 206(g)(9), and to make certain technical corrections, agreed to by voice vote.
 DANFORTH, R-Mo., modified amendment no. 2426, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to express the sense of the Senate that public officials and candidates for public office should make proposals and engage in discussion on reducing the deficit, and that the candidates for president should agree to a formal discussion that focuses entirely on the federal budget deficit, as amended, agreed to by yea-nay vote: 65-32
 MITCHELL, D-Maine, substitute amendment no. 2430, to the above DANFORTH amendment no. 2426, agreed to by voice vote
 S 1985, as amended, passed in Senate by yea-nay vote: 97-0
- S 1623 **Audio Home Recording Act of 1991**
 JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, as amended, agreed to by voice vote
 RIEGLE, D-Mich. (for DECONCINI, D-Ariz., and HATCH, R-Utah), substitute amendment no. 2431, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE substitute amendment, agreed to by voice vote.
 S 1623, as amended, passed in Senate by voice vote.

Thursday, June 18:

- HR 5132 **CONFERENCE REPORT: dire emergency supplemental appropriations** began consideration

Friday, June 19:

Schedule uncertain

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--- Friday --- June 19, 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

MEN OF THE PEOPLE

Bush comes out of White House, Perot off TV screen to CA events with live voters.

BUSH revives "Ask George Bush" at recycling firm. (#8)

PEROT's "long on homilies but short on substance" orations give ralliers what they came for. Orange Co. hears message of racial healing. (#3)

GUEST OF PRESIDENTS & KINGS

Clinton stages photo-op with Russia's Boris. (#6) Chats up CNN's Larry. (#7)

NO RELIEF: Jackson sees Clinton "character flaw." (#5)

"COMPLETE AND TOTAL IRRITATION"

Marilyn Quayle speaks out on press and the Spud Scud. (#9)

PARTY CRASHERS

Heath on CO ballot. (#11)
IN Gov. nominee almost quits
GOP ticket over AG nod. (#14)

12TH AMENDMENT FEARS GROW

HOTLINE INDEX Panel projects 3-way race will go to the House (#1). Pledge pressure for Reps.; Const. convention? (#2)

SPOTLIGHT

MURPHY SOULJAH

Two-party politics are a battle for the middle. Is a three-way race the same? Suddenly those with "nowhere else to go" have somewhere else to go.

Has Bill Clinton adopted his own reverse version of an unthinkable Murphy Brown strategy? And not just in getting press by singling out a target. When Quayle attacked the TV anchor, was he securing his base for a 3-way race while risking offense to the middle? When Clinton attacked Sister Souljah, was he risking offense to his base while reaching out to the great middle?

Editorials back Clinton (#10) -- but Jackson fumes (#5) -- and Perot's stump language holds door open (#3). Stay tuned.

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

"I came out of professional curiosity.

I've never seen a snake oil salesman before."

-- Dan Schnur, Communications Dir. for CA Gov. Pete Wilson (R),
at Perot's Sacramento event, N.Y. TIMES, 6/19. (#3)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: AZ could be "national battle-zone" if enviros get property rights measure on the ballot.
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Congress passes an urban aid bill that would provide 360,000 summer jobs for youth.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: FOCA clears first hurdle -- passes House Judic. subcommittee, 5-3; full committee vote next week.
FROM TODAY'S HEALTH LINE: House Dems may reach consensus on reform; new compromise plan includes national spending cap.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

HOTLINE INDEX: Panel says it is headed for the House. (#1)
THE HOUSE PICKS THE PRESIDENT: What to do, what to do. (#2)
PEROT: Preaching to the faithful in California. (#3)
PEROT: Media buys, platform, statelines, etc. (#4)
CLINTON: Jackson says remarks show "character flaw." (#5)
CLINTON: "My what a young man you are." (#6)
CLINTON: Spends an hour at Perot's birthplace. (#7)
BUSH: California trip draws protest. (#8)
QUAYLE: Marilyn "irritated" over Spud Scud. (#9)

HOW'S IT PLAYIN'

CLINTON AND SISTER SOULJAH: Editorial sampler. (#10)

SENATE WATCH

CO: Heath qualifies as expected; criticizes Wirth. (#11)

ON THE HOUSE

REDISTRICTING UPDATE: MA. (#12)
HOUSE RACE BRIEFING: AZ, MD, ME, MA, SC. (#13)

GOVERNORS '92

IN: Pearson threat to drop off ticket not heeded. (#14)

TV MONITOR (#15)

???? OVERLOOKED ???? ?

Perot's AZ finance chair, George Leonard, is former
Exec. VP of MeraBank, a failed S&L (ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 6/19).

*1 HOTLINE INDEX: PANEL SAYS IT IS HEADED FOR THE HOUSE

The INDEX is the HOTLINE's equivalent of the college coaches' poll -- a periodic composite rating of the '92 race by a bipartisan panel of 50 HOTLINE Contributing Analysts.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE PROJECTIONS: INDEX panelists this week projected state-by-state showings of Bush, Clinton and Perot in the Electoral College. The composite panel projected that Bush will win 28 states with 222 Electors, Clinton will win 18 states (and DC) with 214 Electors, and Perot will win 4 states with 102 Electors. That result would mean none of the three would win a majority of 270 in the Electoral College and the president would be chosen by the House of Representatives under the 12th Amendment. The full panel projected the states as follows:

BUSH: AL, AK, AZ, CT, DE, FL, GA, ID, IN, KS, ME, MS, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NM, NC, ND, OH, SC, SD, UT, VT, VA, WY.

CLINTON: AR, DC, HI, IL, IA, KY, LA, MD, MA, MI, MN, NY, OR, PA, RI, TN, WA, WV, WI.

PEROT: CA, CO, OK, TX.

Each group of party panelists also forecast that the race would go into the House: The Dems thought it would be Bush 221 electors, Clinton 206, and Perot 111; the GOPers thought it would be Bush 249, Clinton 195 and Perot 94. The first Electoral Map of the INDEX Panel last month showed Bush winning outright with 318 Electors, Clinton 185 and Perot 35 (see HOTLINE 5/19).

VICE-PRESIDENT PICKS: Not one INDEX panelist thought Bush would drop Quayle. Potential Clinton choices ranged widely, with surprising strength for CA Treasurer/Jerry's sister Kathleen Brown and TX Gov. Ann Richards (Jerry Austin: "Double schneid -- TX + women"). There was a widespread assumption that Jeane Kirkpatrick would be Perot's VP. One new name mentioned for Perot -- Walter Cronkite.

LABOR DAY TRIAL HEAT: The INDEX Panel was asked to predict what the polls would look like on Labor Day -- and why. Most saw a close 3-way race (E.g., Dem Karl Struble sees it 32%-30%-30% with Perot ahead). Some in both parties saw Perot fading: Dem Terry Michael saw him falling to 18% with the other two tied at 36%; Dick Dresner (R) saw Bush at 37%, Clinton at 35% and Perot dropping to 16%. And some in both parties saw him continuing to ride high: Dem Mark Squier saw it Perot 38%, Bush 32%, Clinton 23% ("because Perot's convention will be the most successful one of the summer"); GOP's Robert Goodman predicts Perot 43%, Bush 35%, Clinton 22% ("Bush will adopt 'fighting underdog' role ... Clinton to be left playing sax at jazz club on NY's Upper West Side").

NEW HOUSE: Panel estimates of new Members of the House of Representatives in January 1993 range from 107 to 250 -- with the average at 136 first-time Members.

*2 THE HOUSE PICKS A PRESIDENT: WHAT TO DO, WHAT TO DO

"WHAT IF" SCENARIOS: Daily accounts are appearing of what Sen. David Pryor (D-AR) calls "a Constitutional calamity" ("GMA" ABC, 6/19). The "calamity" could occur under the 12th Amendment

process of electing a president if no one gets an Electoral College majority: The House picks the president from the top 3, with one vote per state, and 26 votes to win; the Senate picks the VP from the top 2, with one vote per Senator, and 51 votes to win. BOSTON GLOBE's Robinson offers a scenario where neither the House nor Senate can act by 1/20/93 and Speaker Tom Foley is sworn in under the laws of succession (6/18). AP's Tom Raum's version assumes Foley wouldn't want to resign from the House for a temporary job, and sees next-in-line Sen. Pres. Pro-Tem Robert Byrd (D-WV) sworn in (ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 6/17). GREENVILLE NEWS' Dan Hoover has a version that assumes the GOP wins a Senate majority in November, making new Senate Pro-Tem Strom Thurmond (R-SC), at age 90, sworn in as president (6/14).

ADVANCE PROMISES: House Members and candidates are far from a uniform answer when pressed how they would vote under such a circumstance. A poll of TX incumbents and challengers shows few ready to make the call: Rep. Jack Fields (R-TX) promised to vote as his congressional district voted but others hedged. Rep. Mike Andrews (D-TX), for example, wouldn't "focus on unlikely hypothetical electoral possibilities" (HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 6/18). A survey of SC members produces a range of answers: Rep. Robin Tallon (D) and Rep. Arthur Ravenel (R) would vote as their CDs; Rep. Liz Patterson (D) would "look at" all options; Rep. John Spratt (D): "I don't think anybody can make that decision until he's seen the outcome in November" (GREENVILLE NEWS, 6/14). Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY) strongly advocates that everybody vote for the winner of the nat'l popular vote ("GMA," ABC 6/19). So does Rep. Tim Penny (D-MN), while Rep. Ron LaFalce (D-NY) feels Members must be able to hear their own conscience (W.S. JOURNAL, 6/19). A ROLL CALL editorial warns "any Member who announces his intentions in advance ... is making an enormous mistake. The permutations are too numerous. Say, for example, that you're a Democrat who has pledged to back the winner of a plurality of the popular vote nationwide (in this case, presume it's Bush), but in your own district Bush runs third with 10% of the vote behind Clinton with 60% and Perot with 30% ... Or consider a circumstance in which important new information comes out about a candidate in the two months between the election and the House balloting" (6/18). HOTLINE publisher Doug Bailey: "If the public perceives that it might go to the House, then their vote for Congress is going to be tied to their vote for president ... If the Democrats play that wrong, they could lose the House" ("Charlie Rose Show," WNET-TV, 6/17; LEARNING CHANNEL, 6/18).

CHANGING RULES MID-GAME: S.F. EXAMINER's Chris Matthews said the House picking a president "is a doomsday scenario, when the American people have their choice denied to them because of a wrinkle in the Constitution" ("GMA," ABC, 6/19). GOP Senators Gorton (WA), McConnell (KY), Bond (MO), Warner (VA), Stevens (AK) and Seymour (CA) have introduced a Constitutional amendment to set up a runoff election between the top two in the Electoral College; the runoff would occur three weeks after the general election. Rep. Paul Gilmour (R-OH) is sponsoring a similar bill in the House. But "practically no one" thinks the Constitution can be changed by election day (ROLL CALL, 6/18). McConnell doesn't think "we ought to scrap the Electoral College itself, because it guarantees that minorities and small states are still part of the system" ("GMA," ABC, 6/19). But OH state Sen. Paul Pfeifer (D) is launching a call for a constitutional convention to do just that. While not wanting to have it be seen as a stop-Perot act, he admits it could do that if it happened immediately.

He has introduced his amendment in OH, and 2/3 of the state legislatures would have to adopt it before a national convention could happen. Pfeifer anticipates using the July meeting of the National Council of State Legislatures in Cincinnati to begin a national movement (Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 6/18).

*3 PEROT: PREACHING TO THE FAITHFUL IN CALIFORNIA

"In a tangy speech long on homilies but short on substance, Ross Perot told thousands of supporters ... they are about to embark on a 'long, hot march' guided by the 'pioneer's creed' by which 'the cowards never started, the weak died on the way, and only the strong survived'" (Trounstein, S.J. MERCURY NEWS, 6/19). Addressing a crowd from the steps of the Capitol at Sacramento, "Perot called for the nation to rebuild its industrial job base and deteriorating public works systems. He did not put forth any specific proposals for doing so, however, offering instead a series of sometimes familiar sound-bite slogans, homilies and home-spun wisdom" (Roberts, S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/19). The "vagueness did not seem to bother the crowd, which cheered ... lustily when he declared it is time to 'take out the trash and clean out the barn'" (Lehigh, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/19). Perot told crowds in both Sacramento and later in Irvine that a signature-gathering drive to place his name on the CA ballot "has been a striking success, with volunteers collecting ten times the number of signatures needed." While Perot and advisers have "promised an unconventional campaign," the CA rallies "had all the trappings of off-the-shelf political rallies ... Perot himself dished up a heaping bowl of political oratory, and the crowds loved it" (Broder/Cheevers, L.A. TIMES, 6/19). "For a moment, anyway, the campaign looked almost conventional -- and sounded like it as well -- the satiric jabs at opponents, the unmeasured praise for supporters, the repeated punchlines of the stump speech" (Von Drehle/Yang, W. POST, 6/19). Perot "mocked" Bush and Clinton's efforts "to match his media-savvy, populist appeal": "Both candidates have come up with ways to actually communicate and talk directly with the people and listen to the people over television talk shows. Fascinating. Now hold your hat here -- the president had a press conference. Why? Governor Clinton is on television playing the saxophone. And Vice President Quayle is trying to figure out how to spell potato" (S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/19). In Irvine, Perot joked about the difficulty of adding petitions county-by-county: "I tried to get Dan Quayle to come out and add it up. Now, you know, to his credit, he wanted to do it. But he's still working on his spelling and couldn't come" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/19). USA TODAY reports the crowd of 6,000 in Sacramento "was the biggest since President Reagan spoke on the Capitol grounds in 1984" (6/19). Balto. SUN's Germond calls the rallies a "warning shot" to Bush and Clinton of Perot's seriousness in CA (6/19). Perot "was briefly flustered by a local group of protesters chanting 'talk about the issues.' He seemed to lose his place in his remarks as they shouted, and failed to toss them a barb in his usual manner" (Firestone, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/19).

RACIAL INCLUSION: N.Y. TIMES header: "Perot Makes Plea for Racial Harmony." Steven Holmes writes before an "overwhelmingly white crowd" in Orange Co., Perot "made his most explicit plea for racial harmony since he first began flirting" with running. Perot: "We're a nation of many races and many creeds. ... That is a strength, not a weakness. ... Every time we have an election we turn it into a weakness" (6/19). Perot: "We've got to stay

together, we've got to stay united. We've got to get rid of hate. We've got to get rid of stress between the races" (S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/19). Perot CA media coordinator Jack Brodbeck said the campaign is "trying to enlist more minority support": "We know this is an important outreach we have to work on. The more we interact with minority communities, the more they like the idea of empowerment" (L.A. TIMES, 6/19). State Sen. Diane Watson (D), from South Central L.A.: "We still don't feel comfortable with guys with Southern twangs" (USA TODAY, 6/19).

PARTY POOPERS: CA Dem chair Phil Angelides and Dan Schnur, communications dir. for Gov. Pete Wilson (R), both were present at the Perot events. Angelides said "there were now 'two [GOP] candidates in the race,'" calling Perot a "placeholder" for voters tired of Bush but who "will eventually turn to Clinton": "Notwithstanding the fact that Perot says he's a populist, he's a corporate billionaire from Texas who spent 29 years around Reagan and Nixon" (S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/19). Schnur: "I came out of professional curiosity. I've never seen a snake oil salesman before" (N.Y. TIMES, 6/19). One "high-ranking GOP strategist": "Is 'Mussolini-esque' a word?" (MERCURY NEWS, 6/19).

KOPP'S PLEA: State Sen. Quentin Kopp (I), weighing an independent bid against Rep. Barbara Boxer (D) and ex-TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn (R) for the Senate "A" seat, "was one of the few legislators to receive a personal audience" with Perot. Kopp predicted Perot will carry CA "irrespective of whether or not he wins the presidency." Kopp "said he talked to Ed Rollins ... about how the two independent candidacies might benefit each other." Kopp "said he is 'getting really close' to a decision" (Roberts, S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/19).

TV: CBS' Bill Lagattuta: "Perot was wowing them in ultra-conservative Orange County, which in this mixed up election year may actually be up for grabs. ... Perot is proving all points on the political map are now fair game, so much so that when ... Bush visits Reagan country this week, he'll find himself doing the unthinkable, actually hustling for votes" (6/18). ABC's Morton Dean: "It was obvious Perot is not listening to those who criticize him for not saying enough about the issues. Today there was less substance than usual" (6/18). NBC's Lisa Myers: "Not since the days of Ronald Reagan has Sacramento seen this kind of crowd at a political event, and Ross Perot did not disappoint them. He ridiculed his opponents struggles to deal with him and his rebellious supporters." Myers on the media: "A senior Perot advisor says Quayle's attacks aren't hurting but unflattering media accounts are." GOP strategist Steve Merksamer on Perot: "He's the cowboy on the white horse who's going to get all the bad guys out of town" (6/18).

*4 PEROT: "AGGRESSIVE" MEDIA BUY PLANNED; PLATFORM, STATELINES

CBS' Scott Pelley reported Perot will start an ad campaign "in about three weeks. We are told that it will be a very aggressive ad campaign." Also, a Perot platform reportedly be ready in "about two weeks." While Perot has been "a relative recluse," the "real work of the campaign is going on behind the scenes where Perot and a small team of specialists are drafting a blueprint for America." Handgun Control's Charles Orasin, who briefed the Perot camp last month: "My impression was they had no real view of the world. They were frankly looking for a comprehensive approach that could include a variety of options that neither the Congress nor the White House have considered to date." League of Conservation Voters' Jim Maddy, who briefed

them the environment 6/14: "They don't have the constituency in the sense that they don't have party leaders that they're reporting to and they don't have donors. They're free to seek opinions from people on the basis of interest and expertise, not necessarily on the basis of who can buy their way into an audience with the candidate." Pelley noted that either Perot or his campaign have received advice from Richard Nixon and Jesse Jackson, the American Petroleum Institute and the Sierra Club, the NRA and Handgun Control. Brookings' Stephen Hess: "As long as he can keep it vague, everyone can read their own ideology into Ross Perot. Soon we're going to find out what Ross Perot's ideology is" ("CBS This Morning," 6/19).

ON BOARD? W. POST's Romano reports Dems "are buzzing (and a bit stunned) that well-known partisan pollster Paul Maslin may be hitching his star to Mr. Perot's" (6/19). Both W. POST and USA TODAY report the hiring of ex-Carter appointments sec. Tim Kraft. USA TODAY notes Kraft and ex-Quayle aide Joe Canzeri will both report to co-manager Ed Rollins (6/19).

VEEP WATCH: Gov. Joan Finney (D-KS) "expressed surprise" at Perot's strength in KS "and said she would not rule out becoming [his] running mate if he formally entered the presidential race and asked her." Finney: "I'll continue to watch the situation.

... This is an extremely unusual year. What we're witnessing is the reaction of the people, and I'm very pleased to see the alertness of the public" (WICHITA EAGLE, 6/18).

STATELINES: AR -- Officials of Perot's campaign in Dallas "ordered" the Perot office in Northwest AR closed "following revelations that two volunteers have apparent ties to the white supremacist movement." AR Perot chair John Arens "said the campaign has 'no room' for white supremacist views" (Lemons, DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 6/19). IL -- All petitions "have been recalled by the campaign ... and the drive to gather signatures from across the state might have to start all over again." IL Citizens for Perot exec. dir. Ted Pincus said the recall was due to "doubts about the loyalty of several electors whose names appear on the documents." Under IL law, petitions must include the 23 electors who would be Perot delegates to the Electoral College. The original electors were appointed by ex-IL Perot chair Ronald Scoma, who has since stepped down. Pincus said the cmte wanted to replace four of the electors: "There is some doubt in Dallas as to whether they can be trusted." Organizers are required to submit 25,000 signatures by 8/3. Pincus said already more than four times that amount have been collected in the original drive, which began 5/5 (Murray, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 6/18). MA -- "Militant gay-rights groups" ACT UP and Queer Nation "are planning to stage counter-demonstrations" during Perot's Boston visit tomorrow. In addition pro-life groups, led by Operation Rescue and MA Citizens for Life are also planning demonstrations on Boston Common. Perot organizers "doubt the protests will cause a major disruption" of the parade and rally, expected to draw 30,000 (Cafasso, BOSTON HERALD, 6/18). AZ -- At the gathering at the opening of the Perot AZ HQ: "Overwhelmingly white, mostly middle age or older, the crowd was a mix of Republicans and Democrats. Many appeared fairly well off financially." Some backers "were miffed" that AZ law bars Perot petition signers from voting in the 8/8 primary. AZ Perot chair Walter Peters announced the state finance chair, George Leonard, ex-Exec. VP of MeraBank, a failed S&L (ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 6/19). TX -- TX GOPers opened their state convention "taking aim" at Perot. TX GOP chair Fred Meyer: "There's other countries around

the world, during times of, perhaps, concern, have made decisions to empower people like that -- much to their regret." Asked for an examples, Meyer cited Mussolini (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/19).

HE'S EVERYWHERE: W.S. JOURNAL reports, "A Tex-Mex restaurant sells a Perot Taco: 'Nobody's sure what's in it, but everybody loves it anyway'" (6/19). MIAMI HERALD reports 7-year-old Blake Ross won the kid's division of the 6th annual Sensational Roach Art Contest by pasting a picture of Ross Perot's head on a dead cockroach. Title: "Roach Perot." The young Ross moves on to the nat'l competition in NYC (6/18). L.A. TIMES reports the Mexican stock market "plunged" 6% on 6/17 -- "it's biggest drop in nearly three years" -- partially because investors were "worried" about Perot's opposition to the free trade agreement "could doom the pact" (6/18).

*5 CLINTON: JACKSON: SISTER REMARKS SHOW CHARACTER FLAW

Jesse Jackson charged "that in a clumsy bid for the backing of alienated white voters" Clinton "again exposed a character flaw": "He seems to have an obsession to prove what doesn't need to be proved. They think they've won some kind of victory. But you don't win by splitting your base, and this won't help them win." While Jackson "did not directly accuse" Clinton of racism he said the Sister Souljah incident was part of "a pattern of incidents" and called Clinton's behavior "Machiavellian" -- designed "purely to appeal to conservative whites by containing Jackson and isolating Jackson." Asked whether he would be willing to meet with Clinton to make amends, as suggested by Mario Cuomo, Jackson said he "saw no reason" to do so. Clinton communications dir. George Stephanopolous said Clinton has no plans for such a meeting either (Apple, N.Y. TIMES, 6/19). Dukakis '88 manager Susan Estrich: "There's an awareness now that accommodation with Jackson doesn't work very well anyway." Dem strategist Brian Lunde: "It's about time someone ... is challenging the myth that Jackson controls the black vote" (USA TODAY, 6/19). L.A. SENTINEL's Mitchell reports Jackson "charged Clinton with using the civil rights function as a springboard to demonstrate to conservative White voters that he can be tough. He chastised [Clinton] for erroneously quoting the singer and taking the lyrics out of context" (6/18). WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN's Harris reports, "From snubbing the [black press' Nat'l Newspaper Publishers Assn] in Baltimore to attacking Sister Souljah ... [Clinton] has created a schism in the Black community" (6/20). "Among the highlights" of the black press' Nat'l Newspapers Publisher Assn conventions was a "stern denouncement" of Clinton (Shabazz, WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN, 6/20 issue).

TV: Jimmy Carter responded to Jackson's assertion of a Clinton character flaw: "Jackson is wrong, and so is Sister Souljah ... I don't blame Bill Clinton at all. I admire him for being brave enough to say it in that particular forum." Carter on whether Clinton is "pandering" to whites: "I don't see it that way. Jesse Jackson has to be in the news ... it's not helping him or the people who look to him for leadership to be trying to savage [Clinton]." On whether Clinton will be hurt by not trying to "placate" Jackson: "I don't think so ... Eventually, no matter what ... Jackson might say to get publicity, most of the African-American citizens and voters and those of other minority groups are very likely to vote Democratic" ("CBS This Morning," 6/19).

OPINIONS ... EVERYONE'S GOT ONE: Wm F. Buckley writes, "Probably Clinton will be proved correct in his stand, and the

measure of that correctness will be the extent to which he is protested by the black community" (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 6/19). USA TODAY's Barbara Reynolds writes, "Clinton's act ignores that some people feel when whites insult leaders like Jackson, America's best, there is little mystery in what's in store for those on the local rungs" (6/19). Columnist Armstrong Williams writes, "Somebody's out of touch all right, but it wasn't Mr. Clinton. Following a campaign in which he pandered to one special interest group after the other, it was refreshing for him to inject a little common sense into the Rainbow Coalition's program" (WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN, 6/20). NYC Mayor David Dinkins: "Clinton chose the wrong forum and the wrong time to express his views" (N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/17). Balto. EVENING SUN's Wiley Hall 3rd writes, "Clinton was mostly right, but not entirely. Jesse Jackson was mostly wrong, but not egregiously so. And Sister Souljah may have made one or two good points but most of her remarks were so silly and misinformed that anything good she may have said was rendered entirely irrelevant" (6/18).

HERE, THERE, EVERYWHERE: Sister Souljah appears on CNN's "Larry King Live" and The Learning Channel's "The Charlie Rose Show" tonight (aired on WNET-TV in NY last night). She will be interviewed on BET's live "Teen Summit" 6/20 and 6/21 she will be interviewed live on NBC's "Sunday Today." Clinton will be on C-SPAN today at 2:00p while he hosts a talk radio show at KARN in Little Rock (W. POST, 6/19).

WHERE THE SISTER STANDS: HARTFORD COURANT's Roger Catlin looks at Souljah's "platform" as found on her album, "360 Degrees." On destruction of the white race: "If my survival means your total destruction, then so be it." On white women: "They try to say that they're different than their white men, gain your sympathy and then want to sleep with your black man." On the Peace Corps: "Honkies join the Peace Corps so they can spy on other people's culture and make money off the things they learn." On her own racism: "Am I a black racist? No! Not unless you believe the boogeyman. There is no such thing as a black racist!" (Balto. SUN, 6/19).

*6 CLINTON: "MY WHAT A YOUNG MAN YOU ARE"

VELTSIN MEETING: "Trying to enhance his foreign policy credentials and cut a presidential profile," Clinton briefly met with Russia pres. Boris Yeltsin, "but Yeltsin's initial remarks could not have been what Clinton was seeking. As the two greeted and shook hands" Yeltsin "marveled" at Clinton's age (Feeney, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/19). Yeltsin, 61: "My what a young man you are." Clinton, 45: "But I'm getting older every day." Clinton "struck a bipartisan note" after the meeting saying, "We should join ranks and cross party lines to pass" the Russian aid package (Black, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/19). The meeting ran 10 minutes longer than expected, "causing Yeltsin to run late at the [WH], where the Bushes were kept waiting on the front steps" (Fulwood, L.A. TIMES, 6/18). Bush "brushed off" Clinton's meeting "in somewhat muddled Bushspeak, as part of the 'annual four-year dance'" (Orin, N.Y. POST, 6/19). Clinton on Yeltsin: "He had a pretty interesting, a pretty tough childhood and his political obituary's been written several times. The same thing's happened for me. So I admire him a lot" (N.Y. TIMES, 6/19).

MIDDLE CLASS TAX CUT: "Political eyebrows rose when word came out" the Dem platform doesn't include the middle class tax cut "pushed strongly" by Clinton in the early primaries" (USA TODAY, 6/19). Clinton: "I'm not backing away from the idea of

tax fairness. ... The press and my political opponents always made more of the middle class tax cut than I ever did in my speeches" (L.A. TIMES, 6/19). Clinton: "I'm going home to work for the next two days on this revised plan on how we're going to update and change it" (W. POST, 6/19).

CONVENTION MENTION: "Though still preaching unity," Tsongas platform rep. Ted Van Dyk said Tsongas delegates would "join forces" with Brown "if necessary to force major [Dem] platform concessions": "If Sen. Tsongas feels strongly that any redraft does not meet his specification then we will attempt to bring a minority plank to the floor." Tsongas and Brown together could garner the 37 votes from the 186-member platform cmte to get such a plank to the floor (Mathis, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 6/19). Clinton convention floor chief John Hart said Tsongas is "fighting old battles. Make no mistake about it. It's not going to be a Tsongas platform" (N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/19). Clinton "faces unexpected diversions" at the convention including women activists pressing for "unprecedented roles" showcasing the female Senate nominees and Jesse Jackson "promises a huge New York march" the Saturday before. Clinton aides "concede" their plans for a "smooth convention" are "far behind." AIDS activists plan a rally as well (W.S. JOURNAL, 6/19). N.Y. TIMES reports Clinton plans to leave "his hotel suite" before the final night of the convention to visit neighboring states and "boost his visibility" (6/19).

MONEY PROBLEMS: N.Y. TIMES' Labaton reports the Clinton campaign is \$2.7 million in debt, and in addition to a "grueling schedule of fundraisers this month," the shortage "prompted the [DNC] to advance ... \$400,000 to pay for" the TV appearance last Friday. GOPers say the payment was "improper" because election regulations "sharply restrict contributions during the primaries." Clinton fundraiser/'88 DNC finance dir. Don Sweitzer on fundraising: "The Perot phenomenon hurts" (6/19).

MTV: Germond & Witcover write, "Whether Clinton made significant news in his MTV appearance ... is almost beside the point. He managed to reach a voting bloc that has been conspicuously and increasingly absent at the voting booth. ... The indication that these voters are not all that different from the rest of the electorate ... should be an inducement for all of the candidates to start talking to them as Clinton did" (Balto. EVENING SUN, 6/18).

*7 CLINTON: SPENDS AN HOUR AT PEROT'S BIRTHPLACE

Clinton on "Larry King Live" on the campaign: "We're doing better. I think we've had a couple of very good weeks. ... During the primary process most people turned it off and didn't know much about me after I won." On asking Cuomo to speak at the convention: "He will certainly play a prominent role at this convention if he's willing to do that. ... I couldn't believe [Quayle] said that Mario Cuomo and I were in the cultural elite. I guess that he put us there because we can both spell 'potato.'" On VP: "We're down to a shorter list, and I've done a lot of work on it." On Sen. Harris Wofford (D-PA) being on the VP list: "He's the kind of person that we need in the forefront of America. But I don't want to speculate on who's on the list." On Perot debating: "He should be allowed to debate with us because of his standings in the polls at this time. Whether I agree with that standing or whether I think that it's well-founded or not, that's all irrelevant." On his Sister Souljah remarks: "If I had gone there and delivered a long

tirade against her or anybody else, I would have certainly have told Jesse Jackson about it. ... it's just what I've been saying since I started this campaign. ... It was the perfect forum to say it. I don't think I should have gone to some all-white civic club and made that comment. ... I should have been there before a group that is dedicated to racial unity and harmony. And I stand by the remarks I made." On the race being thrown into the House: "I suppose each person in Congress will have to search his or her own conscience ... I honestly don't believe that's going to happen. ... I'm focusing all my energy on trying to make sure it doesn't happen" (CNN, 6/18).

***8 BUSH: CALIFORNIA TRIP DRAWS PROTEST**

USA TODAY's Keene under header, "Summit success fades fast for Bush," writes Bush traveled to CA "hoping to bask in the afterglow of his summit. But those who questioned him ... were more concerned with issues closer to home" (6/19) "Beginning a crucial campaign swing," Bush toured the Evergreen Oil Co. recycling plant, where he answered "tough questions," on the environment, health care and the campaign. Bush, on Perot leading in recent polls: "Look, I understand the discontent that's out there. ... Right now there's a hurricane blowing out there, and all I can do is try to run this country the best I can." Bush "noted that he has not been critical of his rivals," and showed "no reluctance" to "blame Congress for blocking his initiatives." The visit was a response to Bush's poll standings "sagging to record lows" in CA, and an "attempt to bolster his image in the state, particularly on environmental issues" (Gunnison, S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/19). During the "ask George Bush" forum, the president "reminded" his audience of the '88 election: "I would remind some that four years ago this very day I was 18 points behind my opponent," adding "I know how to fight and I'm not going to be their spear catcher for the rest of this year, I can tell you that" (Kranish, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/19). "Several hundred raucous protesters" outside of the plant booed the WH motorcade. The protest was organized by several enviro groups, including Greenpeace which called the visit "a slick maneuver to divert attention from the United State's increasing isolation as the global environmental spoiler." Four people were arrested, two for carrying a "sign that suggested Bush be assassinated." Later, at a \$10,000/couple dinner, about 300 "noisy protesters blocked rush hour traffic" near the event. Bush "apparently neither heard nor saw the protesters at either stop" (Ledesma, S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/19).

MOSBACHER COMING AT YOU LIVE: Bush chair Robert Mosbacher was interviewed on CNN. Bernard Shaw: "Compared to your man are Clinton and Perot foreign policy midgets?" Mosbacher: "Oh, I'd never say that about anyone, but I will say they certainly can't be in the same league with a man with George Bush's experience." On the campaign team: "I feel good about how the White House and the campaign are working together, we've really gotten into harness together. ... we've seen a beginning of a resurgence of the president's popularity. We see it in one of the new polls where he is closing in on the, on the Perot phenomenon, and ... as time goes on we'll see the president moving ahead and we'll see the whole campaign come together very well." On Clinton's record in AR: "In some ways that makes Dukakis's efforts in Massachusetts look awfully good" (6/18).

MORE TV: ABC's Peter Jennings: "Bush the self-proclaimed environmental president set about today to repair his

environmental image" (6/18). NBC's John Cochran: "After saying goodbye to Yeltsin, Bush was back on the campaign trail trying to be the domestic president" (6/18).

STAFFING: W.S. JOURNAL reports the campaign "still sputters" following the summit and "memos and letters urging drastic changes and firings pour into Bush from supporters." Bush ex-aide Pete Teeley: "If we lose this thing, it is because of complete ineptness." The latest rumors have Sec/Defense Cheney "going to the White House" and media consultant Roger Ailes joining the campaign. (6/19) N.Y. TIMES' Foltz interviewed Bush media consultant Martin Puris on ad strategy. Puris: "We have to make people understand that he [Bush] cares very much about this country." On what types of ads they will run: "We're going to avoid ads that attack candidates." Puris added the campaign may run 30 minute "infomercials." Puris said Bush would "come off better in lengthy ads where he would be more relaxed and people got the chance to know the real man in the oval office" (6/19).

URBAN AID: The House approved the "trimmed down" \$1.3B urban aid bill, and Bush gave up some of his urban plans in order to get Congress to act on Russian aid. "But the price for getting quick consideration" on aid "was giving up the 'enterprise zone' proposal ... and the tough-on-crime 'weed and seed program.'" Bush spokesperson Torie Clarke: "It's best to get results and relief to the area immediately and come back and fight another day" (W. TIMES, 6/19).

1-800-NOT: During Bush's appearance at the Evergreen Oil Co., he sat in front of an oil storage tank with a 1-800 number written in it. CNN viewers "began calling the number in droves," forcing anchor Bernie Shaw to ask them to stop. The number was "simply connected to a oil company that owns the storage tank" (Elvin, W. TIMES, 6/19).

*9 QUAYLE: MARILYN "IRRITATED" OVER SPUD SCUD

Marilyn Quayle appeared on CNN's "Crier and Co." Catherine Crier: "When you hear the press take out after the [VP], whether it be about spelling a word or making a speech, how do you feel?" Quayle: "It depends on whether it's fair or not. You know, these little incidents with spelling, I guarantee you anyone placed in the same position as he was would have probably done the exact same thing." Crier: "But how, personally how do you feel?" Quayle: "I do get irritated. I think the point now it's just complete and total irritation ... Dan can give five speeches a day for 25 months, never make a mistake, he makes one mistake, it's aired and aired and aired and aired, and they've never aired the other 1,000 speeches he's given with no error." M. Quayle on Perot: "This is a little bit too serious to go after a quixotic character. ... You need real leadership." M/ Quayle on family values: "To see some of the comments in the press, I think there are a few people who do disagree with the vice president. Most people do feel that we have moved in the last 20 years from a true value structure to lack of values." Crier: "Do you really think that there's a cultural elite in this society?" M. Quayle: "Well, yes" (6/18).

*10 CLINTON AND SISTER SOULJAH

TWO FROM THE BLACK PRESS

MIAMI TIMES: "Since we vote largely as a bloc, traditionally giving the Democrats our overwhelming support, it is conceivable that Mr. Clinton could easily win with similar endorsement from us. The question is whether he believes that he now has us eating out of his hand and doesn't mind offending us, if that will win him a few more white votes. ... There is no reason why he could not have sounded off against Sister Souljah and her harsh rap about violence at some other forum. That he insulted the Rainbow Coalition and Rev. Jackson translates into an insult for all of us and others who support" Jackson (6/18).

WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN: "First it was thumbing his nose to the Black Press. That was followed by a postponement of his meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus. And then came his headline-grabbing slap as Sister Souljah ... In the past couple of weeks there have been too many pictures of Mr. Clinton with Black people ... and the contributions have dried up. ... So, Mr. Clinton's handlers changed the strategy -- slap the Black Press, ignore the Black politicians and find something to distance him from Black folks. ... We suggest that those men and women, who were quick to endorse Mr. Clinton, call a summit meeting with this man ... and find out what other 'Willie Hortons' he has in his back pocket" (6/20 issue).

SAMPLER FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL editorial writer Laura Ofobike: "Was Bill Clinton wrong to condemn a black singer whose words suggested that black gangs kill some whites for a change? I think not. ... If we won't call a black person to answer when he or she seems to promote racism and if we won't brook anybody else talking it, what moral ground is left from which to erase this blight, what superior claim?" (6/16).

ANNISTON STAR: "It was a slick political move and a just one for Clinton to separate from the alienation exploitation of the Sister. ... [but] It's not enough to show he can rap the common political lyric of divide and conquer. Clinton has to convince the nation his economic plan will bring us back as close as grooves in a pop record" (6/17).

Binghamton PRESS & SUN-BULLETIN: "Clearly, Clinton picked both his spot and his shot with a political purpose in mind: distancing himself from the extreme left flank of his party in an attempt to solidify his position in the political center. But it is just as clear that his criticism of inflammatory racial rhetoric was appropriate" (6/17).

CHARLESTON DAILY GAZETTE: "Clinton's new strategy of telling audiences what they don't want to hear may or may not gain him the presidency. But it does allow him to speak the truth -- and the truth, as Boris Yeltsin has learned, shall set you free. In Clinton's case it has freed him from the need to kowtow to Jesse Jackson" (6/19).

Danbury NEWS-TIMES: "The focus here should not be on whether Clinton was polite ... The issue here is Sister Souljah's racism. ... Jackson should be the first to speak up. Since he wasn't, Clinton deserves credit for doing it for him" (6/19)

HOUSTON CHRONICLE: "Clinton's criticism of ... Souljah was

appropriate and well-deserved" (6/18).

MCCOMB (MS) ENTERPRISE JOURNAL header: "Cheers for Clinton" (6/16).

MERIDIAN (MS) STAR: "It is encouraging to see that many black political figures, including Mississippi Congressman Mike Espy, are refusing to take their cue from Jackson on this matter. The Washington Post itself reported broad-based agreement among black political leaders with Clinton's statements" (6/17).

MIAMI HERALD: "To refocus the spotlight on his overshadowed campaign, Mr. Clinton, sad to say, pulled the race card from his sleeve. ... Nonetheless, Mr. Clinton's comments cloaked a principle to which all should be willing to subscribe. Yes, he blind-sided Mr. Jackson. But Mr. Jackson, playing the role of sensitive, wounded host, then missed a chance to display the leadership that he accuses Clinton of lacking" (6/18).

Monroe NEWS-STAR: "Thumbs up ... [He] has said a couple of things that make sense. He's probably driven strictly by political desperation, but is nonetheless on record" (6/17).

N.Y. NEWSDAY: "Jackson & Co. ought to be disappointed that Clinton beat them to the punch. Clinton's choice of venue for criticizing Sister Souljah's bigotry -- the Rainbow Coalition audience last weekend -- was clearly calculated. That fact of political life doesn't detract one iota from the merits of his observation" (6/18).

N.Y. POST: "It was altogether appropriate for ... Clinton to criticize" Souljah. "The question is how Clinton wound up addressing the Rainbowers. Sister Souljah, after all, belongs to Rainbow Coalition gatherings ... Clinton does not" (6/16).

N.Y. TIMES: "Souljah is no Willie Horton. She's a rap singer who has said things that were hateful when she said them -- and still are" (6/17).

PHILA. INQUIRER: "Politics aside, what Clinton said was right" (6/18).

WALL STREET JOURNAL: "Could it be the prospect of political extinction is liberating Bill Clinton? ... if he does still lose, he'd at least go down with some dignity as his own man" (6/19).

WASHINGTON TIMES: "He took a barefoot walk onto the hot coals with his criticism of Sister Souljah. ... It was a journey that had to be made" (6/18).

WATERBURY REPUBLICAN-AMERICAN: "What makes Clinton's remarks all the more stunning and courageous is that they come at great political risk for himself. ... It appears that the least-likely winner of the presidential sweepstakes is the only candidate exhibiting the strong leadership one would expect of a contender for the White House" (6/20).

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

*11 COLORADO: HEATH QUALIFIES AS EXPECTED; CRITICIZES WIRTH
'90 Sen. nominee/ex-Boulder Co. Commis. Josie Heath (D) qualified for the 8/11 primary ballot as Sec/State Natalie Meyer (R) certified her 6/15. Heath had failed to receive the 30% of the delegate vote at the 5/30 Dem convention to automatically qualify, which she had done in '90. Heath was then required to collect 10,601 signatures and turned in 21,231 (Sanko, ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS, 6/16). Heath "sharply criticized" retiring Sen. Tim Wirth (D) and other "political insiders" for allegedly trying to persuade her to quit the race. Heath said Wirth had called and told her "it would be unwise for me to pursue" the race, adding it would be a "hardball race if you stay in." Wirth "neither contradicted nor confirmed" the comment: "I have talked to all three Senate candidates. I don't make public statements about private conversations and would hope the other candidates do the same." Other Dems in the 8/11 primary: Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D-03), ex-Gov. Dick Lamm (D). The winner faces ex-state Sen. Terry Considine (R) in the fall. Heath said Lamm supporters "who she refused to name" had also contacted her about dropping out, and told her, "if you want to have any role in this state, back off, step aside, be a nice girl, get out of the way." Although Wirth has not endorsed any candidate, "it is widely assumed he favors Lamm." Lamm spokesperson Greg Diamond: "Lamm has never played that insiders game" (Anderson, DENVER POST, 6/17).

*12 REDISTRICTING UPDATE

MA (-1 or 0): "Fearing the state will lose its case before the U.S. Supreme Court," a legislative panel is planning to release a 10-seat remap that throws Rep. Chet Atkins (D-05) and Joe Early (D-03) into the same CD and Rep. Joe Kennedy (D-08) into a 40% minority CD. The leg. has already passed a plan based on the state keeping its 11 CDs. "Previous plans had cast" Rep. Joe Moakley's (D) 9th CD as the minority seat. The plan will "only be considered" if the Supreme Court cuts MA back to 10 CDs. The Court's decision, weighing the claims of MA and WA to the seat which was awarded to WA, is expected at any time. Dems crafted the new plan "to thumb their noses" at Gov. Wm Weld (R) by "ignoring his pleas for a Merrimack Valley seat and by strengthening" Rep. Gerry Studd's (D-10) hand in southeastern MA. "Unless the two sides cut a deal quickly, Republicans say they will" ask federal judges to draw a new map. (Connolly, BOSTON HERALD, 6/18).

*13 HOUSE RACE BRIEFING

AZ 06: State Sen. Karan English (D) has been endorsed by EMILY's List, the Nat'l Women's Political Caucus and the Women's Campaign Fund. As Senate Environment Cmte chair, English is also expected to be backed by the League of Conservation Voters later this month. Others: Sen. Majority Leader Alan Stephens (D), ex-WH aide Doug Wead (R) and health-care consultant Mike Meyer (R). Primary 7/8 (Yozwiak, ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 6/18).

MD 01: Marilyn Quayle was the keynote speaker at a \$75-a-person fund-raiser for Rep. Wayne Gilchrest (R). Nearly 200 people attended. Asked if she had trouble backing abortion-rights GOPers like Gilchrest, Quayle answered: "Not if they support the administration at least half the time" (Thompson, Balto. EVENING SUN, 6/16).

ME 01: Rep. Thomas Andrews (D) announced his re-election bid 6/15, acknowledging a "difficult task in running against" L.L. Bean heiress Linda Bean (R). Bean outspent her opponents considerably in the GOP primary and "is expected to spend lavishly in the general election." She began "targeting" Andrews in TV ads early in her primary campaign. Andrews dismissed her economic proposals as "echoes of the policies of the Reagan and Bush administrations" and called for passage of the Freedom of Choice Act. Bean has said she opposes "abortion on demand" (Magin, PORTLAND PRESS HERALD, 6/16).

MA 06: Attorneys for Rep. Nick Mavroules (D) have asked the DoJ to "investigate whether the U.S. attorney's office in Boston is responsible for leaks to the news media about the ongoing federal probe of Mavroules." In a letter to the DoJ, attorneys Francis Bellotti and Tracy Minter suggested that "news reports about the grand jury probe have been 'so vast and so detailed' that they 'must have originated from a federal source close to the investigation.'" The two also note federal rules prohibit gov't attys from "disclosing any matters before the grand jury without the court's permission." Mavroules and Bellotti are scheduled to hold a press conference on the probe in Salem 6/22 (Laidler, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/18). In another probe development, federal investigators have questioned 3 MA defense companies "about their practice of funding" summer intern positions for Mavroules -- a House Armed Services cmte member. The funding by

General Electric, Ratheon Corp. and GTE Corp. ceased in '90 for unknown reasons. House rules prohibit interns from working on legislation that "relates to the firms that pay their salaries" and most Capitol Hill intern programs are funded by universities or non-profit organizations (B. HERALD, 6/17).

OTHER: EMILY's List and the Nat'l Women's Political Caucus have endorsed state Rep. Barbara Hildt (D) (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/18). On the GOP side, Alexander Tennant's (R) press release touting the "personal endorsement" of Sec/HUD Jack Kemp "has been the subject of some controversy" in his primary bid against ex-state labor and business commiss. Peter Torkildsen (R) (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/16). According to the Torkildsen camp, Kemp, who is friends with both men, did not want the endorsement published and "offered it only after Tennant supporters," including LG Paul Cellucci, "beseeched Kemp for some gesture to buttress Tennant's long-standing endorsement claims." Tennant campaign chair Peter Mazareas accused Torkildsen of trying to "take away from the value and importance of the endorsement" (Connolly, BOSTON HERALD, 6/18).

MA 11: Atty Jack Shields (D) "appears to have inadvertently set off a competition for campaign finance reform that could limit the amount of money he intends to spend." At a 6/17 press conference, Shields called on his opponents to limit spending to \$600,000. State Sen. Paul Harold (D) called for \$300,000 and Eleanor LeCain, asst Sec/State under James Connolly, called for \$200,000. Shields also challenged his opponents to serve no more than 4 terms (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/18).

SC 06: SC State University's Ken Mosely (D) filed his candidacy for the new majority black CD, becoming the third primary challenger to Rep. Robin Tallon (D). Tallon is expected to announce 6/22. Other Dems: ex-state Human Affairs Commis. Jim Clyburn and state Sen. Herb Fielding (Columbia STATE, 6/13).

*14 INDIANA: PEARSON THREAT TO DROP OFF TICKET NOT HEEDED

AG Linley Pearson (R) "privately told supporters that he would resign from the ticket" if IN GOP convention delegates chose Putnam Co. atty Timothy Bookwalter as their AG nominee over Pearson's CoS, David Miller. After Bookwalter was picked by nearly a 2-1 margin, Pearson "tried to squelch those impressions." After the convention adjourned Pearson issued a statement that he "intended to lead the [GOP] to victory" against Gov. Evan Bayh (D). When the AG vote was announced, "to wild cheers," Pearson had already left. Upon his return he was asked whether he'd stay on the ticket. Pearson: "I said today is the day I would make a decision. I made it today to stay on the ticket." Asked whether the decision "would hold the next day," Pearson "walked away without comment." Pearson spokesperson Jim Poinsett, asked to elaborate: "I can't because I don't know." Bookwalter's victory "was seen as delegates' frustration" with Pearson and a "seemingly closed convention." Lester Alligood, a convention delegate: "People took [Pearson's preference of Miller] as if it were being crammed [down] their throat. People aren't buying it." Pearson "later acknowledged" the message had been received." Bookwalter won "despite allegations he solicited a prostitute" in '85. Although never convicted, "the issue has dogged him since" and was "reignited" when Pearson's campaign distributed newspaper accounts of the case to county chairs (Ketzenberger/Howey, FT. WAYNE JOURNAL-GAZETTE, 6/18).

DEM CONVENTION: Bayh used his keynote speech to "castigate" the Republicans as "forces of darkness" who needed to be sent back to "the caves underneath the rocks from which they came." Bayh "bypassed a tradition" of standing with the Dem candidates when he left the convention early. Ex-Gov. Otis Bowen (R): "I resent those remarks." Sen. Dan Coats (R) "demanded a public apology" and added, "It was more than bizarre. It was offensive" (FORT-WAYNE JOURNAL-GAZETTE, 6/18).

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Phone: 703/237-5130

FAX: 703/237-5149

Publishers: Doug Bailey, Roger Craver

Editorial Assts.:

Editor-in-Chief: Robert Balkin

Max Gale

Managing Editor: Stephen Bilafer

Charles Todd

Dep. Managing Editor: Melodie Jackson

John Wood

Associate Editor: Ned Lilly

TV Editor:

Staff Writers: Amy Silver, Vaughn Ververs

Vincent Fusco

*15 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" hosted S.F. Examiner's Chris Matthews and Sens. David Pryor (D-AR) and Mitch McConnell (R-KY) on the 12th Amendment and the electoral college. "CBS This Morning" hosted Jimmy Carter from D.C. on Habitat for Humanity. NBC's "Today" hosted Jerry Ford on his transition to the presidency; House of Commons Speaker Betty Boothroyd from London; Child Support Activist Geraldine Jensen and National Organization for Men's Sidney Sill on child support (6/19).

LAST NIGHT: CNN and ABC led with how the three presidential candidates spent their day. NBC, CBS and PBS' "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with the Urban Aid bill. "M/L" interviewed Sec/State James Baker on the new Russian arms pact. CNN's "Crossfire" focused on the Weinberger indictment. "Larry King Live" hosted Bill Clinton. ABC's Nightline featured poetry (6/18).

LAUGHS: NBC's Jay Leno on the difficulty of finding twelve jurors for Caspar Weinberger who had never heard of Iran-Contra: "Actually they lucked out. Today they found two people who had never heard of it -- Ronald Reagan and George Bush." Leno on On Perot's concept of a "television president": "Make it like real television. Give 'em thirteen weeks and if people don't like him, you're out of here." On Bush's brother being sued by a Japanese company: "Only a member of the Bush family could cause a Japanese company to lose money" ("Tonight," 6/18). Dennis Miller on Clinton/Yeltsin meeting: "Always interesting when you can combine all seven deadly sins in just two guys" ("Show," 6/18). Arsenio Hall on Perot: "He says he wants to get in touch. He wants to keep an ear to the ground -- which shouldn't be too hard with them ears" ("Show," 6/18).

YELTSIN'S TOP TEN FAUX PAS IN DC ("Late Night," NBC, 6/19).

10. Repeatedly asking where he can go to get "hammered and sickled."
9. After signing arms pact, kissing President Bush square on the lips.
8. During state dinner, screaming "You call this Russian dressing?!"
7. Accidentally calling senator from Massachusetts "Tubby Kennedy."
6. Weeping like an infant when he was informed Big Bird was just a guy in a suit.
5. On tour of White House, asking to see rooms where Jack Kennedy nailed Marilyn.
4. Constantly shouting "Feed me!" at top of his lungs.
3. Laughing hysterically when Bush suggested they meet again in '94.
2. Hugging Quayle a little too long.
1. Kept calling Barbara "General Schwarzkopf."

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

"It was obvious Perot is not listening to those who criticize him for not saying enough about the issues. Today there was less substance than usual."

-- ABC's Morton Dean, 6/18.

THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY
(Newport Beach, California)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 19, 1992

The President today declared a major disaster exists in the State of New Mexico and ordered Federal aid to supplement state and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe thunderstorms, hail, and flooding on May 22, 1992, through May 25, 1992.

The President's action makes Federal funding available to affected individuals and local governments in the Lea County area.

Assistance can include temporary housing, grants, low-cost loans to cover uninsured property losses, and other programs to help individuals and business owners recover from the effects of the disaster.

Federal funding also is available to eligible local governments on a cost-sharing basis for the repair or replacement of public facilities damaged by the storms, hail, and flooding.

Wallace E. Stickney, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), named Graham Nance of FEMA's regional office in Denton, Texas to coordinate Federal recovery operations in the affected area.

The Agency said that damage surveys are continuing in other areas, and additional counties may be added after the assessments are completed.

The Agency said that residents and business owners who sustained losses in the designated counties can begin applying for assistance immediately by calling 1-800-462-9029, or 1-800-462-7585 (TDD) for the hearing and speech impaired. The toll-free telephone numbers will operate from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. (CST) seven days a week until further notice.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: FEMA (202) 646-4600.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newport Beach, California)

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Associate Judges of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia for terms of fifteen years:

BROOK HEDGE, of the District of Columbia. She would succeed Emmet G. Sullivan.

Since 1982, Ms. Hedge has served as Branch Director of the Civil Division, Federal Programs Branch, at the Department of Justice. Prior to that, she served as Assistant Branch Director, 1980-1982; a trial attorney, 1977-1980; a law clerk to U.S. District Court Judge June L. Green, 1975-1976; and a law clerk to Sarah C. Carey, 1974-1975.

Ms. Hedge received a B.A. degree (1970) from the University of California at Santa Barbara and a J.D. degree (1974) from The Catholic University of America, Columbus School of Law. Ms. Hedge is 43 years old and resides in Washington, D.C.

LEE F. SATTERFIELD, of the District of Columbia. He would succeed Robert McCance Scott.

Since April 1991, Mr. Satterfield has served as a trial attorney with the Department of Justice, Criminal Division, Organized Crime and Racketeering Section. Prior to that he was a Senior Litigation Associate with the law firm of Sachs & Tayler, 1988-1991; an Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, 1984-1988; and a law clerk to Judge Paul R. Webber, III, of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia, 1983-1984.

Mr. Satterfield received a B.A. degree (1980) from the University of Maryland, and a J.D. degree (1983) from George Washington University Law School.

Mr. Satterfield is 33 years old and resides in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newark, California)

For Immediate Release

June 18, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Raymond L. Finch, of the Virgin Islands, to be a Judge for the District Court of the Virgin Islands for a term of ten years. He would succeed David V. O'Brien.

Since 1977, Judge Finch has served on the Territorial Court of the Virgin Islands. Prior to this, he served as a Judge on the Municipal Court of the Virgin Islands, 1976-1977. Judge Finch served with the law firm of Hodge & Sheen as: Partner, 1971-1976; Associate, 1970-1971; and Law Clerk, 1969-1970.

Judge Finch was graduated from Howard University (B.A. 1962; LL.B., 1965). He served in the United States Army from 1966-1969. He was born October 4, 1940 in Christiansted, St. Croix, Virgin Islands. Judge Finch currently resides in Kingshill, St. Croix, Virgin Islands.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newport Beach, California)

June 19, 1992

FACT SHEET ON DEFENSE PROCUREMENT REFORMS

As part of his continuing regulatory reform initiative, the President today announced an important change in federal defense procurement policy that will ease the transition by American businesses and workers to the post-Cold War era. When fully implemented, the new policy will enable American firms to compete more effectively for billions of dollars additional business, and will preserve tens of thousands of American jobs.

The end of the Cold War and the accompanying down-sizing of the U.S. military have created dislocations in the American economy. To excel in this new environment, and to avoid significant layoffs, many defense-oriented companies have tried to redirect their efforts toward commercial products -- for example, by commercializing military technologies.

One obstacle to a successful transition is the Defense Department's "recoupment of non-recurring costs" rule. This rule was originally adopted in the early 1960s as a way of sharing weapon development costs with U.S. allies. It requires contractors to pay fees to the Government on non-Government sales of products and technologies developed under Government contracts -- as well as commercial spinoffs of those technologies. In today's environment, the rule operates like a sales tax imposed only on U.S. companies: it hurts American workers by making it more difficult for their employers to compete for business, both in the U.S. and abroad.

This burden on American workers and businesses is no longer justified in light of the historic political changes during the past three years. Accordingly, the President today announced a new policy that will result in the elimination of all recoupment fees as expeditiously as possible.

1. The Policy. The new policy -- developed by the Department of Defense and OMB's Office of Federal Procurement Policy, in consultation with the Council on Competitiveness, the President's Export Council, and the Department of State -- will be implemented as follows:

- o By administrative action, the Department of Defense will immediately abolish recoupment fees on all products other than "major defense equipment" (MDE) exported for military uses.

- This action will eliminate recoupment fees on all non-military products, including spinoffs and derivatives of military products. Recoupment would no longer be required if, for example, a company decided to use aircraft cockpit display technology in making dashboard displays for automobiles.

- It will also eliminate recoupment on military products that are either not classified as MDE or not exported for military uses. Thus, for example, recoupment will no longer be required on the sale of aircraft engines for use on commercial airliners.
- The Department's action will eliminate recoupment under all new non-MDE contracts and, to the extent permitted by law, under all existing non-MDE contracts as well.
- o In addition, the Administration will work with Congress to achieve the elimination of recoupment fees on MDE exported for military uses.
 - The Arms Export Control Act currently requires the Department of Defense to collect recoupment fees on sales of MDE through the Foreign Military Sales Program, which accounts for most MDE sales.
 - The Administration will work with Congress to lift this requirement, and to find mutually acceptable budget offsets.

2. Benefits of the New Policy. The new policy will produce several important benefits:

- o It will make U.S. companies more competitive against foreign suppliers, which typically are not subject to recoupment requirements. The new policy will enhance the ability of American firms to compete for billions of dollars of business that they might otherwise lose. It will also eliminate paperwork and administrative costs associated with the present policy, which, according to industry estimates, exceed \$40 million per year.
- o It will facilitate efforts by defense-oriented companies to shift toward commercial activities. The new policy will give defense contractors an incentive to develop products and technologies with larger markets. It will also eliminate costly tracking requirements that would otherwise discourage contractors from consolidating military and commercial operations. Such consolidation will facilitate the transfer of technology and ideas within companies, and will allow enhanced economies of scale and scope.
- o It will contribute to U.S. national security by strengthening defense-oriented U.S. companies. The new policy will also reduce defense costs by encouraging defense contractors to incorporate commercial technologies into military products. Eliminating recoupment will not affect national security controls, such as export licensing requirements, which will continue to ensure that sophisticated U.S. technologies do not fall into the wrong hands.
- o It will preserve tens of thousands of American jobs in high-technology firms located throughout the country.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newport Beach, California)

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., of New Jersey, to be a Member of the Board for International Broadcasting for a term expiring April 28, 1995. This is a reappointment. Since 1985, Mr. Forbes has served as Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting since 1985. Currently, Mr. Forbes serves as Editor-in-Chief, President and Chief Executive Officer of Forbes, Incorporated and FORBES Magazine.

Mr. Forbes was graduated from Princeton University (B.A., 1970). He was born July 18, 1947 in Morristown, New Jersey. Mr. Forbes is married, has five children and resides in Bedminster, New Jersey.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newport Beach, California)

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Harrison Courtney, of West Virginia, to be Ambassador of the United States of America to Kazakhstan. This is a new position.

Dr. Courtney currently serves as the Charge d'Affaires in Kazakhstan. Prior to this, he was Deputy United States Negotiator for the U.S.-Soviet Defense and Space Talks, United States Mission in Geneva, Switzerland. Dr. Courtney was Deputy Executive Secretary for the National Security Council, 1987. From 1984-1986, he was Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs at the Department of State; and Deputy Director of the Office of Strategic Nuclear Policy in the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs at the Department of State, 1983-1984.

Dr. Courtney was graduate from West Virginia University (B.A., 1966) and Brown University (Ph.D., 1980). He was born July 18, 1944 in Baltimore, Maryland. He is married and has two children.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newport Beach, California)

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Patricia Diaz Dennis, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. She would succeed Richard Schifter.

Since 1991, Ms. Dennis has served as Vice President for Government Affairs for Sprint in Washington, D.C. She has served as Partner and Chair of the Communications Section of the law firm of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue, 1989-1991. From 1986-1989, she served as Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission. She also served on the National Labor Relations Board from 1983-1986. Prior to that appointment, Ms. Dennis served as an attorney with the American Broadcasting Company in Hollywood, California, 1978-1983.

Ms. Dennis was graduated from the University of California in Los Angeles (A.B., 1970) and Loyola University of Los Angeles, School of Law (J.D. 1973). She was born October 2, 1946 in Santa Rita, New Mexico. Ms. Dennis is married, has three children and resides in McLean, Virginia.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newport Beach, California)

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate John Stern Wolf, of Maryland, a Minister-Counselor in the Senior Foreign Service, to be Ambassador of the United States of America to Malayasia. He would succeed Paul Matthews Cleveland.

Since 1989, Mr. Wolf has served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs at the Department of State. He has also served at the Department of State as: Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, 1988-1989; and as Office Director of Regional and Multilateral Force and Observers Affairs in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 1987-1988. Mr. Wolf has also served as Political Counselor at the American Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, 1984-1987; Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Science and Technology at the State Department, 1981-1984; and Financial Economist in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 1979-1981.

Mr. Wolf was graduated from Dartmouth College (B.A., 1970); and Princeton University Woodrow Wilson School (Mid-Career Fellow, 1978-79). He was born September 12, 1948 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mr. Wolf is married, has two children and resides in Bethesda, Maryland.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newport Beach, California)

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint Edward J. Melanson, Jr., of Virginia, to be accorded the personal rank of Ambassador in his capacity as Chief Negotiator for Defense and Space.

Since 1991, Mr. Melanson has served as Deputy Negotiator for Defense and Space for the United States Delegation to the Nuclear and Space Arms Negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland. From 1989-1991, he served as Assistant for National Security in the Office of Presidential Personnel at the White House. Mr. Melanson served as Senior Defense Advisor for the United States Delegation for the Nuclear and Space Arms Negotiations with the Soviet Union in Geneva, 1985-1988. He served at the Department of Defense as: Assistant for International Space Policy, 1982-1985; Assistant for International Intelligence Policy, 1979-1982; Defense Representative to the U.S.-USSR Anti-Satellite Negotiations, 1978-1979; and Assistant for International Negotiations Policy, 1975-1978.

Mr. Melanson was graduated from Tufts University (B.A., 1967) and George Washington University (M.S., 1972). He served in the United States Navy, 1957-1988. He was born December 14, 1935 in Stoneham, Massachusetts. Mr. Melanson is married, has two children and resides in Springfield, Virginia.

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POOL REPORT # 3

June 19, 1992
(Newport Beach, California)

The President met separately this morning with Hispanic-American and Asian-American journalists. The Asian group had left by the time the pool arrived, but we heard a partial tape of the session with Hispanic journalists. Much of the discussion was about Monday's Supreme Court ruling upholding the legality of the 1985 kidnapping of a Mexican doctor accused of having a role in the 1985 torture death of U.S. drug agent Enrique Camarena and his pilot. Bush: "We have made very very clear to the Mexican government that we will not be in the mode of reaching out and taking back everybody who's offended the United States"

"This is not going to mean that there will be a whole wave of kidnappings. I can understand the international furor."

"We've given (Mexican officials) assurances that I think have them in a very understanding mode." Bush said people must understand "the brutality of what happened down there...the allegations that this man kept an American alive so he could be tortured is pretty serious stuff."

In the motorcade in route to the event, Torie Clarke was asked why Bush's sessions with GOP officials have all been closed. She said "These are the people who carry the water for us. We want to be as candid as possible with them."

Clarke was asked about the SEC complaint filed against Clinton today by the RNC. She said "its a real sign of how much Clinton's campaign is in trouble....but nobody's counting Clinton out."

Judy Keen -- USA Today

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 2556, the "Los Padres Condor Range and River Protection Act." This Act designates seven new wilderness areas, encompassing 400,450 acres, within the Los Padres National Forest in California as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System, more than doubling the wilderness acreage set aside within the Los Padres National Forest. The Act also designates segments of three rivers within the National Forest, totaling 84 miles, as components of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

By signing this bill into law, we further the protection of unique and sensitive lands within the National Forest System. Our action here today is important for several reasons:

- Much of this area includes habitat for the nearly extinct California condor and preservation of this habitat is critical to condor recovery efforts.
- Nearly half of the Los Padres National Forest is now designated for permanent protection under the Wilderness Act, one of the highest percentages of any national forest in the country.
- It increases by 10 percent the amount of national forest lands in California that are protected under the Wilderness Act.
- It protects segments of Sespe Creek and the Sisquoc and Big Sur Rivers as wild, free-flowing rivers under the Wild and Scenic Rivers System.
- It provides for wild and scenic river studies on an additional 110 miles of rivers within the National Forest boundary, a few of the only free-flowing streams left in southern California.

Wilderness designation of these areas means that they will be managed to preserve their unique and natural character. By signing this bill into law, we enhance the diversity and beauty of the Nation's lands set aside for the enjoyment of both present and future generations of Americans as part of the National Wilderness Preservation and the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Systems.

As President I remain deeply committed to preserving our valuable natural resources. Since 1989, my budgets have doubled funding for parks, wildlife, and outdoor recreation and have tripled funds to States under the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Moreover, the length of rivers designated as wild and scenic has increased from 868 to 9,463 miles over the past 20 years. Finally, since 1982, the amount of lands protected as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System has averaged in excess of 1.5 million acres per year.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,

June 19, 1992

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Newport Beach, California)

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1992

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

I am transmitting herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Protocol to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (the Protocol) signed at Lisbon, Portugal, on May 23, 1992. The Protocol is an integral part of the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (the START Treaty), which I transmitted for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification on November 25, 1991. The Protocol is designed to enable implementation of the START Treaty in the new international situation following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Protocol constitutes an amendment to the START Treaty, and I therefore request that it be considered along with the START Treaty for advice and consent to ratification.

I also transmit for the information of the Senate documents that are associated with, but not integral parts of, the Protocol or the START Treaty. These documents are letters containing legally binding commitments from the heads of state of the Republic of Byelarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Ukraine concerning the removal of nuclear weapons and strategic offensive arms from their territories. Although not submitted for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, these documents are relevant to the consideration of the START Treaty by the Senate. No new U.S. security assurances or guarantees -- beyond the assurances previously extended to all nonnuclear-weapon States Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty -- are associated with any of these letters.

The START Treaty represents a nearly decade-long effort by the United States and the former Soviet Union to address the nature and magnitude of the threat that strategic nuclear weapons pose to both countries and to the world in general. As I indicated in transmitting that Treaty to the Senate, the United States had several objectives in the START negotiations. First, we consistently held the view that the START Treaty must enhance stability in times of crisis. Second, we sought an agreement that did not simply limit strategic arms, but that reduced them significantly below current levels. Third, we sought a treaty that would allow equality of U.S. strategic forces relative to those of the former Soviet Union. Fourth, we sought an agreement that would be effectively verifiable. And, finally, the United States placed great emphasis during the negotiations in seeking an agreement that would be supported by the American and allied publics.

I was fully convinced in 1991 and I remain fully convinced that the START Treaty achieves these objectives. In addition, the Protocol transmitted herewith has allowed us to achieve another important objective: ensuring that only one state

more

(OVER)

emerging from the former Soviet Union will have nuclear weapons. To gain the benefits of START in the new international situation following the demise of the Soviet Union, it is necessary that Byelarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine -- the four former Soviet republics within whose territory all strategic offensive arms are based and all declared START-related facilities are located -- be legally bound by the START Treaty. The Protocol accomplishes this, while recognizing the sovereign and independent status of each of these four states.

Of equal importance, the Protocol obligates Byelarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine to adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as nonnuclear-weapon States Parties in the shortest possible time. In addition, the letters transmitted with the Protocol legally obligate these three states to eliminate all nuclear weapons and all strategic offensive arms located on their territories within 7 years following the date of entry into force of the START Treaty. The Protocol and the associated letters thus further one of our most fundamental non-proliferation objectives -- that the number of nuclear-weapon states shall not be increased. Together with the START Treaty, the Protocol helps ensure that nuclear weapons will not be used in the future.

The START Treaty serves the interest of the United States and represents an important step in the stabilization of the strategic nuclear balance. With the addition of the Protocol, the START Treaty can be implemented in a manner consistent with the changed political circumstances following the demise of the Soviet Union and in a manner that achieves important non-proliferation goals. I therefore urge the Senate to give prompt and favorable consideration to the START Treaty, including its Annexes, Protocols, Memorandum of Understanding, and this new Protocol, and to give advice and consent to its ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 19, 1992.

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DATE:

June 19 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

USA TODAY

6.5 MILLION READERS A DAY

FRI./SAT./SUN., JUNE 19-21, 1992

U.S., Russia settle feud on embassies

By Juan J. Walte
USA TODAY

The battle of the embassies may be over — apparently doused by the friendship between President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The United States reportedly has agreed to drop claims totaling \$30 million against the Russians for bugging the new U.S. Embassy in Moscow, news reports said Thursday.

Secretary of State James Baker and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev did sign an accord on the U.S. and former Soviet embassies, said the State Department's Margaret Tutwiler.

But she refused to provide details of the agreement.

Both men were in Washington for the Bush-Yeltsin summit, which ended Wednesday.

The deal apparently settles a four-year feud triggered by charges U.S. Marine guards in Moscow traded sex for secrets and when KGB bugs turned up in the new U.S. Embassy.

The agreement means:

► The United States will get land in Moscow to build a bug-free embassy and a long-term lease on the existing facility in Moscow, valued at \$45 million.

► The Russians will be able to move into the still-vacant embassy of the former Soviet Union in Washington and will get a 10-acre tract adjoining it.

The United States banned the Soviets from using the building after bugs were found in its new Moscow facility.

Russia's embassy is 3 miles from the White House.

ATODAY/subscribe

Weinberger arraigned today



Reagan's role remains issue that looms large

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

Caspar Weinberger faces arraignment today on Iran-contra charges — with ex-president Ronald Reagan's role in the scandal looming large over the federal court proceeding.

The 31-page indictment against the former Defense secretary highlights Reagan's actions "almost to the level of an unindicted co-conspirator," says Georgetown University law professor Paul Rothstein, a specialist on criminal practice.

While Weinberger alone was indicted Tuesday — on five counts including perjury, making false statements and obstruction of justice — some observers say the cover-up-related charges point higher.

"I think everybody was in it ... including the president," says Thomas Polgar, a former senior CIA official and analyst for the Senate's Iran-contra committee. "They all knew and they all kept silent."

Weinberger insists he's innocent. Reagan has not been charged with any crime; his lawyer, Theodore Olson, flatly denies any wrongdoing by the former president.

But Reagan is repeatedly depicted in the indictment as disregarding warnings about the illegality of arms sales to Iran and then attending high-level meetings where the fact of the shipments was kept hidden.

The indictment suggests that the reason for keeping a lid on the 1985 shipments, particularly one involving HAWK missiles, was that many administration officials had "expressed repeated concern" that they were illegal.

"They were all scared to death of the illegality of the Hawk shipments," agrees Pamela Naughton, staff counsel to the House Iran-contra committee. Why the fear?

The possibility of impeachment, contends Tom Blanton of the National Security Archive, a non-profit research group.

"They knew that if Ronald Reagan went down, they went down, too," says Blanton.

According to the indictment:

► At a Dec. 7, 1985, White House meeting, former national security adviser Robert McFarlane reviewed two shipments of U.S.-made missiles from Israel to Iran. Weinberger warned Reagan that the U.S. embargo on Iran made the shipments illegal.

► At another White House meeting, on Jan. 7, 1986, Reagan favored another plan to sell missiles to Iran, through Israel, in exchange for hostages.

► On Nov. 12, 1986, after the scandal was exposed, national security adviser John Poindexter briefed congressional leaders, with Reagan present, about the Iran operation but



WEINBERGER: 'Relatively cryptic' writing style

1,700 pages of personal notes handed over

About 1,700 pages of personal notes that helped indict former Defense secretary Caspar Weinberger were found in the Library of Congress.

Weinberger placed the documents at the library after leaving office in 1987, under an agreement that gave him exclusive access while the library got valued custody of them.

Because the library is part of Congress, its contents aren't covered by the Freedom of Information Act.

When Iran-contra prosecutors learned of Weinberger's notes, he agreed to hand them over voluntarily. But they could have been subpoenaed.

How much the handwritten notes reveal is unclear. Based on other already released examples, Weinberger's notes may be "relatively cryptic," says Tom Blanton of the National Security Archive.

role in the 1985 shipments.

► At a news conference a week later, Reagan denied administration involvement in the shipment of arms to Iran by third countries. He later acknowledged third-country involvement, but did "not disclose that ... he had approved any of the 1985 shipments."

► At a Nov. 24, 1986, White House meeting — attended by Reagan and administration leaders — Attorney General Edwin Meese said the November 1985 missile shipment may have been illegal, but that Reagan didn't know about it.

"No one contradicted Mr. Meese's incorrect statement concerning President Reagan's lack of knowledge, although several of those present ... had contrary information," the indictment says.

NEWSMAKERS

Yeltsin relaxes in heartland

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

WICHITA, Kan. — Russian President Boris Yeltsin shook off two pomp-filled days of statesmanship Thursday and allowed himself the joys of a Kansas farm boy.

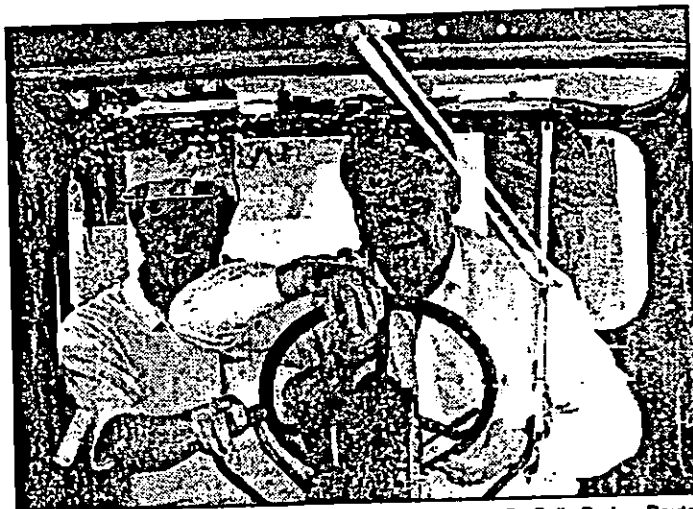
With a successful state visit to Washington accomplished, Yeltsin made the most of five hours here, guest of Republican Sen. Bob Dole. He arrived aboard an Ilyushin-62 plane emblazoned with "Russia" on the side.

At Greg Rau's 2,000-acre wheat farm, Yeltsin took the wheel of a giant combine and speed-slashed a half-dozen swaths of ripe red wheat. Dark-suited Secret Service agents scattered, disappearing from view in a cloud of chaff, as Yeltsin charged by, waving and grinning.

"He looks great at it, like a little kid with a new toy," said corn grower Don Lundquist.

There were other signs Yeltsin was in the mood to relax.

► At McConnell Air Force Base, where a crowd of about 1,000 from military families and the media greeted him, Yeltsin received the key to the city, and declared his first state visit to the USA "a great success." He vowed "there will never be war between our two countries," and voiced the hope that the line of B-1 bombers parked on the field "never



By Colin Brasley, Reuter

IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT: Boris Yeltsin takes a John Deere combine for a spin at Greg Rau's 2,000-acre wheat farm.

be on alert."

Then Yeltsin plunged into the crowd, grabbing 2-year-old Brendan Lindsey from his father's arms and holding the child close.

► At the Hormel meatpacking plant, Yeltsin shed his light brown suit jacket, giving it to the plant manager as a souvenir. At Wichita State University to deliver a speech about peace and the new U.S.-Russian friendship, he told a cheering student audience, "At least I still have my pants."

Students forgave him for three times confusing their school with the University of Kansas, in distant Lawrence. "Everyone knows he meant

Kansas in general," said music student Sonja Wohlgemuth, 25.

At the Rau farm — where two dozen farm organizations kicked in steaks, chops, wheat rolls and milkshakes for an old-time barbecue — Yeltsin chatted with wheat, corn, dairy and beef people.

"Peace always starts with a full stomach," said Don Keesling, a wheat farmer who put off his harvest to attend the do. "It's inconvenient, but timely. This is a great customer."

Yeltsin and wife Naina left Kansas for a state visit to Canada before their return home.

► Bugged embassy, 1A
► Yeltsin and Clinton, 4A

7 TREATIES

President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed seven treaties during their summit in Washington:

Nuclear reduction: Slashes arsenals by two-thirds to 3,500 warheads for United States and 3,000 for Russia.

Partnership, friendship: Sets up wide-ranging economic, scientific and military cooperation.

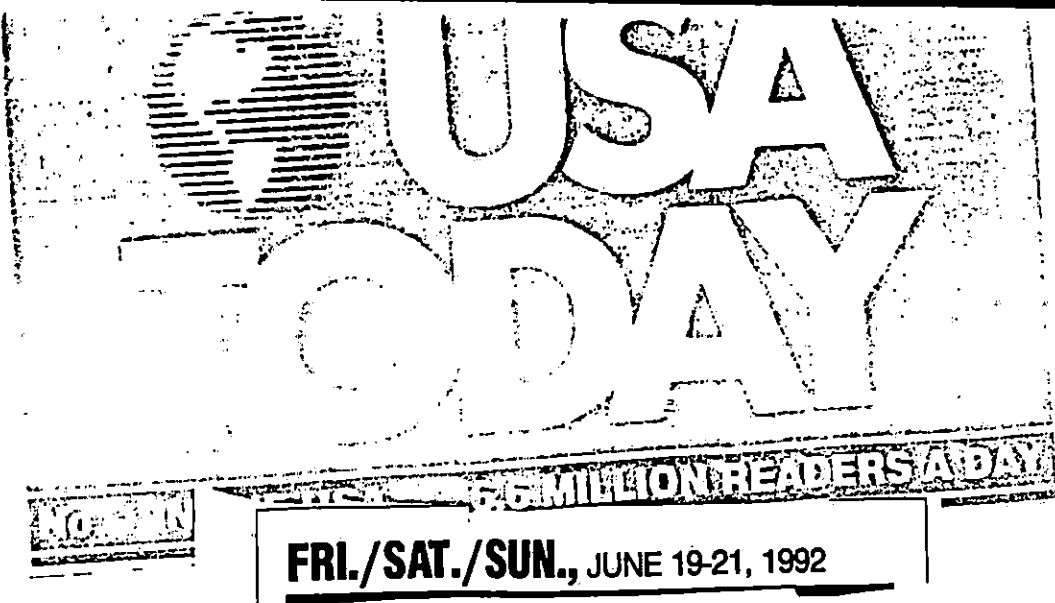
Global protection: Calls for study of joint missile warning system based on U.S. "star wars" idea.

Nuclear weapons: Spells out steps for curbing nuclear, chemical and biological weaponry; offers U.S. equipment to dismantle Russian weapons.

Space cooperation: Opens U.S. space shuttle to Russian cosmonaut by 1993 and Russian Mir space station to U.S. astronaut same year. Also calls for a 1994-95 shuttle mission to dock with Mir for up to 13 days.

Double taxation: Guarantees that U.S. businesses in Russia won't pay income taxes in both countries.

Investment: Removes obstacles for businesses to invest in Russia.



Family turns to Yeltsin, hoping for answers

By Carol J. Castaneda
USA TODAY

Twenty-five years ago, in the clouds above North Vietnam, a missile hit the fighter plane carrying Navy Lt. James Kelly Patterson and Navy Capt. Eugene "Red" McDaniel.

The two were able to parachute out, landing on opposite sides of a mountain.

McDaniel was captured and held as a prisoner for six years. Patterson, who kept in radio contact with rescue crews for days, has never been found.

But now Patterson's parents hope Boris Yeltsin can help.

This week, Jo and Robert Patterson, of Templeton, Calif., wrote to the Russian president, pleading with him to find out if their son is among the U.S. servicemen whom Yeltsin claims were captured in Vietnam and other wars and taken to Soviet prison camps — where they still might be alive.

"Anything you can do to relieve the anguish of not knowing his fate for the past 25 years will be sincerely appreciated," wrote the Pattersons.

The Pattersons' hopes were raised — along with those of families of thousands of servicemen missing in World War II, the Korean War and Vietnam — after Yeltsin's remarks



By Wayne Nicholas, San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune
25-YEAR WAIT: Robert Patterson hopes Boris Yeltsin can locate his son, Navy Lt. James Kelly Patterson, missing since 1967.

during a visit here this week.

And despite serious doubts raised by U.S. officials about the claim, POW-MIA activists and families have eagerly latched onto the hope that Yeltsin's claim is true.

"We feel there's a break," says Jo Patterson, 72.

The Pattersons' hopes were first raised last year, after a Soviet newspaper reported a prison in Kazakhstan held a pilot shot down over Vietnam on May 19, 1967 — the same day Patterson's plane went down.

The Pattersons asked Yeltsin to delve deeper into the article that appeared in the Soviet newspaper *Kommersant*.

"We have a saying here in the United States, 'where there is smoke, there is fire,'" the Pattersons wrote. "It is hard for us to believe that the story ... was a figment of (the writer's) imagination."

Alexander Shelemekh, assistant to the Russian ambassador in Washington, said letters like the Pattersons' are routinely sent to Moscow and that, "I'm

POW hunters find no POW

A U.S.-Russian team tracking a report that an American pilot from the Korean War may be in a Soviet gulag found freshly painted prison walls but no U.S. serviceman Thursday.

Members of a joint U.S.-Russian commission on POWs and MIAs traveled to the Stalin-era camp, about 900 miles northeast of Moscow. The team is expected to visit other camps in the area today.

The trip was quickly arranged after Russian President Boris Yeltsin ignited U.S. interest with the claim

that American servicemen were taken to the Soviet Union and may still be alive.

In Israel Thursday, former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev denied he knew that U.S. servicemen in Vietnam were taken to the former Soviet Union. "This indicates (Yeltsin) could not resist joining those who are working on defaming Gorbachev," he said.

The Pentagon has long said the United States has no evidence servicemen were taken from Vietnam to the Soviet Union.

not aware of any response."

POW-MIA activists long have maintained that captured U.S. servicemen with expertise in weapons were shipped to the Soviet Union, which provided aid to Vietnam.

But officers from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow dispatched to the area after the Russian article appeared Nov. 3, 1991, found no evidence that Patterson had ever lived there.

The Pentagon has repeatedly maintained there is "no evidence" that U.S. servicemen

were taken from Vietnam to the former Soviet Union.

Mary Backley of the National League of POW-MIA Families said relatives of missing servicemen "are in a holding pattern. Seeing is believing."

Jo Patterson is cautious about her hope that her oldest son might be coming home.

"We have been living with this for so long... You can't get too excited, things come and they fade away. We get our hopes up, and then they're dashed," she says.

USA TODAY

FRI./SAT./SUN., JUNE 19-21, 1992

IN WASHINGTON

CONGRESS OVERHAUL: The House voted 412-4 Thursday to create a special House/Senate panel on overhauling the way Congress conducts its business. The measure, which now goes to the Senate, calls for a thorough review of everything from the huge congressional staff to the turf battles between committees. "The aim is both to restore public confidence in Congress as well as to improve its ability to respond to an increasingly complex agenda," said Rep. Lee Hamilton, D-Ind., a co-sponsor. The bill was introduced last July and lawmakers began to flock toward it this year in reaction to legislative gridlock and House scandals.

GAY POLICY: The Pentagon spends at least \$27 million per year replacing gays and lesbians forced from the service because of their sexual orientation, according to a General Accounting Office report due out today. The GAO, Congress' investigative arm, found that the service branches discharge an average of 1,500 people a year solely for being gay, The Associated Press reported. Pentagon policy deems homosexuality incompatible with military life and the maintenance of "good order, morale and discipline."

CONTINGENCY CUTS: Defense Secretary Dick Cheney has given the military the go-ahead to prepare for the possibility that fewer than 150,000 troops might one day be stationed in Europe, The Associated Press said. But there are no plans to order such reductions at this time. Current plans call for the Army to maintain 92,000 troops in Europe as part of the U.S. military's smaller base force. That's down from a high of about 325,000 troops posted there in recent years.

USA TODAY

100 MILLION READERS A DAY

FRI./SAT./SUN., JUNE 19-21, 1992

QUICK TAKES

I-R-R-I-T-A-T-E-D: Marilyn Quayle voiced "complete and total irritation" at those chortling over her husband's potato-spelling gaffe. "He gives five speeches a day for 25 months, never makes a mistake," she told CNN. "He makes one mistake and they air, air and air it. Human beings make errors." Quayle gave late-night comedians new ammunition this week when he told a sixth-grader to add an "e" to the spelling of potato. "As the political season goes on," she said, "the realization is there that we are electing a president and this is a little bit too serious to go on a Quixotic character, that you need real leadership."



USA TODAY
QUAYLE: They air, air and air

GOP COMPLAINT: Republicans today planned to file a complaint with the Federal Election Commission charging that the Clinton campaign illegally used \$400,000 from the Democratic National Committee to pay for a 30-minute NBC special. The complaint will ask the FEC to deny federal matching funds to Clinton's campaign because it tapped party funds. Democrats say use of DNC funds was proper.

EARTH VOTERS: The effect of President Bush's trip to the Rio Earth Summit remains unclear, but a poll for Times Mirror Magazines shows a fifth of voters cast ballots in the past based on environmental issues.

JOINING PEROT: Latest political insiders joining the Ross Perot campaign: Tim Craft, who helped Jimmy Carter in 1980, and Joe Canzeri, aide to both President Reagan and Vice President Quayle. Both will report to Ed Rollins.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE

Democrat Bill Clinton: Today: Little Rock, talks by satellite with Hispanic officials meeting in Santa Fe; Saturday: Little Rock; Sunday: Atlanta, Houston, 30-minute campaign ad, NBC, 7 p.m. EDT.

Republican George Bush: Today: Business speech and meetings with GOP leaders in Orange County, Calif.; Saturday: speech to Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association at Universal City, Calif., speaks to GOP convention in Dallas; Sunday: Camp David, Md.

Independent Ross Perot: Today: Petition rally in Denver; Saturday: Rally, parade in Boston; Sunday: Dallas.

Contributing: David Colton, Judy Keen.



By Dennis Cook, AP

IN SAN FRANCISCO: Bush greets the crowd as he arrives at the Alameda Naval Air Station in San Francisco Thursday.

Summit success fades fast for Bush

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

NEWARK, Calif. — President Bush came here Thursday hoping to bask in the afterglow of his summit with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. But those who questioned him at an oil-recycling plant were more concerned with issues closer to home.

Bush, in shirtsleeves under a hot midday sun at Evergreen Oil, said his talks with Yeltsin will ensure a safer future and help create jobs as new export markets open.

But the 13 people who questioned the president wanted to talk about their money worries, education, the environment, the homeless and the shrinking defense industry.

Maybe the most difficult question came at the end of the 30-minute session, when a man asked Bush why so many people seem to be rejecting him and supporting Ross Perot instead.

"Look," Bush said. "I understand the discontent that's out there. This economy has been in the dregs."

As he has for the last month, Bush struggled to make a case for his re-election. When people consider "who's doing something on the big painting" and "whether it's a good thing kids can sleep without fear of nuclear weapons," Bush said, they may rethink their support for his opponents.

"I want to finish what we've started," he said. "That alone is enough reason to ask the people for their support for four years, but right now there's a hurricane blowing

out there."

Bush's description of voters' mood: "Everybody in ought to be out."

But he added: "Right now, I don't think it's in focus. I think what's in focus is a kind of discontent. ... I think what happens is we go through this period now and then it gets in focus. ... Four years ago to this very day, I was 18 points behind the opponent."

Bush didn't mention his new opponents, but ended the session with a warning:

"You haven't heard one negative comment. And you're not going to hear one until maybe the end of August, and then you are, because I know how to fight and I'm not going to be their spear-catcher for the rest of the year, I can tell you that."

Bush campaigns this weekend in California and Texas — crucial states where he trails Perot in the polls.

One woman asked Bush why he hasn't appeared on TV call-in shows as Perot and Democrat Bill Clinton have in recent weeks.

At that moment, CNN interrupted a live broadcast of the Bush appearance to tell voters that an 800-number on an Evergreen truck parked behind the president was not a number they could call to ask him questions.

"I've been doing it ever since I've been in politics," Bush said. "I just have a certain respect for the office, and I don't want to turn it into a call-in showplace," he said. "I am not going to be out there being a teeny-bopper at 68. I just can't do it."

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

U.S.-Mexican Talks on Free Trade Pact Are Proving Tougher Than Expected

Despite a dispute over kidnapping and fear that Ross Perot will galvanize protectionist sentiment, U.S. and Mexican officials think they can complete a free-trade agreement this summer.

But the negotiations, which are continuing in Washington today, are proving to be tougher than either side anticipated. U.S. business groups complain that the Mexicans are angling to keep outmoded restrictions that would limit U.S. industry. The Mexicans counter that they need more time to get their country used to the idea of surrendering big chunks of business to Americans. Meanwhile, both countries are trying to use the U.S. presi-

By Wall Street Journal staff reporters Bob Davis in Washington and Matt Moffett in Mexico City.

dential election to their advantage — and could easily miscalculate in doing so.

President Bush has instructed his trade negotiators to try to finish a deal by the end of next month, so he can sign a North American Free-Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, with Canada and Mexico before the November election. And the Mexicans sense that could give them leverage in striking a deal more to their liking, analysts say.

"The Mexicans have made a mistake in putting all their eggs in Mr. Bush's basket," says Daniel James, president of the Mexican/American Free Trade Association, a Washington, D.C., group pushing for an agreement. "They don't understand the need for grass-roots organizing and influencing public opinion" in the U.S.

Perot's Stance

With the rise of the independent Perot candidacy, that reliance on the administration seems all the more risky. Mr. Perot has indicated he opposes a free-trade agreement, and his remarks have been blamed for recent weakness in the Mexican stock market. And a recent Supreme Court ruling allowing the kidnapping by U.S. officials of a Mexican citizen suspected of involvement in the murder of an American drug agent only fueled Mexican fears that the trade pact would be just another avenue for U.S. domination.

But yesterday the Mexican stock market began to rebound, even though investors remain skittish. "Just a month ago we hadn't received any calls from subscribers in Mexico about Perot," says Mauro Leos, an economic consultant for CIEMEX-WEFA in Philadelphia. "Now people are calling up to ask: 'Who is that guy?'"

The U.S. so far has been able to allay Mexican government fears over a loss of sovereignty. On Wednesday, Mexico temporarily lifted a ban on cooperation with U.S. drug agents in Mexico that it had imposed Monday to protest the Supreme Court decision. The speed with which both governments smoothed relations struck analysts as significant.

"The quick, effective response on both sides of the border shows a desire to keep this from retarding progress across the whole range of bilateral issues," says Delal Baer, director of the Mexico Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

'A Done Deal'

Among Mexican businesses, which have the most to lose if the trade pact is derailed, there seems to be little fear that it was in jeopardy.

"We've been operating under the assumption that free trade is a done deal, and we will continue to do so," said Jorge Vazquez Costilla, chief economist at Femsa, a giant beer and soft drink maker.

Jose Calvillo, finance manager for Controladora Comercial Mexicana S.A., the country's No. 3 retailer, concurred. "No matter what happens to the stock market in Mexico or the opinion polls in the U.S., we view free trade as something that's inevitably going to happen," he said.

But completing the pact won't be easy. The three countries haven't scheduled another meeting of trade ministers, indicating that they haven't narrowed the issues significantly in the past few weeks. Even if a pact is signed, it would face significant opposition in the U.S. Congress. And American consumer, environmental and trade groups promise a campaign against NAFTA, which they say will weaken U.S. environmental standards and cost jobs.

The talks have also snagged on disputes over financial services, automobiles, energy and agriculture. U.S. auto makers say Mexico is balking at dismembering regulations that limit sales of U.S. cars. U.S. insurance companies complain that Mexico's proposed limits on foreign ownership of financial institutions could force them to divest themselves of stakes they already hold.

President Bush's authority to negotiate a deal, which Congress would have to consider on a straight yes-or-no vote, free of amendments, expires next June. And if Mr. Perot winds up the winner in November, NAFTA could wind up a quick loser.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Israeli Politicians Vigorously Court 'Wild Card' Russian Immigrant Vote

By AMY DOCKSER MARCUS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

KFAR SIRKIN, Israel—With less than a week to go before the Israeli elections, politicians have been arriving several times a day in this dusty caravan site, which houses recent Russian-Jewish immigrants. Cars drive down the narrow rows of mobile homes blasting campaign jingles through loudspeakers. Young volunteers pass out pamphlets as political aides go door-to-door cajoling people to come to the square for a speech.

"We've seen them all," says one Russian woman, ticking off the names of people in the ruling Likud bloc, three immigrant parties, and the left-wing Meretz coalition on her fingers as she waits patiently in the midday sun for yet another speech to begin. "I even hear that tonight [Labor Party head] Yitzhak Rabin is coming here."

Most of Kfar Sirkin's residents are unemployed and don't speak Hebrew yet, but the fact that they are being assiduously courted is a sign of the political clout wielded by the 200,000 new immigrants who will be voting in Israel for the first time on Tuesday. Israeli pollsters predict that newly arrived Russian voters could decide as many as seven seats in the 120-member Knesset, or parliament, enough to tilt the balance between Likud and Labor and determine which party takes power.

"The Russians," says Yuli Kosharovskiy, head of the Da immigrant party, "are this election's wild card."

When Russian immigrants first began streaming into Israel in 1989, most political analysts assumed the arrivals would be automatic Likud supporters. After years of suffering under communism, the Labor Party's red flag, socialist traditions, and more moderate political views made many immigrants uneasy. Aaron Fein, director of the Tazpit Research Institute, a Jerusalem polling firm that monitors immigrant voting patterns, says most new immigrants are still more comfortable with the Likud's hard-line security views. In a recent Tazpit survey, more than two-thirds of immigrants opposed returning the territories Israel occupied in the 1967 war.

But as unemployment among the new immigrants continues to rise, reaching 40% among highly educated professionals, support for Likud has eroded. According to Tazpit's latest figures, 43.8% of the immigrants say they intend to vote for Labor and only 10.5% for Likud. "I trust the Likud more not to give back the territories," says Mikhail Chervin, a 21-year-old unemployed xylophone player. "But I heard Labor is going to build factories near Tel Aviv and right now what I need most is a job."

Both sides have made intense efforts to court the immigrant vote. Campaign jingles have been recorded in Russian and television ads carry Cyrillic subtitles. Labor dropped its red flag and toned down the socialism, assuring immigrants it will speed up economic reforms such as selling off state-owned companies and promising to divert to job creation money currently being spent building settlements in the occupied territories. Labor even recruited 15 Russian performers, actors, and writers to appear in television and newspaper advertisements and at rallies urging immigrants to vote Labor. "Our

main point is that the Likud has failed in the absorption of the immigrants and that we can do a better job," says Yoseph Genosar, who runs Labor's Russian campaign.

The Likud has tried hard to convince the Russians that unemployment will ease and that holding on to the territories is crucial for Israel's survival. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, in a television appearance, even appealed to the immigrants to consider Israel's security before their personal problems. It hasn't been easy: Housing Minister Ariel Sharon reportedly griped at a Likud meeting that the immigrants were "spoiled." "I miss the past immigrants," he said, "those of the 1950s."

Despite the focus on the Russians, not everyone in the immigrant community is satisfied. Natan Sharansky, president of the immigrant self-help group Soviet Jewry Zionist Forum, says neither party has presented concrete programs for solving the immigrants' unemployment, medical, and social problems. "The real problems of the immigrants have been completely ignored in this campaign in favor of propaganda and personal attacks on the other side," says Mr. Sharansky. "Nobody is talking about how we are going to help 400,000 immigrants find work and housing or how we can get two million more Jews who are now sitting on their suitcases to come here, and that is the biggest challenge facing Israel."

Still, the campaign has transformed the community by giving the immigrants an awareness of their emerging clout. Some have already learned how to flex their political muscle. "If you want our vote," one man at Kfar Sirkin called out to the Da party's Mr. Kosharovskiy at the end of his speech, "get us cable TV here."

Severn Trent PLC

The British water utility Severn Trent PLC in London said yesterday that its pretax profit rose 7% in the year ended March 31, helped by the first-time consolidation of its recently acquired Biffa waste management business.

The pretax profit rose to £265.4 million (\$492.6 million), or 68.20 pence a share, from £249 million, or 64.50 pence a share, was at the top end of previous market expectations that had ranged from £262.5 million to £265 million. The full-year dividend boost by 10% to 19.30 pence from 17.55 pence was slightly above the 19.20 pence that many analysts had forecast.

Other key figures showed sales rising 31% to £821.7 million, while operating profit climbed 32% to £260.8 million.

Severn Trent said the advance included 10.5 months of results from Biffa, which it acquired from BET PLC. It also cited its cautious expansion into other environmental activities as contributing to the advance and looked forward to future growth in this area.

Philippine Jobless Rate Rises

MANILA — The Philippine unemployment rate rose to 13.2% of the work force in the second quarter of 1992 from 9.1% in the first quarter, according to the latest labor survey conducted by the National Statistics Office.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Waxmangate: Why Americans Hate Congress

It's only fitting that Caspar Weinberger was indicted in the same week that Ross Perot leads in the polls and Washington celebrates the twentieth anniversary of Watergate. All three events are related, as Henry Waxman understands.

The diminutive Mr. Waxman is the Little Big Man of Congress's "Watergate class" of 1974. Though virtually unknown outside Washington, the Los Angeles liberal is one of the most important American politicians of the past 20 years.

The reforms, so-called, that Watergate ushered into Congress help explain Mr. Waxman's brilliant career. His career helps explain the "gridlock" in Washington that has voters turning in desperation to Ross Perot.

The 92 freshmen in the Class of '74 first overturned discipline inside the Congress, with Henry Waxman in the vanguard. They deposed old barons and created multiple subcommittees to disperse power. In 1978, just four years on the job, Mr. Waxman became the first member to defeat a more senior colleague for a subcommittee chairmanship.

In 1974, only a month before he resigned, a besieged Richard Nixon signed a landmark budget "reform." It diminished a president's power to influence spending choices, while handing new power to such legislative entrepreneurs as Mr. Waxman. Budgets could be assembled in one giant "reconciliation," typically at the last minute. A single shrewd operator with enough votes could suddenly make even a president blink.

"Henry Waxman walks around this place with proxies from 150 Democrats in his pocket," explains California Rep. Wil-

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

liam Dannemeyer, the ranking (and admiring) Republican on Mr. Waxman's subcommittee. Congress's leaders may want to compromise, but Mr. Waxman can prevail by focusing those proxies on key priorities. A budget director who wants a broader deal at any cost (Dick Darman) is putty in his hands.

Little Big Henry has thus been able single-handedly, and all but invisibly, to turn Medicaid from a welfare supplement into an entitlement cascading toward \$100 billion a year. And because Medicaid is partly funded by state governments, Mr. Waxman can personally take credit for forcing many state tax increases. Even Bill Clinton, of all people, has accused Mr. Waxman of imposing national health care via Medicaid and using "the states' credit cards as the financing mechanism."

Mr. Waxman's greatest genius, though, has come in political finance. The Watergate "reforms" were supposed to purge private "fat cats" from politics. Instead they created congressional fat cats who learned how to exploit the political-action committees (PACs) of special interests.

Mr. Waxman is fatter than most. Though he has a safe seat himself (even this year), he has still raised millions from PACs. (In 1991 alone, according to Common Cause, Mr. Waxman received more PAC money, \$348,950, than all but one other House member. Most of it is protection money paid by the businesses he regulates from his subcommittee.)

Why? The answer goes back to those Democratic proxy votes. Mr. Waxman raises money to ladle it out to other Democrats running in competitive seats. In 1989-90 alone, his office figures he bestowed \$220,000 on liberal colleagues. Those members don't forget who buttered their permanent incumbency. It's no wonder Mr. Waxman now rivals Chairman John Dingell in choosing who can sit on his Energy and Commerce Committee. Mr. Waxman is assumed to be Mr. Dingell's heir apparent as well.

Watergate's aftermath was supposed to humble an arrogant executive, and it did, though at the cost of strengthening an arrogant and unruly Congress. Its staff has grown with its ego, to 31,000 now from 20,000 in 1972.

The nastiest expression of its arrogance is the use of "independent counsel" to terrorize executive branch officials, even those like Caspar Weinberger who've long ago left office. That law too was passed in the wake of Watergate. Does anyone think a Henry Waxman would let such a law pass if it also applied to him?

All of this might be just another story about how Washington works, except that voters are concluding it doesn't work. While Mr. Waxman can pass his personal agenda, his very success precludes Congress as a whole from passing a sensible budget. And while voters have elected Republican presidents, ingenious liberals managed to exploit the Watergate reforms and burrow into a tenured Congress that seems unaccountable.

Disgust with Congress suggests the public agrees with Gerald Ford. "All they did was screw it up," the former president and House GOP leader recently said about the post-Watergate reformers. The House now, he added, is composed of "435 prima donnas who have no allegiance to their party or their leaders."

Mr. Waxman will still be in Congress in 1993, but perhaps so will enough new members to reform the House that Watergate Built. Term limits and redistricting have already upset the stranglehold of Mr. Waxman's political operation in his home of California. If we're lucky, 1992 will be the beginning of the end of the Waxmangate era.



Henry Waxman

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Congress Passes \$1.1 Billion Aid Bill To Help Los Angeles, Chicago Rebuild

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Congress approved a \$1.1 billion emergency urban aid bill to help Los Angeles and Chicago recover from recent disasters and pump \$500 million into expanded summer youth-employment programs nationwide.

The action came as the House Appropriations Committee approved a \$13.8 billion foreign aid measure incorporating deep cuts from U.S. military assistance abroad and providing a \$417 million down payment on promised humanitarian aid for the former Soviet Union.

An additional \$400 million would be allocated for Eastern Europe in the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1. But despite lobbying by Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, the panel rejected all of a \$202 million debt-relief plan sought by the administration for Caribbean and Latin America nations.

The urban aid package, which is expected to be signed promptly by President Bush, cleared the Senate on a voice vote after being adopted by the House by a 249-168 margin. The action follows weeks of maneuvering that is sure to reduce the effectiveness of the promised youth jobs funds. Even in the final hours of debate, the Senate had to overcome a skirmish over whether to incorporate aid for rural Minnesota communities hit by tornadoes.

The final measure reflects concessions by Democrats who stripped out at least \$750 million that the party leadership had hoped to include for a mix of education and urban law enforcement programs. Despite this compromise, rank-and-file House Republicans voted overwhelmingly against the bill, which is seen as only an interim step before another round of legislation comes to the floor before the Fourth of July recess.

Breaks for Businessmen

Republicans are chafing for an opportunity to take up the administration's initiative to provide tax breaks and regulatory relief to businesses in urban enterprise zones. And while Democrats pledged yesterday to act on some version of this proposal, liberals will demand that these incentives be combined with some mix of more traditional job and education programs for poor families.

Under terms of yesterday's emergency bill, the \$500 million for summer jobs must be obligated by the Labor Department by the end of this month and would supplement an estimated \$682 million previously appropriated for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30. The first \$100 million would be targeted to the nation's 75 largest cities, and if fully implemented, the new money could add as many as 300,000 to 400,000 temporary jobs for teen-agers.

Elsewhere, the bill provides \$300 million to replenish accounts at the Federal Emergency Management Agency and assist communities damaged in the Los Angeles riots and the Chicago flood. And

nearly \$276 million allocated to the Small Business Administration would be used to leverage new disaster loans and greatly expand the value of loan guarantees available to smaller companies generally.

Disaster loan levels, for example, would nearly double to \$1.1 billion in this fiscal year, and SBA loan guarantees would increase by an estimated \$1.5 billion.

Role of Image and Cost

The plight of cities, and the image of riot-torn Los Angeles, are driving forces in this debate. But it also illustrates a green-eyeshade struggle over budget numbers and what costs will be counted under spending ceilings. Liberals had hoped to use the crisis to escape these restrictions and pump up appropriations for Head Start and compensatory education assistance for poor children. These programs will now find it that much harder to compete for extra funds against other priorities.

For example, even as the urban aid agreement was being worked out this week, the Senate Appropriations Committee chose to cut back on the funds available for the same health and education programs in order to address perceived shortfalls in law enforcement and highway accounts. The \$377 million reduction reflects the priorities of committee Chairman Robert Byrd (D., W.Va.) and underscores the gap between himself and the acting leader of the House panel, Rep. William Natcher, who made clear that he would prefer to see the money back in health and education funding.

"If there is such a thing as a peace dividend, there is no question where it should go," Mr. Natcher said yesterday. And as he exerts himself more in the committee, the Kentucky Democrat represents a potential counterweight to Mr. Byrd's penchant for pork-barrel politics.

SouthTrust Corp.

Banking Concern to Acquire CK Federal in Stock Swap

SouthTrust Corp. said it signed a letter of intent to acquire CK Federal Savings Bank, of Concord, N.C., in a stock swap valued at \$32 million.

Terms call for SouthTrust, of Birmingham, Ala., to swap 0.95 of a share of its common for each of the 1,349,036 shares of CK Federal outstanding.

The transaction, announced after the close of trading Thursday, is subject to the negotiation of a definitive agreement, as well as regulatory and shareholder approvals.

SouthTrust is a bank holding company with assets of \$10.4 billion and 340 offices in six states; CK Federal has about \$435 million in assets and nine offices in North Carolina.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

BUSH'S CAMPAIGN still sputters, despite a boost from Russian arms cuts. Memos and letters urging drastic changes and firings pour into Bush from supporters; one old friend says he has delivered six to Bush personally. "We need more creativity, more ideas, more energy," says another Bush friend, Peter Teeley. "If we lose this thing, it is because of complete ineptness," grouses one administration official.

White House staffers point fingers at the campaign for the woes, but campaign people and many outsiders fault the White House officials. The latest shake-up rumors have defense chief Cheney going to the White House and ad-man Roger Alles to the campaign. Talk grows that Baker will return, but to do so he likely would have to quit as secretary of state and face reconfirmation if Bush wins.

The campaign will use Yeltsin's agreement for nuclear cuts to promote Bush's foreign-policy image, but some other foreign issues turn south.

PROBLEMS GROW for Bush and the U.S. in Latin American nations.

Congressional conservatives push to hold U.S. aid to Nicaragua due to the influence of leftist Sandinistas there. In El Salvador, Bush's leverage slips as government reforms stall and leftist guerrillas miss a troop-cut deadline; but both sides set new target dates. An embargo against Haiti isn't succeeding in driving the military from power.

The U.S. dispatches senior military officers to Venezuela to warn about the consequences of another coup attempt. But it would be hard for Bush to call for a Haiti-like embargo there; Venezuela is the U.S.'s second-biggest supplier of imported oil and second-largest Latin market for U.S. goods.

CLINTON FACES unexpected diversions at next month's Democratic convention.

Women activists press for unprecedented roles, showcasing Senate contenders Boxer and Feinstein of California, Braun of Illinois and Yeakel of Pennsylvania. They want as many as three dozen female congressional candidates on the podium on the second night. Meantime, an angry Jackson promises a huge New York march the Saturday before the convention.

Many Clinton aides concede that planning for a smooth convention is "far behind." Platform fights loom on economic planks: some regular Democrats see too much emphasis on "entrepreneurial" plans. AIDS activists plan a rally. Even the New York state, with a potential strike and security concerns, plays into GOP efforts to portray Democrats as the party of urban chaos.

Clinton stubbornly resists urgings by top aides to trim his multi-point plans and focus on a simple message.

CLINTON PLANS to issue an updated economic plan, perhaps as soon as next week, while putting off a multi-issue agenda with Democratic leaders in Congress. But a mutual agenda "isn't dead," says a top Democratic aide. If Clinton can't set joint action with Congress on key issues, his campaign would be severely jeopardized.

QUAYLE CONTINUES to lead administration attacks on Clinton and Perot, despite a bad spell of potato embarrassments. He will deliver a speech today at the American Association of Talk Show Hosts and another on family values early next month in Clinton's home state of Arkansas.

PEROT GAVE \$100,000 to the American Jewish Committee last month, a few weeks after revealing that he had belonged to a country club that excluded Jews. The committee's Jamie Kelstein says the first-ever Perot donation to the group was a "surprise."

BOOK ROYALTIES from "Made in America," the new biography of Sam Walton, will go to the nonprofit New American Schools Development Corp. created as part of Bush's America 2000 education program. The idea was hatched in a meeting between Education Secretary Alexander and the Wal-Mart founder before his death.

COSTS RISE for taxpayers as Treasury's agenda stalls in Congress.

Lawmakers from both parties balk at approving money needed to sell or liquidate insolvent savings and loans. The delay adds as much as \$2.5 million a day to the eventual price tag. "With the meter still running, the delay has cost more than \$150 million," says former Comptroller Robert Clarke.

House Democrats, annoyed by criticism from Treasury Undersecretary Mulford, omit \$200 million for his pet project — debt relief for Latin America — but earmark \$75 million for a new hemispheric investment fund. Prospects for Treasury-backed changes to permit interstate banking also are slim.

Senate Banking Chairman Riegle blames Treasury for the S&L delay, accusing it of deliberately stalling to preserve ailing California S&Ls until after the election.

MINOR MEMOS: A Tex-Mex restaurant sells a Perot Taco: "Nobody's sure what's in it, but everybody loves it anyway." . . . Ledyard National Bank in Hanover, N.H., offers customers "practically the same benefits [members of Congress] received at the House bank." . . . Convicted Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy not only does a radio show from the scene of the break-in 20 years later but rides in a limousine, courtesy of NBC, for an interview a block away.

—RONALD G. SHAFER

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Bush Expected to Unveil Ways of Easing The Conversion of Military Technology

By ANDY PASZTOR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—President Bush, seeking to help U.S. defense contractors adjust to the post-Cold War world, is expected to announce various policy changes making it easier to convert military technology to nonmilitary uses.

Mr. Bush, according to administration and industry officials, will unveil a package of regulatory initiatives today intended to eliminate payment of royalties to the government when Pentagon-sponsored research is spun off to produce commercial products. The long-term goal, these officials said, is to combine the best research from federal laboratories, weapon-makers and smaller private companies and harness it to develop products that can compete more effectively with Japanese and European manufacturers.

As part of the administration's broader regulatory efforts, the president is also expected to call for legislative changes eliminating similar royalty payments when defense companies land major weapons sales to foreign governments.

The Pentagon uses a sliding scale that can exceed 5% of the contract price, and typically includes the weapons system as

well as spare parts, to recoup a portion of its research investment when overseas sales are signed by U.S. defense firms. Similar payments are also required on commercial sales.

Long advocated by leading defense contractors, the proposals are expected to save defense companies hundreds of millions of dollars in direct payments in future years, reduce paperwork and administrative costs, and encourage the industry to diversify into nondefense markets by breaking down barriers between military research and commercial derivatives.

In recent months, the Pentagon's stepped up recoupment efforts on nonmilitary sales "sent the defense industry into a frenzy," according to Joel Johnson of the Aerospace Industries Association. He said the effort presented huge administrative problems and even potential criminal penalties for contractors if "they can't track down technology that migrated" from defense to commercial projects.

Don Cassidy, vice president of contracts for General Motors Corp.'s Hughes Aircraft unit, called the proposed changes "a significant first step" to help defense companies diversify and "avoid all kinds of arguments and litigation" when commercial spinoffs are marketed.

Hoping to get the maximum political boost from the announcement, the White House called in some senior defense industry officials for briefings, and Mr. Bush has chosen to make his announcement in a speech to a business group in Orange County, Calif., with strong ties to the region's aerospace industry.

Most of the regulatory changes are expected to go into effect immediately, and the White House expects bipartisan congressional support for Mr. Bush's package partly because existing export-license requirements won't be affected.

taxes. Potential buyers may calculate their taxes before moving in, Justice Blackmun reasoned, and California may favor the interests of longtime residents who wish to stay put.

In a lone dissent, Justice John Stevens said Proposition 13 had created "severe inequities" and a "tremendous windfall" to longtime owners, whom he sarcastically dubbed "the Squires." He singled out for particular ridicule an exception to the general rule that allows owners to avoid the increased assessment of their property if they transfer it to their children, rather than to a new buyer. The exception "establishes a privilege of a medieval character," Justice Stevens wrote.

It would require them to hold capital equal to 2.5% of their assets and 0.45% of their guarantees to purchase mortgages and make payments on securities. That compares with a 5%-of-assets minimum for well-capitalized banks. G.E. Capital Corp., which operates without government benefits, maintains 11.5% capital to keep its AAA rating secure, according to public documents.

Fannie Mae Chairman James Johnson says the legislation, which has passed the House, will "remove any cloud that remains about our governmental mandate . . . and allow Fannie Mae to get on with housing Americans and making more money for its shareholders."

One reason Fannie Mae has been so successful in protecting its privileges is that it has done just what Congress created it to do in 1938: aid housing by helping lenders supply credit at the lowest rate. The institutions also say they funnel money to the lower end of the housing market. However, a 1990 Federal Reserve study of mortgage lending found that just 2.5% of the housing loans Fannie Mae bought that year were in predominately minority neighborhoods; for Freddie Mac, the figure was 3.6%.

Another factor is Fannie Mae's unusual dual public-private nature as a government insider that can, for example, disperse political-action committee money. "Their intelligence is so good," says Rep. Gerald Kleczka, a Wisconsin Democrat who sits on the House Banking Committee "that one time I was drafting an amendment, and Fannie Mae had a rebuttal in the hands of the Republicans before I spoke."



James Johnson

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Three-Way Race Forces Politicians to Rethink Strategies in States That Used to Be Sure Bets

By DAVID SHIRIMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Democrats, who have carried Alabama only once in a presidential race since John Kennedy ran, suddenly are competitive in that state. Republicans, who have lost West Virginia in six out of the past eight presidential elections, suddenly are in a position to win that state.

The new political order has arrived, and there's nothing orderly about it.

The three-way presidential race is prompting politicians at all levels to rethink not only their strategies and tactics but their entire sense of the political terrain. The presidential campaigns are only now coming to grips with the complexities of running against two candidates. Congressional candidates are discovering that, along with abortion rights, economic matters and questions about perks, they now have to address how they would vote if no one got an electoral-vote majority and the election of the president and vice president were thrown to Capitol Hill.

Defections From Clinton and Bush

The complex dynamics of the 1992 campaign are underscored by the flap growing out of Gov. Clinton's criticism of rap singer Sister Souljah at a forum conducted by the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

Mr. Jackson, who has relished disputes with Democratic nominees in the weeks leading up to the past two national conventions, now has a new outlet—and perhaps a trump card. He has been having conversations with Ross Perot this week, and though there are no plans for an alliance between the two, those with ties to both camps say a Jackson endorsement isn't out of the question.

There are parallels in President Bush's campaign. Republicans, particularly conservatives and Christian activists who are troubled about the drift in the Bush administration and the president's campaign, suddenly also have an alternative. Some leading Republicans believe Mr. Perot is moving toward luring a number of well-known Reaganites to his cause. "The dam may break and make it socially acceptable to be for Perot," says Marc Nuttle, the former Pat Robertson campaign manager who has talked with Perot aides, but because of his own longtime GOP ties, has been struggling over whether to work for Mr. Perot.

"There are extra elements in this election that we haven't seen before," says Stephen Wirls, a political scientist at Franklin & Marshall College. "The whole system is in rebellion and is changing so fast that politicians aren't keeping up with the changes. And that is making the confusion even greater."

In the past month alone, the political world has changed drastically. Mr. Perot isn't likely to pass from the scene like a summer storm, and his presence has altered the electoral environment, changing both the mathematics and the geography of politics.

Cautious by inclination, hidebound by temperament, politicians nonetheless are scrambling to adjust to a landscape transformed by the presence of Mr. Perot in the presidential race—and at the top of the polls. There are no landmarks, no road signs to guide the way, and there is only one certainty: "If you stick to the old rules," as Charles Campion, a veteran of Democratic political struggles, puts it, "you're a loser, plain and simple."

Multiple Uncertainties

Indeed, the established truths of a two-way race have been replaced by the multiple uncertainties of a three-way race. In West Virginia, for example, a dependably Democratic state that gave Michael Dukakis his sixth-biggest margin of victory four years ago, Gov. Bill Clinton holds a four-percentage point advantage over President Bush in a two-way race. But with Mr. Perot in the contest, Mr. Bush holds a four-point lead over Mr. Clinton.

In Ohio, meanwhile, President Bush would win by a big margin in a two-way race. But with three candidates in the race, according to the latest Mason-Dixon poll, the president and Mr. Perot are tied for the lead with 34%. In Alabama, a safe GOP state in an ordinary election, Mr. Bush's 17-point lead in a two-way race shrinks in a three-way race to only eight points over Mr. Clinton, who's thus clearly within striking distance.

The reason: GOP success in Alabama is based on winning a huge margin of the white vote and all but relinquishing the black vote to the Democrat. Even if Mr. Clinton doesn't attract as much of the black vote as previous Democratic contenders, it's almost certain that Mr. Perot will peel off significant chunks of the white vote that Mr. Bush counted on, seriously endangering the president's majority in the state.

"Perot could divide enough of the white vote off from Bush and let Clinton sneak in with a solid black base and with some other Democrats," says Brad Coker, president of Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research.

That pattern, moreover, may repeat itself in such states as Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee and Kentucky. As a result, Southern and border states, ordinarily considered part of the Republican base in a presidential election, are now within reach of the Democratic nominee, himself a native Southerner.

By the same token, Mr. Clinton's position is far less strong in states ordinarily considered part of the Democrats' base, including such big states as New York, which has 33 electoral votes. "It's all

Big Stakes in Big States

The presence of Ross Perot in the presidential race has altered the political equations in three big states. Below are June poll results in a race that includes only President Bush and Bill Clinton, and for contrast, the poll findings with Perot added to the race.

	2-WAY	3-WAY
TEXAS		
BUSH	53	30
CLINTON	32	21
PEROT	—	41
FLORIDA		
BUSH	50	31
CLINTON	34	22
PEROT	—	34
CALIFORNIA		
BUSH	40	24
CLINTON	36	22
PEROT	—	41

Source: Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research

volatile, but with Perot in the race, Bush is in better shape," says Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. "Perot may even be ahead here—but at any rate, he's pulled Clinton back to earth."

The shifts in political support from state to state defy simple explanations, largely because Mr. Perot, alone among modern third entrants in a presidential

race, takes voters from all demographic groups. "Perot is taking different voters in different places, and the two parties have to throw out their whole plans," says Sandy Maisel, a member of the Democratic platform committee from Maine. "The Democrats have to worry about places where they were confident and now can mount a push in places where the Republicans were impregnable."

New Issue for Candidates

Meanwhile, candidates for Congress are struggling with how they would vote if the election were thrown into the House. "This is a question that is going to be part of House races as long as Perot is a factor," says Bert Rockman, a University of Pittsburgh political scientist.

Lawmakers also are continuing to try to tinker with the current electoral system. GOP Sen. Slade Gorton of Washington this week introduced legislation to hold a runoff between the top two vote-getters in the event that no candidate wins a majority of the electoral college. But they are also juggling various approaches to deal with the current system, which gives each state one vote in a contest that includes the three candidates who attract the most support.

Although some say they will support the presidential candidate who wins their state or district, many of the congressional candidates are signaling that they will support the candidate who wins the most votes nationally. "We're not selecting someone to be president of Minnesota's first district, or Minnesota or the Democratic Party," argues Democratic Rep. Tim Penney of Minnesota.

Some lawmakers, such as Rep. John LaFalce of New York, chairman of the House Small Business Committee, say it's too early to set any fixed rule. "We have to consider our conscience, our own constituents, our state and the rules by which others intend to cast their votes," says Mr. LaFalce, who adds that "right now, I could comfortably cast my ballot

either for Mr. Clinton or Mr. Perot from the House."

In any case, uncertainty rules the political world right now—and more could follow. "Some people are not going to vote for the candidate they want the most

because they worry their vote will go to elect the candidate they like the least," says Tad Devine, who ran Sen. Bob Kerrey's Democratic presidential campaign. "There could be unintended consequences to all of that."

Bush compromises, urban aid bill passes

'Enterprise zones' killed

By J. Jennings Moss
and Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Congress passed an emergency aid bill for Los Angeles and Chicago yesterday, funding a summer jobs program President Bush did not request but cutting nearly \$1 billion for social programs Democrats

wanted.

With the \$1.1 billion compromise, Mr. Bush sacrificed two key urban programs ballyhooed on the campaign trail while effectively breaking his 1990 agreement with Congress to cap federal spending.

White House officials said they agreed to the plan to open the door for Congress to act on aid to the former Soviet republics.

But the price for getting quick consideration on the Russian aid package was giving up the "enterprise zone" proposal, which would have given tax breaks to those who invest in poor urban areas, and the

tough-on-crime "weed and seed" program.

Mr. Bush has touted both programs on the campaign trail as the cornerstone of his domestic agenda.

While several lawmakers praised Mr. Bush, one senior GOP House member said the president made a "terrible mistake" by not insisting on retaining his proposal for inner-city investment enterprise zones.

"I thought we gave away our best leverage," said Vin Weber of Minnesota. "The administration should not have agreed to this. . . . It seriously diminished our chances of passage of enterprise zones and other

things." Mr. Weber, who is retiring this year, has been part of the negotiating team on urban aid issues.

The House voted 249-168 to approve the urban aid package, with 205 Democrats, 43 Republicans and the one independent voting for the bill while 51 Democrats and 117 Republicans opposed it. The Senate approved it by a voice vote.

House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri and administration officials worked out the compromise Wednesday after nearly a month of talks about short-term emergency aid and more comprehensive programs to help America's

cities. Republicans in Congress who had taken part in the talks did not agree to the compromise, Mr. Weber said.

The bill provides \$576 million for disaster relief and recovery loans to help Los Angeles businesses and residents recover from riots last month and to assist Chicago businesses repair damage from sub-basement flooding caused by a tunnel rupture earlier this year. It also includes \$500 million to create an estimated 360,000 jobs for young people in 75 cities this summer.

But the trimmed-down version was still twice the amount originally

approved by the House. Democratic leaders acknowledged they had been unable to secure enough support to pass the \$2 billion measure the Senate first approved.

"This is a time to do something. It means nothing to those young people in Los Angeles or St. Louis or New York if we just continue to have a good old argument," Mr. Gephardt said on the House floor.

The Bush administration issued a written veto threat to Congress last week that invoked objections to the lack of "fiscal discipline" implied in

see URBAN, page A10

URBAN

From page A1

emergency spending but he is now willing to declare such an emergency.

Mr. Bush and the Congress agreed in 1990 to set strict caps on government spending to keep the deficit down but allowed an escape clause for extra spending. As part of the 1990 agreement, Mr. Bush reneged on his 1988 campaign pledge of "Read my lips: No new taxes" — a reversal that brought howls from congressional Republicans.

The urban aid issue deeply split Republicans, with such economic hard-liners as Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady opposing compromise.

"It became clear that everybody couldn't agree," Judy Smith, deputy White House press secretary, said yesterday. "We still want the rest of our urban package but agreed to this because we want to get money out

there where it's needed."

Added campaign press secretary Torie Clarke: "It's best to get results and relief to the area immediately and come back and fight another day." Politically, she said, it is most important "to be seen to get results. If you get help to these people it's a success."

Administration officials and some congressional advocates of Russian aid, which is a priority for Mr. Bush, also said action on the urban aid bill had to come first.

U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Robert Strauss told a few reporters at the White House on Wednesday that "you can be absolutely assured" that Mr. Bush will make sure urban aid passes before bringing Russian aid to a vote.

Mr. Gephardt and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell promised the administration that Congress would consider enterprise zone legislation, possibly before the July 4 recess.

Mr. Weber predicted a big fight on

the issue. He said Democrats already are in a "win-win" situation with the passage of the urban aid compromise and had no reason to fight for enterprise zones.

Other administration priorities, such as Mr. Bush's Education 2000 program, were set aside but will be considered in continuing long-term urban aid talks.

But the chances of any future package that includes high-priced domestic programs are shaky in light of a budget-cutting fever on Capitol Hill. On Wednesday the House scrubbed nearly \$500 million for the superconducting super collider.

"It's going to be right difficult," said acting House Appropriations Committee Chairman William H. Natcher, Kentucky Democrat. "We only have so many dollars, and if they want to go in to add programs in additional cities, they're going to have to do it one of two ways and the House is not prepared to do it one way, by raising taxes."

Prisons yield no Yanks

Search for POWs
off to slow start

By Thomas Ginsberg
ASSOCIATED PRESS

LABOR CAMP PL-350-5, Russia — U.S. investigators came to this remote Stalinist prison yesterday looking into reports that an American prisoner of war was still alive. But all they found were freshly painted walls, smiling prisoners and officials who insisted the hunt was pointless.

"We don't have any Americans here," said Maj. Gen. Leonid Khamluk, chief of the region, which includes about 10 labor camps built before and during World War II.

The delegation of two civilians and one military investigator — part of a U.S.-Russian commission on POWs and MIAs — met local officials in the morning and then drove over rough gravel roads through forests to reach Camp No. 5 in the once-closed area known as PL-350.

The delegation came after getting word that an American pilot was believed to be at one of the camps here, near the town of Pechora, 900 miles northeast of Moscow.

The trip was quickly organized after the remark by President Boris Yeltsin that American POWs imprisoned in the Soviet Union during this century might still be in Russia.

In Israel, meanwhile, former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev denied that he knew American POWs from the Vietnam War were transferred to the Soviet Union, as Mr.

see JAILS, page A7

JAILS

From page A1

Yeltsin claimed. "I know nothing of the existence of such facts that Yeltsin was talking about," Mr. Gorbachev said at a news conference.

A private American group looking for POWs, the Ark Project, said it believed the man being sought at Camp No. 5 was 1st Lt. Robert Martin, who was taken prisoner by North Korea during the Korean War. Further information about him was not available.

The American investigators refused to speak with reporters. They filed from room to room in the prison's dilapidated, three-story administration building, its interior walls freshly painted white, in search of information.

State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said in Washington that the commission had received information that an American POW might have been at the camp "as recently as 18 months ago."

Soldiers, inmates and prison officials all said there were no Americans present.

"We heard some rumors that somebody was around here, but nobody has ever seen him. And I don't believe them," said 18-year-old Alexander Babenko, one of a half-dozen young soldiers posted at a guardhouse overlooking the camp.

The labor camp, home to more than 200 prisoners, is surrounded by a high brick-and-wood fence topped by barbed wire. It is set in a clearing surrounded by birch trees for miles on all sides.

Journalists were not allowed inside but could see several buildings behind the fence, including a hospital, barracks and small factories where prisoners make wooden furniture.

The entrance road was lined with freshly planted pine saplings. The crumbling concrete road winding around the camp had been swept clean, and the few prisoners allowed outside were wearing clean, black uniforms.

Vladimir Alexandrov, a 38-year-old convicted burglar serving a four-year term, said camp officials ordered inmates to clean up the grounds the previous two days, evidently to put a good face forward.

"Our conditions are pretty good anyway," Alexandrov said, managing a halfhearted smile as he cleaned potatoes at a kitchen outside the compound.

Alexandrov, who has one year left on his term, said he had never seen an American during his time at the camp, "but I don't know about the other places."

The delegation planned to visit other camps today before returning to Moscow.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992 *

Clinton urges Russian aid after meeting with Yeltsin

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Bill Clinton had an early-morning chat with Boris Yeltsin yesterday and emerged to urge bipartisan support for aid to the Russian president's struggling nation.

The probable Democratic nominee stayed up all night for a talk with the widely publicized guest. The session began at 7:30 a.m. at Blair House, across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House.

Reappearing 30 minutes later, Mr. Clinton echoed the encouragement for the Russian leader that had been voiced earlier by President Bush and much of official Washington during the visit.

"Today is the day to emphasize that a very brave and historically important figure is here," Mr. Clinton said, endorsing a Russian aid package and a new arms-control agreement between the United States and Russia.

The governor also urged a search for Russian-held U.S. POWs in response to Mr. Yeltsin's disclosure during his visit that grave sites of American veterans have been kept secret by past Soviet regimes.

Mr. Clinton said Mr. Yeltsin "made an incredible effort here to reach out to the United States."

"The arms-control agreement is very, very good for this country and was embraced at some risk to him in his country," the Arkansas governor said.

Mr. Clinton beamed despite a 4:30 a.m. arrival at Dulles International Airport after an overnight flight from an event in Las Vegas that netted \$60,000 for his financially strapped campaign.

Yesterday's Blair House meeting provided Mr. Clinton with some scarce foreign policy imagery, and he seemed clearly pleased as he reported on his talk with the Russian head of state.

Although the governor earned his undergraduate degree in international relations, differences:

"I am acquainted with his pre-election program. I know he is in favor of active cooperation with Russia," Mr. Yeltsin said. "I know that he is a fighter against bureaucracy, and this is a real problem for us, too."

Mr. Clinton said he disagreed with the view among some Democratic congressmen that domestic economic needs should be tied to the Russian aid bill.

"I also believe we need action on the domestic front, but I don't think the linkage is necessarily the best way to go. I think that these issues ought to stand on their own merits," Mr. Clinton said.

He avoided elaborating differences on foreign policy with the White House but did note for reporters his opposition to Mr. Bush's policies on the Middle East, China, Haiti, Cuba and the just-concluded Rio Earth Summit.

"But today is the day to talk about something we agree on, which is the support package and the arms-control agreement," Mr. Clinton said.

"I would like if we could have a bipartisan policy on all major issues, but I certainly think that today is not the day to talk about our differences."

Perot will pay them visits over the next week.

Mr. Bush headed for several days of campaigning. The Perot rally in Sacramento was replete with patriotic music, flags and a child for Mr. Perot to hug — all trappings of traditional political events for the candidate who promises an unconventional campaign.

Mr. Perot, who has waged most of his unannounced campaign by appearing on television shows, joked that it was "fascinating" that Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton now were hitting the TV circuit and talking to voters about the deficit and other issues.

"Now hold your hat," Mr. Perot said. "The president held a press conference — wow — and Governor Clinton is on television playing the states so far."

Supporters in California, Massachusetts, Maryland and Connecticut were turning in signatures. Mr. Clinton is on television playing the states so far.

Mr. Perot staged two triumphant rallies in California as the drive to put him on ballots around the country moved forward. He apparently has qualified for the ballot in 15 states so far.

Mr. Perot said they were turning in more than 1 million signatures to put him on the state's November ballot.

Perot told a crowd of thousands outside the state Capitol, Perot supporters said they were turning in more than 1 million signatures to put him on the state's November ballot.

"These people have turned policy proposals. These people have turned policy proposals. These people have turned policy proposals."

Ross Perot took credit yesterday for forcing President Bush and Bill Clinton to address key issues, drawing rousing cheers for a slogan-rich speech that itself contained no details on how to do so.

At one point, Mr. Perot got flustered and stumbled over his words when a small group of protesters began chanting, "Talk about the issues, talk about the issues."

But most of the crowd was squarely in Mr. Perot's corner — and clearly displeased with politics as usual.

Most of the crowd was squarely in Mr. Perot's corner and clearly displeased with politics as usual.

saxophone and Vice President Quayle is trying to figure out how to spell potato.

Mr. Perot generally fires his criticism at Mr. Bush and ignores Mr. Clinton. But he veered from that course a bit yesterday and said, "The Democratic candidate is now running as an outsider against his own party. Only in America can you do that."

Mr. Perot offered no specific policy proposals, saying the nation

needed to rebuild its industrial job base and infrastructure but offering no details on how to do so.

At one point, Mr. Perot got flustered and stumbled over his words when a small group of protesters began chanting, "Talk about the issues, talk about the issues."

But most of the crowd was squarely in Mr. Perot's corner — and clearly displeased with politics as usual.

"He's the guy for the job," said Gary Kitzman, an unemployed air freight worker. "I just don't care for the direction the two parties are taking us."

Mr. Perot, in his speech, said he has spent just \$1.4 million while Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton on the presidential race so far. However, Mr. Perot — unlike Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton — competed in no primaries.

Perot is golden boy in the Golden State

Yeltsin and Gorbachev still slugging it out

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The image couldn't have been more upsetting: U.S. soldiers, some from as long ago as World War II, languishing in Soviet prison camps.

NEWS ANALYSIS

In three hectic days that marked

The culprits: Mikhail Gorbachev and a cast of past Soviet strongmen.

his first summit with President Bush, Russian President Boris Yeltsin used the emotional issue of American POWs to try to pound the final nails in the political coffin into which he has shoved the humbled Mr. Gorbachev.

With his eye on a restive populace unaccustomed to the hardships accompanying Russia's uncertain transformation to a market economy, Mr. Yeltsin seemed intent this week to further weaken the man who could

rise again to challenge him.

"Yeltsin is very concerned with what Gorbachev is doing," said Dimitri Simes, a Russian affairs analyst at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Gorbachev has taken it upon himself to act as a 'detached commentator' in a way that has been very damaging to Yeltsin's effectiveness as Russian president."

The long-simmering feud between the two men goes back to 1987,

when Mr. Gorbachev abruptly dismissed Mr. Yeltsin, his one-time protégé, as Communist Party boss in Moscow.

This week — even with both men traveling abroad, Mr. Yeltsin in the United States and Mr. Gorbachev in Israel — the sniping continued.

Mr. Yeltsin took the lead in the latest round, first hinting on his arrival that Moscow might be holding secrets about long-missing American POWs and later suggesting that

Mr. Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders "kept it secret."

Mr. Gorbachev responded yesterday, saying he knows "nothing of the existence of such facts that Yeltsin was talking about."

"This indicates he could not resist joining those who are working on defaming Gorbachev," Mr. Gorbachev said before ending his five-day visit to Israel.

see. YELTSIN, page A7

YELTSIN

From page A1

Since his retirement as Soviet president on Dec. 31, 1991, Mr. Gorbachev has set up a huge academic foundation, employing 600 persons. He has toured widely in the West, raising hard currency to finance his activities.

The Russian Embassy in Washington last month did little to mask its unhappiness with Mr. Gorbachev's visit just a month before Mr. Yeltsin's maiden voyage to Washington as president.

Mr. Gorbachev summoned Russia's ambassador to the United States, Vladimir Lukin, to his hotel room and gave him an angry dressing-down for not meeting his plane when it arrived, Russian sources said.

The former Soviet leader "is breaking his commitment" to Mr. Yeltsin "and is engaging in politics again," Mr. Simes said. "It is not the performance of an academic."

Instead, Mr. Gorbachev is acting like "a statesman who does not consider himself a has-been," Mr. Simes said.

Mr. Gorbachev has maintained strong links with his old political allies, led by his former chief ideologist Alexander Yakovlev, who have set up a new political party, the Movement for Democratic Reform. The effort is backed by a number of Russian industrialists who are former senior Communist Party managers.

Mr. Gorbachev has been fiercely critical of his successor's policies both on his overseas visits and in interviews in the Russian press.

"These remarks have gotten under Yeltsin's skin. They have gotten him very irritated," said Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution, former chief Soviet analyst at the State Department.

To add to Mr. Yeltsin's frustration, he finds himself "still viewed by the establishment [in Washington] as far inferior to Gorbachev, and that's wrong," said Paul Goble, former chief State Department analyst on the Soviet nationalities.

Mr. Yeltsin's attempt to further tarnish Mr. Gorbachev's image — and possibly stymie any attempt at a political comeback — comes as the Russian president faces new criticism at home over his arms-control concessions in Washington.

Leaders of the hard-line Yedinstvo, or Unity, faction vowed in Moscow yesterday to fight the new nuclear arms accord by all means — including guerrilla war.

Unity spokesman Nikolai Pavlov said at a news conference that his supporters would do all they could to block further cuts in Moscow's strategic arsenal.

"I am not calling for violations of the constitution, but if the parliament does not prevent Russia from coming under America's nuclear umbrella, then clashes are inevitable," Mr. Pavlov said.

"If the opposition by democratic means fail, then Russian Red Brigades will emerge in the country," he said, referring to urban guerrilla cells that terrorized Western Europe through the 1970s and 1980s.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Nuclear Forces of the Future

The huge nuclear arms cuts agreed to by George Bush and Boris Yeltsin are bold and good and may meet the political possibilities of the moment. But they contain weaknesses and will be under stress over time.

These cuts register some of the major strategic implications of the fading of the Cold War. They greatly reduce the nuclear firepower that the two countries have on hand to train against each other or anyone else. They slow though they do not entirely halt the march of technology related to weapons. Their scope is dramatic—a necessity to comfort democratic publics. Real savings in risk, tension and spending should follow.

But the announced cuts do not rest on any theory that would justify one level of arms or another. The current level of 10,000-plus warheads apiece is mindlessly high. The new numbers are dramatically (two-thirds) lower but still mindlessly high and no better connected to military rationality or strategic purpose than the earlier set. They will invite challenge on the twin bases that no country can justify a need for 3,000 to 3,500 warheads by the year 2003 and that meanwhile the

cause of nuclear nonproliferation is poorly served.

As the Cold War ended, the United States had two broad nuclear choices. The one President Bush has taken allows him to satisfy important strategic, political and budgetary needs by making deep cuts and by carving the first-strike heart out of the Soviet arsenal. He preserves a formidable force against revival of a large Kremlin threat or appearance of some other threat. He also preserves the premise that nuclear power is what counts in international politics. For Bush, the military contingencies in which nuclear arms might be fired or wielded may be hard to define, but the political uses of nuclear power—in assigning status, protecting national interests or managing crisis—are prized.

Don't dismiss this approach as merely the relic of a Cold War way of thinking. The premise of nuclear utility is all too appealing to some non-nuclear states. Still, a case can be made that in the new world disorder, the United States, as a great power tested and accountable to a democratic electorate, has a responsible role to play and must be suitably armed. The Bush administration's discreet and

deniable flashing of a nuclear card in the gulf war to warn Saddam Hussein away from special-weapons adventures was a working example.

The road Bush has not taken, however, has its own logic. That way lies not merely a substantial reduction but the near destruction of the nuclear apparatus assembled over the last half-century. By apparatus I mean the dismantling of weapons and of their component industrial parts and the altering of war plans and international politics alike to write out the nuclear element in the current equation.

Sometimes this approach comes wrapped in the scarcely hidden and off-putting idea that the United States sinned by creating the bomb and remains an unworthy wielder of power. Forget that. Still, there is a serious argument that the totalitarian threat that led the free world to build the bomb has now been tamed. It is further and persuasively argued that the new threat of proliferation, plus their treaty obligations, compel the nuclear states to move toward the nuclear exit, the better to keep others from entering by the other door.

How does the United States, with upward of

10,000 or 7,000 or "even" 3,000 strategic warheads in its pocket, make the point that one warhead in a Libya's or Iraq's pocket is one too many? It is so, and it is generally accepted that a Libya or Iraq is more dangerous. But it is not going to be easy to bring along either the miscreants or the many other states whose political or economic cooperation in enforcing nonproliferation is required.

The now-gone Reagan and the now-tarnished Gorbachev shared an odd emotional attachment to the notion of nuclear abolition. They might have been better paired to work for truly deep nuclear cuts. Bush and Yeltsin are cooler and more pragmatic. But that doesn't mean they couldn't be drawn toward a nuclear force that serves deterrence at a reasonable level and nonproliferation too.

What might that be? The hard-line hero of former Reagan Pentagon official Richard Perle's new novel, "Hard Line," suggests that in a disarmed world Moscow's squirreling away of "a few hundred, even a few dozen" weapons would leave the United States "hopelessly vulnerable." And presumably vice versa. A few hundred, a few dozen—is this the force of the future?

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Yeltsin's Sweet Summit

Boris Yeltsin's triumphant state visit was a reproachful message to George Bush, ending the prolonged White House aloofness that made Russia's first democratically elected leader out to be a barroom brawler unfit to practice the drawing-room diplomacy of Mikhail Gorbachev.

On the nuts-and-bolts questions of reducing strategic nuclear arms and getting U.S. aid, President Yeltsin came out marginally ahead of President Bush, enough to prevent big trouble from his generals back in the Kremlin. But it was on the far more important political levels of their historic encounter that Yeltsin achieved rare success and displayed the mastery that brought him, against all odds, to power in Russia.

Making this performance particularly memorable, Yeltsin had to sweep away a garbage dump of Bush administration insinuations. The campaign to discredit Yeltsin as a boor and cling to Gorbachev as the man of the future would have stopped a lesser politician.

The uproarious reception Yeltsin got from Congress showed his skill. By seizing the initiative in pursuing the common goal of a new U.S.-Russia partnership in peace, he turned the tables on Bush. His tour de force psychologically elevated the president of Russia's impoverished masses over the president of the last superpower.

Part of the reason for this lies in the recent past. Last Aug. 1, Bush stunned the fragile democratic movement in breakaway Soviet republics with his pro-Soviet Union speech in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev. He in effect damned the independence movements by saying the United States would "not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based on ethnic hatred."

That line was denounced in every republic seeking to get out of the collapsing Soviet Union and establish a democratic government—including Russia, where Yeltsin had just been elected president. But it was not denounced by Gorbachev's ruling Communist Party, then still entrenched in the Kremlin. Soviet President Gorbachev is believed to have read the speech as a virtual invitation to do whatever necessary to keep the union intact.

Diplomatic sources close to the Yeltsin administration have broadly hinted that the Kiev speech gave an unintended go-ahead for the attempted military putsch launched 17 days later. For months before the coup attempt, the U.S. govern-

ment had ignored Yeltsin. It had also played down Soviet murders of Baltic nationalists and other bloody demonstrations of power intended to keep the republics bottled up in the union. U.S. intelligence insists that these crackdowns had Gorbachev's express approval.

That arouses concern here that links between Washington and the Kremlin's crackdown might be traced. U.S. specialists are warning the White House that Yeltsin's pledge to expose the blackest pages of Soviet perfidy contained in the archives of the KGB and the Communist Party, including information on possible American prisoners of war, could be a two-edged sword.

Yeltsin, these sources have told us, intends to release everything discovered in these files. That could include suggestions of complicity between the Bush administration and Gorbachev that Soviet power to restrain the republics would be permissible.

On Capitol Hill, Yeltsin played Congress like a master pol. His promise that the "unparalleled brutality" of communism is dead in Russia never to "rise again in our land" and that the "dark pages" of party archives will be opened was a high card that Gorbachev could not play. Gorbachev has never denounced the Communist Party.

The playing of that card by Yeltsin will surely end any continued speculation by Bush, who gave private citizen Gorbachev red-carpet treatment here only last month, that the last Soviet leader might one day return to power.

Yeltsin's political skills were also in evidence behind closed doors with his American negotiating partners. He broke the Pentagon barrier against reducing strategic nuclear warheads below 4,700, insisting on 3,500. As assessed back in Moscow, that gain may be more formidable than his loss in agreeing to destroy all of Russia's SS-18s and SS-24s, and it may even keep his unhappy generals from claiming he sold out.

He was eloquent enough to dispel political fear in the White House that if the president insisted on Congress approving emergency aid now it would hurt the reelection campaign. By Wednesday afternoon, Bush was making the case for aid and making it hard.

For the son of a Siberian peasant, the summit was sweet. In a town that reeks of bad politics these days, he showed what a good politician can do.

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Frank A. Weil

The Perot I Knew

Should people give serious consideration to Ross Perot as a possible president? An intensive exposure almost 20 years ago suggests there are good reasons to look and listen carefully as he has moved in the past few weeks from the pop art stage to being taken as a legitimate candidate.

In the early 1970s, Perot was trying to extricate himself and his company, Electronic Data Systems, from duPont Glore Forgan. He took on that brokerage firm's back office as a client in the late '60s and did an effective job. Still, the brokerage firm continued to rot away because morale on the revenue side—stockbrokers—continued to erode. He then had EDS invest in duPont and took charge—presumably to protect his interest in his important data-processing customer. Unfortunately, his efforts to make order out of chaos by managing and leading the independent breed of stockbrokers made matters worse by driving even more of them away out of fear of his discipline. At that point he began looking for someone else to take over his problem. What he hadn't realized, apparently, was that duPont probably was doomed before he ever began to fix its back office.

After several weeks of talking to people in the securities industry about taking over duPont and finding no takers, he bit the bullet and put that firm into receivership and wrote off his very large investment. Had he not made that decision I doubt the world today would know of Ross Perot. He probably would have pumped more money into duPont and ultimately might have gone down with it.

It was clear during that period that he was a man of absolute integrity. He never shirked any form of disclosure. His word was absolutely reliable. He clearly wanted to win in the worst way. At the end he did the most difficult thing for a man with a large ego and a reputation for never giving up. He faced reality and did the intelligent and rational thing.

The rest is history and is now well known. It appears he learned quite a bit from that unhappy experience.

He gave signs of really getting into public policy by hiring a real pro to be his head of issues. John White, an economist by training, worked at Rand then served in the Carter Defense Department and OMB. Subsequently, White ran a software firm that was acquired by Kodak, from which he currently is on leave to work for Perot. If White assembles a representative team of people of his competence, Perot should be able in a matter of weeks to have a program for the country to match or better anything on the table today.

His reaching out to Hamilton Jordan and Ed Rollins to manage his campaign is only further evidence of rational professionalism that appears not to have ideological blinders. He appears to seek advice and help from all sorts of people who he thinks can help him better understand the world he is trying to help.

The combination of a substantive program, Perot's natural leadership ability, his homespun candor, plus his excellent political instincts (not to mention his money sufficient to run a world-class campaign) gives this man the right to be taken very seriously by all Americans who want a change in the way our government works.

A serious three-way race gives the voter who wants change 2½ chances in three. If Clinton ends up president, he and the Democratic Party will surely accommodate to the new realities. If Perot is elected, both parties will be forever different, and a new form of coalition government will result. If Bush is reelected, his second term will be informed by the Perot phenomenon. We all win on all counts.

The writer was an assistant secretary of commerce in the Carter administration.

Don J. Pease

China, Trade And Human Rights

Read the bills, Mr. President.

President Bush has once again decided to extend most-favored-nation status to China. Congress has responded by introducing yet another conditional MFN proposal—the United States-China Act of 1992, H. R. 5318 in the House and S. 2808 in the Senate.

Why the continued pressure from Congress on this matter? Simply put, there has been no significant improvement in the Chinese government's human rights record since the debate on MFN extension began a few years ago. Recent incidents, including the harassment and detaining of a Post reporter in Beijing, provide evidence of the persistence of the PRC's human rights problem. On the eve of the third anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre, peaceful demonstrators and members of the press were brutalized.

To make matters worse, State Department reports recently indicated that at the end of May, China conducted an underground nuclear test. This test had 70 times the explosive power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and far exceeded the 150-kiloton limit observed by the United States and the former Soviet Union under a 1990 treaty. Fears persist about China's trade with terrorist nations such as Syria and Iran in M-9 and M-11 missiles and in nuclear technology.

While the Bush administration seems to have no difficulty understanding the motivation behind the bills that link MFN extension to progress on human rights and other policies, it is obvious from the president's comments that he has trouble digesting the content of such legislation. This is the only possible explanation for his repeated assertion that these bills would result in the revocation of MFN for China.

In both the H.R. 2212 conference report, which passed the House and Senate earlier in the 102nd Congress, and in H.R. 5318, which was introduced early this month, the president is afforded a great deal of discretion in determining whether the stated conditions have been met. More specifically, the president may extend MFN for China in 1993 as long as he determines that Beijing (1) has provided an acceptable accounting of and released political prisoners; and (2) has made "overall significant progress" in achieving specified human rights, trade, and weapons nonproliferation objectives.

The key to maintaining the wiggle room the president needs to continue MFN is the phrase "overall significant progress." In short, the most recent conditionality bills are designed so that they do not back the president into a corner on the extension of MFN for China. QUOTE? Perhaps the president and his staff would feel more positively disposed toward these bills if they would just read them.

In addition to discretion on conditions, H.R. 5318 offers the president even more room to maneuver. This latest measure would target exports from state-owned enterprises in China rather than exports from China in general. Under the bill, if the president determined that Beijing had not met the stated conditions, Washington would apply non-MFN tariff rates only to products being exported to the United States from state-owned enterprises in China. Articles produced by foreign joint ventures or truly private businesses in China would not be subject to these higher tariff rates even if the stated conditions were not met.

This refinement was made in response to opposition raised to previous conditionality bills. The assumption here is that across-the-board revocation would destabilize the very entrepreneurial forces responsible for slowly bringing about economic and political liberalization in China.

There are those who argue that using trade to effect positive change in Beijing's policies would prove counterproductive. It is thought that the Chinese government would rather sacrifice its bilateral trade relationship with the United States than bow to pressure from another sovereign nation.

To me, this backlash scenario seems far-fetched. One needs only to look at the U.S.-China merchandise trade balance for the past few years to determine that for China, there are billions of dollars of trade at stake. After all, between 1990 and 1991, the PRC moved from a position of having the third largest bilateral trade surplus with the United States (\$10.4 billion) to having the second largest trade surplus (\$12.7 billion). For 1991, China was second only to Japan. Projections for 1992 place the PRC's trade surplus with the United States at approximately \$19.9 billion.

I think it would be prudent for Mr. Bush to take a long, hard look at the latest China MFN bills coming from Congress. Every attempt has been made on our part to play ball. Perhaps this year, the president won't leave the field before the first pitch.

The writer, a Democratic representative from Ohio and member of the House Ways and Means Committee, has introduced legislation to condition future extensions of MFN for China on improvements in human rights policies.

Richard Cohen

Send Demjanjuk Home to Cleveland

John Demjanjuk's ordeal—maybe justified, maybe not—has gone on long enough. Stripped of his U.S. citizenship, extradited to Israel, held in solitary confinement for eight years, convicted of genocide and sentenced to death, there is now some doubt that he is the man he is accused of being: Ivan the Terrible, the sadistic operator of the gas chamber at the Nazi extermination camp of Treblinka. The Israelis might have the wrong man.

Trouble is, if there's doubt about Demjanjuk's guilt, there's even more doubt about his innocence. If he is not the notorious Ivan—if he is not the man who bludgeoned Jews as they were forced into the gas chamber or who mutilated his victims with a sword—then he might be the John Demjanjuk who was a guard at Sobibor, a more modest killing establishment, also in Poland. There, a total of 250,000 Jews were killed in 1942 and 1943. At Treblinka, 850,000 Jews were killed.

So we may not be talking about moral innocence in any case. And it is good to have these names—Treblinka, Sobibor and even a more obscure camp, Flossenburg—in print so that we understand that the Holocaust was not just one now famous place (Auschwitz) and one sort of people (German Nazis). It was many other camps, many forest glades, many ravines (like Babi Yar) and many sorts of

killers. A glance at the newspaper shows that some of them have not lost their touch.

But Demjanjuk was not arrested and deported from the United States as some sort of literary creation, a vehicle to show the world how ordinary the killer was and looked. His round and open face, his perpetually surprised look and even his prosaic

*The reputation of
Israeli justice is on
the line.*

occupation as an auto worker—all these tend to make you think that he is Hannah Arendt's invention: proof that evil is banal. Indeed, it always struck me as ironic that Patrick Buchanan, whose defense of Demjanjuk may yet be vindicated, rested some of his case on the very ordinariness of the man: "A naturalized American who came to the United States in 1952, a church-going family man from Cleveland." Yes, precisely. In Europe at that time, genocide was the day job of otherwise ordinary men.

But whatever Demjanjuk might be and whatever else he might have been, his extradition and his conviction

in Israel were based on his being a certain, particular man: Ivan the Terrible, the sadist of Treblinka. He cannot now turn out to be Ivan the Less Terrible and still remain in the same category as Adolf Eichmann: the only person ever executed in Israel.

This is a sad case. Demjanjuk was identified in Israel by five eyewitnesses. But we are approaching the half-century mark of the liberation of the last camps. It's been a long time, and even the most terrible of memories have been coated by a patina of age and false recollections. Everyone involved is older, so much older. And then, too, newly released files from the former Soviet Union indicate that Ivan the Terrible was a man named Ivan Marchenko. Over and over, former Treblinka guards offered that name to their Soviet captors. These people, most of them Ukrainians, cannot be re-interviewed. They were executed by the Soviets.

Demjanjuk's case is now before the Israeli Supreme Court. It may rule instantly, or it may wait months. At least one justice, Aharon Barak, has indicated he has profound doubts that the right man has been condemned. He also has shown no patience with the argument of the prosecutor, Michael Shaked, that Demjanjuk is guilty

of something: Either of being Ivan of Treblinka or merely a guard at Sobibor. "Unless you have proof beyond a reasonable doubt that Demjanjuk was at Treblinka, there is no point in proceeding," he said. Then there is no point in proceeding. Even the prosecutor has acknowledged doubt.

Only on television is a criminal case open-and-shut, usually concluding neatly with a confession. In reality, the evidence is sometimes contradictory, the witnesses not all that reliable. That might be the case with Demjanjuk. But his is a capital case. His life, not to mention the reputation of Israel, is on the line.

If, in fact, Demjanjuk was a guard at Sobibor, then it will be wrenching for Israel to return him to the United States. (That case, though, has not yet been proved.) But more important than this single man is the law itself—U.S. law and the reasons for Demjanjuk's extradition and Israeli law as well. Too many doubts have been aired, both here and in Israel. Too many current or former officials—including prosecutors—have suggested that they no longer are sure that Demjanjuk is Ivan the Terrible. It would be a tragedy on top of an even greater tragedy if 50 years after the fact, the Holocaust claimed yet another innocent victim.

Charles Krauthammer

Sanctions Fallacy

They are no alternative to military force.

Just a few weeks after the gulf war, I was startled to hear Martin Indyk of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy suggest that Saddam would be in power longer than George Bush. I am no great believer in sanctions, but even I thought that with Saddam's military and economy already in ruins, sanctions would finish him off.

And yet after almost a year and a half of the most severe sanctions in history, applied to a country devastated by war, U.S. intelligence agencies report that Saddam is stronger today than he was a year ago.

The ineffectiveness of post-war sanctions makes risible the contention of Democrats and others (including Ross Perot) that prewar sanctions would have bent Saddam to our will. But the significance of the Iraqi sanctions failure goes far beyond Iraq. It goes to the very idea of sanctions.

After all, our fancy for sanctions is being indulged in other places too. In Haiti, we are destroying an economy in order to change a government. And in Yugoslavia, a total U.N. embargo, almost as severe as Iraq's, has been imposed to get Serbia out of Bosnia.

Will these sanctions work any better than Iraq's? The Haitian regime seems quite prepared to see its population starve (or put out to sea) before it relinquishes power. And the Serbian regime shows no signs that economic privation will deter it from seizing its historic chance to realize its dream of Greater Serbia.

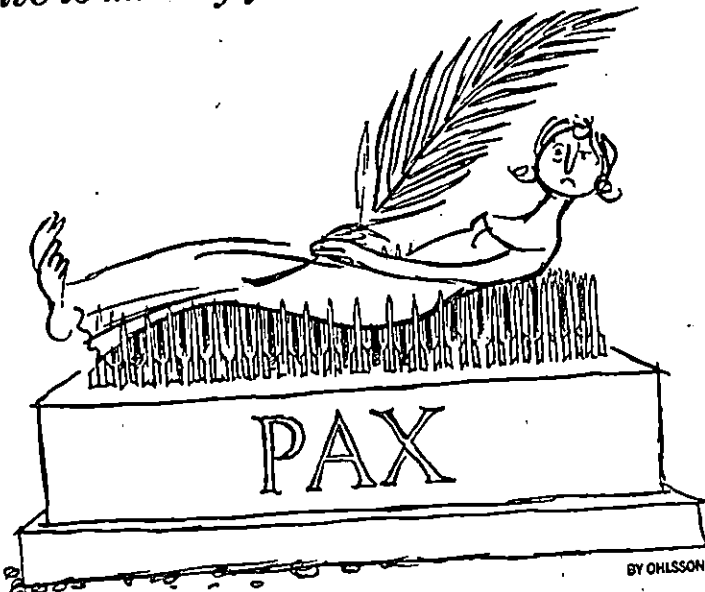
No surprise here. U.S. sanctions against Noriega all but destroyed Panama's dollar-denominated economy—without dislodging Noriega. It took the 82nd Airborne to do that. The U.S. embargo of Cuba has seen seven presidents come, six go, and Castro endure. Halfhearted sanctions against the Soviet Union for Afghanistan and against China for Tiananmen amounted to nothing.

Why are sanctions so ineffective? In Iraq, Haiti and Serbia, the common objective is to effect a change in government. The idea is to so immiserate the people that they rise in desperation to throw off the rulers who have caused them such distress.

Unfortunately, things do not work that way. Immiserated populations do occasionally rise in revolution, but the timing and the cause of revolutions are so mysterious that we rarely understand them when they occur, let alone anticipate them. (See: the East European revolutions of '89 and the Soviet revolution of '91.) Revolution is a phenomenon we only dimly understand. The idea that we can produce one at will through external coercion is simple fantasy.

The fantasy is encouraged by a larger fantasy, namely, that now that the Cold War is over, the world has entered an era in which economic power counts for more than military power. The geo-economic fallacy assumes that in a post-ideological era the whole world becomes like us, a sea of bourgeois consumers whose behavior is rationally modulated by economic incentives and disincentives.

Alas, the whole world is not like us. And bour-



geois consumer is a particularly inapt description of the thugs who run Iraq, Haiti and Serbia. Thug regimes are interested in power above all else. They are dissuaded and deterred by power, not by the promise or denial of material comforts.

Power, specifically military power, has always been decisive in international relations and, despite the wish that we have now outgrown it as a species, remains so.

Do we want to really help Haiti? Everyone knows that there is but one way: Send the Marines and take over the godforsaken place (as we did, once upon a time and with somewhat more provocation, for Germany and Japan).

Want to help Bosnia? The only real way is to do what the president of Bosnia has been pleading for us to do: Send the Air Force.

As for Iraq, everyone now realizes that the way to get rid of Saddam was either to have gone ourselves to Baghdad or, more wisely, to have given decisive military assistance (including air cover) to the Shiite and the Kurdish rebellions that we encouraged and then betrayed after the war.

Some of these foreign crises warrant the risk of military intervention. Some do not. But the question of which and whether cannot be honestly approached until we are disabused, once and for all, of the notion that in sanctions we have a cost-free, risk-free alternative. Sanctions may be (relatively) cost-free and risk-free. But they are no alternative to military action.

Sanctions can make a point. And sometimes making a point is all that we can do. Sanctions against South Africa were justified not because they would work, but because it was important for the West to make plain its refusal to be complicit with apartheid.

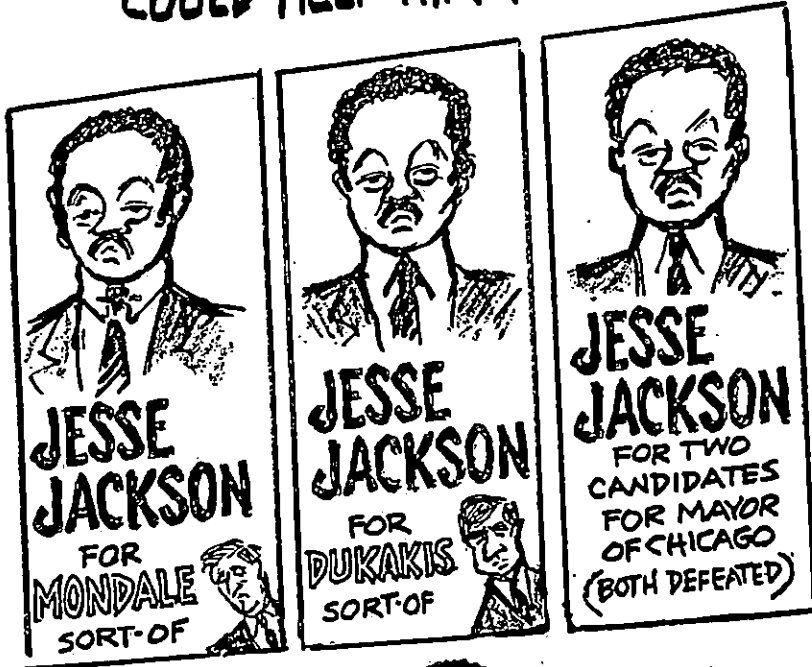
Sometimes, too, sanctions can keep bad from getting worse. The embargo on Iraq, coupled with intrusive inspection, is making it harder for Saddam to rebuild his nuclear program.

But that is as far as sanctions go. We are not in an era of geo-economics. We are in the same force-dominated era that we were a hundred, a thousand years ago. If you want to stop an aggressor nation, or if you want to dislodge a regime, there is only one reliable way to do it. Everything else is evasion.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

"CLINTON MAY NOT REALIZE HOW I
COULD HELP HIM TOO"



For the Record

From an address yesterday by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at Wichita State University in Kansas:

We signed a number of important agreements [Wednesday]. These are agreements that provide for expanded cooperation between the two countries, including a very important agreement concerning joint space exploration . . . projects between the United States of America and Russia.

After all, what sense does it really make to reinvent the bicycle? Why do we have to pursue parallel efforts doing exactly the same thing in Russia and in the United States? . . .

I paid a visit to the Air and Space Museum a couple of days ago back in Washington, D.C. And in my presentation there, I said that it is probably a good idea to think in terms of establishing some sort of youth clubs or youth centers in both countries, or establishing some sort of joint centers, where our young people who are interested in science and research and development could join their efforts . . . in designing spacecraft and possibly even in manning our future giant space stations.

It is only by that common endeavor that we can achieve meaningful results.

We're also thinking about establishing a global monitoring space-based system to provide assistance to other spacecraft, to aircraft in the Earth's atmosphere, to railroads and even to privately owned cars. This is a realistic prospect. This is something we can do, I'm sure, and this is something that our researchers and scientists are already giving thought to.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Who Is Ross Perot?

Even Marilyn Berger is at a loss to state exactly what H. Ross Perot stands for [op-ed, June 3]. But this is to Mr. Perot's advantage. As long as he keeps his stance on issues vague, Ross Perot offers me the opportunity to imagine that he is the perfect candidate. I can take the best that George Bush and Bill Clinton have to offer and mix them like a custom-blended can of paint, for Mr. Perot's true colors are not yet apparent. Once his policy positions become clear, I fear that his now bright luster will quickly fade.

But for now, Ross Perot can be whatever we want him to be. I imagine him to be a billionaire who is not afraid to progressively tax himself and reject the Republican's shortsighted tax breaks for the rich. I imagine that he's too wealthy to be a Democrat pandering to special interest groups. For now, I can imagine that Ross Perot thinks like me. In fact, I imagine that he is an older and wiser and—oh, yes—wealthier me.

I can imagine that he'll speak plainly, and call the Washington dead weights and deadbeats what they are: worthless, self-serving, egoistical and occasionally unethical incompetents. I can imagine that he'll build a bipartisan coalition to address a staggering debt that was fostered by a Republican administration and (for the most part) a Democratic Congress. Even though he's a Texan, and a wealthy one at that, I nevertheless imagine that he has the strength to impose a gas tax to pay the debt and encourage fuel conservation. Even though he is a "God fearin' man," I want to believe that he'll be pro-choice.

I indulge myself further and imagine that he'll push for longer terms for congressmen, so they may concentrate more on doing their jobs and less on keeping their jobs. At the same time, I imagine he'll push for term limits so the legislative system of seniority does not stifle the democratic process. I imagine that Mr. Perot would have more influence on the legislative branch than any president could. I even imagine that he would cause this country to "bite the bullet" and make a balanced budget a reality.

I imagine he'll be frugal in sending our money overseas and into space, but not be too xenophobic or naive (i.e., too Texan) in matters of foreign affairs. I imagine he'll choose a running mate with domestic government and foreign policy experience, rather than a running mate with Robert Redford's good looks or a running mate with a "Rainbow" bloc of votes. I even imagine that he'll have the good sense to keep talented Republican Cabinet members and agency directors in place to ensure an orderly transition of government.

But in the end I suspect that Ross Perot will burst my bubble, or the

press will do it for him. Yes, the press (Marilyn Berger's objective former co-workers) will focus their eyes, and mine, on the true colors of this man Ross Perot. In ample time for the election, I will have to face the reality that Ross Perot is not everything I imagine him to be.

JON W. STENTZ
Burke

First the media insisted that Ross Perot's presidential aspirations were nothing to be taken seriously. Now they comb through the dialogue of lengthy interviews searching for a phrase they can make into a headline that can damage his credibility. Perhaps Mr. Perot's lack of concern for media opinion and his electronic town hall concept of communicating with the people directly means less importance for political journalists.

Whatever the basis for the unfair treatment by the media, they continue to grapple with various "knight in shining armor" theories on why support for Mr. Perot continues to swell. The reason is much simpler: Ross Perot has been one of the most remarkably successful and talented entrepreneurs this country has ever known. He's done it while maintaining a high moral standard, a fiery patriotism and a dedication to his employees—all of which are rarely found in men of such accomplishment.

THOMAS J. GALDI
Dunkirk, Md.

The consensus seems to be that, as a nation, we are fed up with over-privileged insiders running the government, people who, with the exception of those you and I voted for, are out of touch with the common citizen. As a people, we appear to be appalled by the excesses and lack of accountability on the part of officials put into office by popular vote.

Our solution? Ross Perot. A Texas billionaire. A man whose wealth stems from years of government contracts. A man who has demonstrated an excellent ability to utilize his Washington contacts. A man who has demonstrated an inability to follow through on his most visible social project to date, Texas school reform. A man who glories in his paramilitary exploits. A man who is willing to spend hundreds of millions of dollars to gain the presidency. That is, if the people want him.

Perhaps I am cynical, but if this country really needs a change, maybe it should come from someone with an agenda, a policy, or possibly even a stance on at least one of the issues. It may not be an original observation, but, lookout, you just might get what you vote for.

MICHAEL NOONAN
Washington

Indifference and Somalia

WHILE THE attention of the West remains riveted on Russian appeals for aid and the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, children are dying at a horrifying rate in Somalia. "I've never seen a worse situation than in Somalia," said the special United Nations envoy to Somalia, Ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun. To give some scale to the appalling African tragedy, while close to 6,000 deaths have occurred in Bosnia since the vote for independence in March, the Somali death toll is running well into the tens of thousands, say U.S. Agency for International Development officials. And the children continue to die daily by the hundreds, as they have since last fall. Why will the world not pay attention?

That there may be an estimated 4.5 million under threat of starvation is almost too monstrous to contemplate, yet that is in Somalia's future. That nightmare must be avoided. There may not be a way known to mankind to end the drought that has wasted the fields and livestock of that country, but it is within the capacity of the

Somalis and the international community to reach an accord among the warring parties so that food deliveries and supplies and U.N. truce observers can get to where they are desperately needed.

The indifference must give way to a concerted international response. It is an outrage that an appropriate amount of attention has not been paid to the dimension of the human tragedy befalling Somalia, not even paid, let alone sustained, in a world that does respond to lesser suffering elsewhere. Nor will it be enough to play on the edges of the situation in Somalia, where a tenuous temporary cease-fire in the capital exists. The United States seems content to play a supportive role in Somalia, backing the idea of U.N. truce observers and security forces and more humanitarian assistance. But that is not the same as vigorous and visible leadership on a problem that cries out for help from the world's only remaining superpower.

Mayor Kelly's Money Concerns

AT A TIME when the city government is eliminating jobs and denying raises to thousands of employees, Mayor Kelly has said she is preparing legislation that would increase her salary and those of other top administration officials. The explanation for this ill-timed proposal is that the extra money would be in exchange for a ban on speaking fees, which the mayor has been accepting along with expense money for out-of-town trips. This is the kind of exchange Congress arranged for itself in 1989, which had merit as a way to end the acceptance of these speaking fees on the Hill. But now, in a severely strapped city, the government has payroll and pension pressures that won't abate for decades. In any case, a ban on taking speaking fees is a good idea in itself, without any raises attached as a price.

On WDCU's "Crosstalk" program, Mayor Kelly said she didn't think that any raises for top officials should be given "until we achieve parity"

for union workers who have been denied raises. Her press secretary said later that the mayor would not accept any raise until the city honors collective bargaining and arbitration agreements with its workers. If this is a plug for those raises as well as one for herself, what are people to make of her campaign pledge to make dramatic cuts in the payroll?

Mayor Kelly has complained in the past that she has had trouble attracting people to her cabinet because of a salary scale that does not allow anyone to be paid more than the mayor, whose salary now is \$90,000. It could be some day that certain specialists in the executive branch will have to be paid more than the top elected officials, who after all, choose to run for their jobs. But that is for another day, when payrolls have been pared in the name of efficiency as well as economy. For now, any proposals for salary increases at any level should be pigeonholed.

Getting Aboard in Cambodia

ATENSE DRAMA is playing out in Cambodia that will determine whether the brave new United Nations peace plan will actually save this hapless Southeast Asian nation. The Khmer Rouge, the force of communist thugs that was brought into the plan in an effort to turn Cambodia's struggle from war to politics, is refusing to submit its troops to the plan's demobilization and disarmament provisions. There is great anxiety about whether Khmer Rouge military operations will spoil the peacemaking.

Certainly a criminal force that killed a million or two people in the 1970s cannot easily be brushed off now. The Khmer Rouge, though reduced, are well armed as well as unprincipled, and they are striving for economic self-sufficiency by selling off Cambodia's timber and gems in Thailand.

Still, there are grounds for thinking that the international drafting and now the putting into effect of the peace plan has set in motion forces that are working to contain the Khmer Rouge. The (formerly communist) Russians and even the (still-communist) Chinese are now formally on the side of peace. A large U.N. peace-keeping presence with a vigorous Japanese chief, Yasushi

Akashi, is in place to move the plan forward and, not least, to check on and report on Khmer Rouge conduct. Prince Sihanouk, the father figure of Cambodian politics, is by all reports in a welcome phase of trying to induce the Cambodian factions to work together in a political process that the Khmer Rouge boycott at the risk of international isolation.

The Chinese, who earlier did the most to sustain the Khmer Rouge as a pawn in their traditional rivalry with Vietnam, have edged back to what looks like a neutral role. That's not enough. The Chinese will be judged on this issue, and they will be judged on whether they leave no doubt that they are committed to making the U.N. plan work.

The Thais have their own particular responsibility. In the past they have tended to let their merchants and traders run their Cambodia policy. It is encouraging that the newly appointed Thai government this week urged a key Khmer Rouge leader to cooperate with the U.N. plan for the sake of Cambodia: "Don't miss the boat," the foreign minister said. It's the right advice.

Special Delivery to Barcelona

HOW MANY Americans were aware of the Olympian capabilities of the U.S. Postal Service—which, in the face of a \$1.5 billion deficit, can nevertheless deliver a grotesquely fat package of 171 free five-day luxury visits to the Olympics in Barcelona for a select group of its business clients and their spouses? This Barcelona bundle comes to \$440,000 for hotel rooms, daily Olympics tickets, ground transportation, receptions, breakfast, lunch, dinner and just about everything except airfare. That's a heap of 29-cent stamps for a bash the Postal Service has no business hosting.

The explanation for this first-class/priority fling begins with the weird fact that the Postal Service—along with the people who sell you beer, sneakers and other essential items—is an official sponsor of the Olympics. This costs the Postal Service an estimated \$122 million but is supposed to result in a \$55 million profit from increased use of its services and sales, according to officials. In turn, the junkets for business clients are considered a marketing tool to improve business. *What* business? The General Accounting Office, which audited the agency's Olympic spending, concluded in April that the

real costs of the Olympic connection "will never be known" because of the Postal Service's accounting system (and never mind what that may say about the costs of moving mail).

There's more craziness. When the Postal Service found itself stuck with large blocks of luxury hotel rooms for the winter Olympics, it gave families of 86 U.S. team members free lodging in exchange for personal appearances by the athletes on behalf of the Postal Service. But there are many more athletes for the summer games, which prompted the giveaway to business interests instead. As a bit of postal window dressing, there is a symposium set in Barcelona for the Mailers Technical Advisory Committee—whose members meet periodically to talk about postal issues. The Barcelona symposium calls for a grueling half-day session on a Friday and another half-day on the following Monday.

The Postal Service has no business in this business. If the agency's officials want Olympic action, let them sponsor a nationwide trial heat to see how mail delivery records can be broken. That would be a world-class event worth witnessing.

Why Things Are

The College of Hard Knocks

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

Why is the president elected by the Electoral College, rather than by a direct popular vote?

The Constitution comes on like it's all in favor of The People, but when it comes down to the fine print, The People get shafted. When we go to the polls in November, we're just play-acting, because the real vote is conducted weeks later by the "Electoral College," the membership of which is no doubt identical to that of the Trilateral Commission.

Make no mistake: This system was created precisely because of fears that The People can't be trusted. (Never mind for a second that The People really CAN'T be trusted—let's maintain our sense of outrage for another sentence or two.)

In fact, many of the Founding Fathers wanted the president elected by the legislature. The Electoral College was a compromise, a sop thrown to those liberals who favored a popular election. The People get to vote, sure, but only through intermediaries, who supposedly will keep us from electing some pathetic geek (obviously, the system hasn't worked perfectly).

"There was a lot of concern that popular election would mean election by the masses, and that the election for the president should



The Confused American Voter.

be made by special kinds of people, those who were part of the property classes," says Robert Katzmann, a visiting fellow of the Brookings Institution. When the Constitution was written, he says, "There was not a feeling of populism or majoritarianism that exists today, or the notion of universal suffrage."

Now that universal suffering has been achieved, the question is, shouldn't we change this preposterous old thing?

There's a noisy camp of people who want it thrown out. They fear a repeat of what happened three times in the 1800s: John Quincy Adams, Rutherford B. Hayes and Benjamin Harrison all became

president despite losing the popular vote. Another fear is that if a candidate doesn't win a majority of the electoral votes, the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, where it is then devoured like fish food sprinkled into an aquarium.

Could it happen again this year? Don't be silly. Neither Adams, Hayes or Harrison is even on the ballot. But if history does repeat itself, we probably shouldn't panic. There are some good reasons why the Electoral College exists:

1. It usually exaggerates, rather than contradicts, the results of the popular vote. A state's electoral votes are awarded on a winner-take-all basis, so narrow vic-

tories across many states can lead to a comfortable Electoral College victory. This helps create the impression of a clear, incontrovertible victory, rather than a muddled result.

2. It forces candidates to campaign on a national level. If there was a direct popular vote, it would be possible for a candidate to win one state by a humongous margin, lose the other 49 states, and still win the election.

3. It makes candidates pay attention to minority constituencies in the larger states. For example, to win a state such as New York, or California, candidates have to address the needs of blacks, Latinos, and various religious and ethnic minorities. But those groups make up a smaller percentage of the electorate on a national level (because of all those vast interior states where white bread is cultivated), and in a direct popular vote a candidate might feel that minorities could be ignored.

More to the point: Democracy doesn't mean "majority rule." In fact, the brilliance of the American form of democracy is that it is designed to protect minority interests. The Framers knew that majority rule could turn into a kind of tyranny.

"We don't have a simple majoritarian democracy," says Katzmann. "Sometimes we have to limit the power of ordinary majorities. The Electoral College can be thought of as one such device."

Another such device is the Su-

preme Court. We don't get to elect those people. Until 1916, even U.S. senators weren't popularly elected. The government is still full of powerful people who never have their names on a ballot. Do you really want to vote for, say, the assistant undersecretary of commerce?

(Sure. Quayle's the man.)

The Mailbag:

Dave B. of Miami asks, "Why is 'No.' the abbreviation for 'number,' even though there is no 'o' in the word 'Number'?"

Dear Dave: We're glad you asked that. Because it's easy. We have had a hard week and are tired of people sending us lists of 25 questions and a self-addressed stamped envelope, saying, "Please answer this personally because the only part of the paper I ever read is the horoscope and the Help Wanted ads."

"No." stands for "Numero," which is the Latin word for "number." You could legitimately ask why this word has a Latinate abbreviation, but gee, it's just a



BY RICHARD THOMPSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

language thing; that stuff has never made sense.

By the way, we are told that there is a township in Michigan called Novi. Sounds pretty space-age, right? Like it's named after an exploding star? Not so. It was founded in 1832, when it was stagecoach stop "No. VI" on the Plank Road route west from Detroit. True story . . .

Steve Hagen, a physicist at the University of Maryland, writes, "It's bad enough that you repeatedly misspelled the name 'Coriolis' in your column, but I really wish you hadn't made the preposterous claim that the Coriolis effect doesn't work on small scales."

Dear Steve: We always get the Coriolis effect confused with the Coriolanus effect—you know, the one that causes great playwrights to turn out mediocre work.

As you readers recall, the Coriolis effect is this weird thing caused by the motion of objects in a straight line over rotating spheres. It causes missiles to seem to veer to the right when they're fired in the Northern Hemisphere. It makes hurricanes rotate counterclockwise. Quasi-intelligent people have gotten the idea that it causes the water in your bathtub or toilet to spin counterclockwise down the drain. Not so. We correctly pointed out that the Coriolis effect doesn't work at that small a scale. The normal turbulence in the water overwhelms the force.

But Hagen is also right: The Coriolis effect still exists, even when it is overwhelmed. It's like gravity, it permeates everything. It's in your coffee mug. It affects the trajectory of a streamer of spit. And if you hurl fine bone china at a significant marital relation, aim slightly, very slightly, to the left.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

U.S. Reports Its April Trade Deficit Was Largest Since November 1990

By Martin Crutsinger
Associated Press

The U.S. trade deficit widened in April to its worst showing since November 1990 as exports slipped further and imports jumped to the second-highest level on record, the Commerce Department said yesterday.

The Bush administration insisted that the deterioration was temporary but private economists worried that weak overseas economies will cut into export growth this year and act as a further drag on an already-weak recovery.

The Commerce Department said the \$6.97 billion April trade gap was 24.8 percent larger than a March deficit of \$5.58 billion, reflecting

a 16 percent surge in oil imports and a decline in U.S. exports for a second straight month, primarily because of a slump in aircraft sales.

Exports totaled \$36.39 billion, down 1.9 percent from March, while imports jumped to \$43.36 billion, the highest level since a record \$43.88 billion in products were imported in October 1990.

Commerce Secretary Barbara Franklin said trade figures for both oil and airliners can be very volatile from month to month.

"April's performance cannot be viewed as indicative of a longer-term trend," she said. "Our export picture is still very positive."

However, private analysts worried about the

See TRADE, C2, Col. 5

Trade Deficit Grew in April

TRADE, From C1

fact that exports were down for a second straight month, saying it reflected the fact that many of the United States' major overseas markets were either in recession or close to it.

"We are beginning to see the impact of slow economic growth among our major trading partners," said Steven Wood, a Bank of America economist in San Francisco. "It is going to be very difficult to get much growth in export activity for the rest of the year."

During the first four months of the year, the trade deficit was running at an annual rate of \$64.9 billion, basical-

ly unchanged from the year before.

For April, the deficit with Japan, as usual, was the largest of any country, an imbalance of \$4.21 billion that was up 5.6 percent from the March level and that accounted for 60 percent of the total April deficit.

The United States also ran higher deficits with Canada and Germany and a smaller surplus with Western Europe.

America's foreign oil bill jumped by 16 percent to \$3.97 billion as the number of barrels per day rose to 6.11 million, up from 5.5 million in March. The price per barrel climbed to \$15.49, up from \$14.46 the previous month.

Beer Flap Comes to a Head GATT Ruling Would Cut U.S. Prices on Canadian Suds

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

A U.S.-Canadian trade shootout over beer has taken a constitutional turn and is providing new ammunition for activists who fear that international agreements on trade threaten America's environmental, health and safety laws.

The issue comes to a head in Geneva today, when the United States has to tell the world trade body whether it will accept a ruling that could bring down the price of Canadian beer for American consumers.

That ruling, made by a panel of international trade specialists, is based largely on an interpretation of the U.S. Constitution saying the president can override state laws regulating beer and wine sales if they conflict with international trade rules.

At issue are laws in 41 states and Puerto Rico on the taxing and distribution of beer and wine.

U.S. trade officials said the dollar impact of those restrictions are minimal—about \$1 million—and assert that the United States has gained in the "beer wars" with Canada since an earlier ruling by another international panel attacked Canadian curbs on sales of U.S. beer and wine. That decision, they said, will mean increased sales for U.S. producers.

Canadian beer holds about 1 percent of the U.S. market, with annual sales of about \$200 million. U.S. brewers hold about 3 percent of the vastly smaller Canadian market, with sales worth about \$30 million a year.

States traditionally have taken the lead in See BEER, C3, Col. 1

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GATT Ruling Challenges Pricing Policy

BEER, From C1

passing strong environmental laws, and activists fear that if an international body is allowed to overturn state laws some of the earliest victims would be stringent health, safety and environmental rules.

Ira H. Goldman, a senior aide to California Gov. Pete Wilson, said the ruling, if accepted by the United States, "threatens greatly the ability of the state of California to protect the environmental, health and economic needs of its citizens." He said the United States should not accept a "foreign" interpretation of the U.S. Constitution. Aides to U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills denied that the beer ruling, by a panel convened under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, will have any impact on state or federal environmental laws.

They also said GATT panel reports do not serve as precedents in future cases. But the report on the beer case clearly cites past panel findings.

A senior U.S. trade official said the United States would not block adoption of the panel report today on the

grounds that some state practices do discriminate against foreign firms. But he said the United States would take strong exception to the right of the panel to interpret the U.S. Constitution and would not correct practices that GATT decided on the basis of the constitutional interpretation.

"We clearly do not want the GATT or any GATT panel to feel it can intrude in our domestic political process," the official said. "On the other hand, we have to acknowledge our obligation to adhere to nondiscrimination [in trade laws] on both the federal and state level."

"If we want to use GATT as a sword, we have to be prepared to fall on it sometimes," the official added.

The United States, for instance, uses trade retaliation to force other nations to adopt GATT panel rulings that favor U.S. interests. Most recently, Hills has threatened the European Community with double tariffs on \$1 billion worth of imports because the EC has stalled for years over a panel ruling favoring U.S. soybean farmers.

Lori Wallach, a staff attorney with Public Citizen-Congress Watch, said the beer decision proves the point she and other environmentalists have been making about GATT. "It is basically an attack on the whole federal system of government," she said. "Allowing adoption of the panel report 'is a very dangerous thing for the administration to do. It exposes a whole other level of U.S. law to challenge and ultimate pre-emption by GATT.'"

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT

■ Beefy Bill Clinton stayed on his diet during his overnight at the Sheraton-Carlton this week. Our spies tell us that for breakfast he had one banana, one glass of apple juice and one bagel. And not a soul saw the junk food lover loitering at the Burger King across the street.

■ Michael Jackson's narcissism is getting out of control (as if it ever were in control). At the end of his world tour dress rehearsal Wednesday in Los Angeles, Jackson, dressed in "an Evel Knievel" suit, strapped on a jet pack and flew around the sound stage, high above his audience.

■ The lovely June Lockhart—who just loves, loves Washington—is back in town after a stint in Hawaii, where she'd been shooting a TV movie for ABC called "The Island." "Sort of a 'Lost in Space' on 'Gilligan's Island' with 'Terminator 2' special effects," she tells us. Sounds like something for everyone.



June Lockhart: In her kind of town.



Torie Clarke: Did someone mention "Dumbo"?

■ Self-described film buff Sharon Pratt Kelly and her husband, James, caught the last half of the "Batman Returns" premiere Wednesday. Later, at the National Building Museum after-party, the mayor said she liked what she saw, "except the scene with the 'Recall the Mayor' signs."

■ A pair of torn ears, ripped right from Spock's skull, will be auctioned by Sotheby's next week—for an estimated \$3,500 to \$4,000.

■ Pretty boy Beatle Paul McCartney turned 50 yesterday.

■ Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke told David Letterman that she has a hard time relating to Ross Perot because his "wingspan with his ears is wider than his total height." Not to worry: There're still five campaign months remaining to cover the substance.



Paul McCartney: How old?

■ And Democrats all over town are buzzing (and a bit stunned) that well-known partisan pollster Paul Maslin may be hitching his star to Mr. Perot's. As of yesterday, Maslin was not returning calls. Word was also circulating that Hamilton Jordan had brought in another Carterite, former White House appointments secretary Tim Kraft.

■ Perot's investigative paranoia has no limit. The New Republic reports this week that the nonpresidential contender has had his own children followed by spies and even had their friends investigated.

■ The National Association of Talk Show Hosts is seriously considering presenting keynoter Dan Quayle with his very own dictionary after his lunch speech today—courtesy of sponsor Merriam-Webster.

The Blonde, the Bond, The Cook & His Fiancee

■ Won't Los Angeles model-actress Anna Rhodes be surprised when she reads in the New York Post that her fiance (yes, the man she plans to marry), playboy architect Peter Cook, was "building a real bond of affection" with Sports Illustrated swimsuit model Ashley Richardson Montana at a party earlier this week.

Blond, amazonian Ashley recently split from her husband of not-a-very-long-time, Paul Montana, owner of Manhattan's chic Whiskey Bar,



Ashley Montana: Heartbreaker?

after she reportedly caught him more than in the arms of another.

The perpetually tanned and fit Cook met Rhodes this spring, and after a mere six weeks popped The Question. His bachelorhood is supposed to end officially in September.

The Washington Post

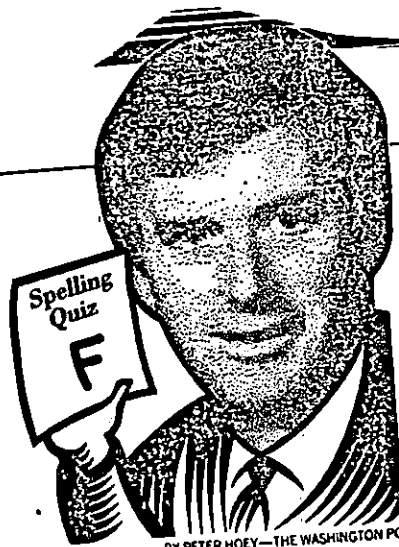
FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Spellbound by the Veep

■ Quirky Virginia Democratic Party Chairman Paul Goldman, whose topical telephone answering machine messages often prompt laughs or censure, depending on the target of his barbs, is at it again. This time the target is (surprise, surprise) Vice President Dan Quayle, who erroneously instructed a New Jersey elementary school pupil earlier this week to add the letter "e" to his spelling of "potato."

In our effort to provide current and constant updates on the veep, we offer Goldman's taped reaction:

"Excuse me, but your telephone call has been interrupted by the vice president's spelling hot line. Today's word—'zero,' as used in the sentence, 'How would you rate the spelling IQ of



BY PETER HOEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

the potato head who's one heart, spelled h-a-r-t, beat, spelled b-e-e-t, away from the presidency?' Zero. Spelled z-e-r-o-e. Alternatively spelled Q-u-a-y-l-e. Leave a message."

(Note to Dave Beckwith: Please call back. No hard feelings.)



Ron Brown.

On MTV, Pop Party Politics

■ Republican Party Chairman Rich Bond apparently thinks he may be able to win this race on his party's hip music quotient. He's challenged

Democratic Party Chairman Ron Brown to a "video shootout" on MTV to make his point in front of all those millions of 18- to 24-year-old viewers.

Looks like Brown will take the bait. The chiefs won't let on what vids they'll

pick to define their party. But we did find out Brown's musical preferences: pop star Mariah Carey, jazzmen Earl Klugh and Branford

Marsalis, rapper Hammer, soulful crooner El DeBarge and blues rocker Bonnie Raitt—particularly her latest album.

In an effort to maintain a political edge, however, Bond is playing his music very close to the vest.



Rich Bond.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



been plausi-

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

We should not be a bit surprised to learn that the biggest item on local television Wednesday night was the two-hour CBS News special "Watergate: The Secret Story," which averaged a 14.9 Nielsen rating and a 26 percent audience share on Channel 9 between 9 and 11...

The downfall of a president, so often retold in the past 20 years, is still a riveting, almost unbelievable story, as the CBS News/Post-Newsweek co-production proved again...

As a bonus, Watergate aficionados even got a new nominee for "Deep Throat," the mystery source for reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein throughout the Watergate story. Narrator Mike Wallace suggested the name of L. Patrick Gray, who had been appointed acting director of the FBI six weeks before the June 17, 1972, break-in at the Watergate...

In his nominating speech, Wallace pointed out that Gray, now 76, "started out as a Nixon loyalist, but according to our sources, as Gray was dragged into the Watergate scandal, he became increasingly more disgusted with the whole business"...

Gray, who refused to talk to CBS during preparation of the special, also lived in an apartment building with an underground garage (made famous in "All the President's Men") where Woodward, who lived only four blocks away, might have met him...

"One more name in the pot" was all Woodward would say yesterday. He, Bernstein and former executive editor Ben Bradlee have steadfastly refused to name "Deep Throat" or admit much more than that he's still alive...

After viewing the final product Wednesday, Woodward said he thought the broadcast "underscored that we protect our sources"...

The mystery of Deep Throat was one of at least four "secrets" dealt with during the CBS program—which also asked why was there a break-in, what was the FBI doing, and when did the coverup begin?...

Executive producer Andrew Lack reported yesterday that CBS Inc. chairman Laurence Tisch sent his staff congratulations, calling it "a great two hours"...

The show also drew praise from CBS Broadcast Group president Howard Stringer (former CBS News president) and the current News boss, Eric Ober...

And Lack said that Maurice Murad, who was line producer for the special, told him yesterday that he "had never gotten so many phone calls from colleagues and friends." Murad is a 30-year vet of CBS News, going back to the Ed Murrow and Fred Friendly days...

"Watergate: The Secret Story" averaged an 11.6 national Nielsen rating and a 21 share...

The program proved most popular in Minneapolis, where it averaged a 16.8/29 (including a 19.9/33 during the last half-hour when the speculation on Deep Throat and expressions of some compassion for President Nixon were broadcast). Houston, San Francisco and Phoenix also outdrew Washington. The program was least popular in L.A., where it averaged a 9.1/16, and Miami (8.3/13), where CBS doesn't have very good circulation...

And it was good to see Dan Rather's sideburns again...

Now This

Sister Souljah made the news last weekend when Gov. Bill Clinton attacked her incendiary remarks about whites during an appearance before Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, where she had been warmly received. Starting tonight, she is going to have another busy weekend...

She will be interviewed tonight on CNN's "Larry King Live," starting at 9...

And at 11, Sister Souljah will be a featured guest on The Learning Channel's "The Charlie Rose Show," which was originally aired last night over WNET in New York...

Tomorrow, Sister Souljah will be interviewed on BET's live "Teen Summit," starting at noon. Lisa Johnson is host of the hour show...

And on Sunday morning, she will be interviewed live on NBC's "Sunday Today" (WRC at 9)...

Clinton, meanwhile, can be seen live on C-SPAN this afternoon between 2 and 3, as he plays radio talk show host on KARN in Little Rock, Ark...

During the hour he'll be questioned—via two-way satellite—by members of the board of the

which will be meeting at the Mayflower Hotel here (at least we'll finally find out what radio talk show hosts talk about when they get together)...

KARN (920 on your AM dial) is a statewide, independent radio network. The Democratic presidential nominee-to-be will spend two hours on the station, fielding questions from a Latino group via satellite as well as from Arkansas listeners...

And tomorrow, C-SPAN will provide live coverage of President Bush's address before the Texas Republican Party convention in Dallas, starting at 4:45 p.m....

More to Come

NBC Entertainment yesterday announced changes in its Friday night schedule—not the current one, the fall 1992-93 lineup...

Two sitcoms—including the holdover "The Powers That Be"—that were originally scheduled to fill the 8 to 9 timeslot have been dropped in favor of two new reality series, "Final Appeal: From the Files of 'Unsolved Mysteries'" and "What Happened?"...

What happened? NBC Entertainment president Warren Littlefield said yesterday that the reality shows will "improve dramatically the lead-in for our two-hour dramatic block beginning with 'Round Table' and 'I'll Fly Away'..."

Both "The Powers That Be" and "Glory Boys" (announced in May as "In the Loop") will be available later in the season, the network said...

"Final Appeal," based on a segment of "Unsolved Mysteries," "touches human dramas involving unexplained disappearances, medical miracles, lost loves and unclaimed fortunes." It also means more work for Bob Stack...

"What Happened?" examines and explores some of the most intriguing disasters and catastrophes and reveals the startling and fascinating explanations behind them. Whaaaa?...

"The Round Table," in case you've forgotten, will be located in a Georgetown hangout where "young professionals socialize together while they pursue careers in lawmaking and law enforcement in Washington"...

The aggressive "Today" show climbed back into the morning network lead again last week, averaging a 3.9/20, compared with a 3.8/19 for ABC's "Good Morning America" and a 2.2/11 for "CBS This Morning," for the week ending June 12...

After a long unchallenged run at the top by the ABC show, "Today" has won four of the last seven weeks...

Now that WUSA's weathercasters can wander outdoors amid the potted plants whenever the spirit moves them, it was only a matter of time before WRC figured out how to get Bob Ryan out of the studio too...

Starting yesterday, with a visit to Fort Washington, the station will be dispatching Bob to different locations throughout the metro area every Thursday for the 5 o'clock weather report on Channel 4...

The Thursday visits will continue throughout the summer...

A tip of the ole rabbit ears, tastefully encompassed in pink, to Cindy DiBiasi and Michael Hewins, proud parents of Erica Francis Hewins, who arrived at Holy Cross Hospital Tuesday weighing 6 pounds 12 ounces...

Mom, of course, is the health beat reporter at Channel 9; dad is an attorney. Erica Francis has a sister, Lauren, who will be 2 in August...

The Watergate special aside, NBC, with all reruns, won primetime on Wednesday night, averaging a 10.1/19 national Nielsen count. "Unsolved Mysteries" at 11.7/24, was tops...

CBS averaged a 10.0/19. A special plugging the new movie, "Batman Returns: The Bat, the Cat and the Penguin," averaged a 7.8/16 in the half-hour before the Watergate program...

ABC averaged a 9.4/18. The conclusion of a repeat of "Scruples" did a 9.7/18...

In Washington, the "Batman" special did a 10.1/19 on Nine; "Scruples" did an 11.1/19 on Seven...

A national ratingzzz point represents 921,000 TV homes; a local point, 18,199 homes...

Jay Kernis, a senior producer for "CBS This Morning," has been named to the newly created job of senior producer for entertainment, which puts him in charge of all entertainment news segments, interviews, reports on film, theater, dance TV, art, music as well as the Hollywood report of Steve Kmetko, critic Gene Siskel's movie reviews and weatherman Mark McEwen's

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Communism's Last Resort

In Crimea, the Old Apparatchiks Desperately Cling to Their Perk

By Fred Hiatt
Washington Post Foreign Service

FOROS, Ukraine—The lilacs still bloom and the sea breeze still rustles through swaying pines, but an unkempt, end-of-season forlornness pervades this seaside Crimean resort where the communist barons of the Soviet Union once frolicked in splendid privacy.

"It was all so much more beautiful, so much more tended and cared for, in the days of our party leaders," Tamara Arutiunova, a resort employee,

said sadly. "Now, anyone with money can come."

This was the secret preserve of the party apparatchiks, a white-stone tower with overstated chandeliers and oversize balconies facing the blue-green waters of the Black Sea.

Here, regional first party secretaries could sneak away from the drab workers paradise they had created and loll in the huge indoor pool, relax in the indoor or outdoor summer movie theaters, party at the casino and the discotheque. Here, too, they could indulge their hypochon-

dria in a vast "rehabilitation" complex of mud baths and oxygen baths, allergists and psychotherapists, dentists and exercise coaches and masseuses.

"Everything was from Moscow, and everything was taken care of," Arutiunova said. "Food, furniture, whatever we needed, we ordered. And whatever we ordered, we got."

Now, Arutiunova and the other workers of Foros Sanatorium are, like everyone else, trying to adapt to a new world without subsidies or certainties. Almost everything about

See FOROS, B2, Col. 1

The Crimean Jewel

FOROS, From B1

Foros—who owns it, who runs it, even what country it is in—is up for grabs. Only the natural beauty of the Crimean coastline, with its plunging rocky cliffs and sun-washed stately cypresses, seems unchanged.

Since Catherine the Great's soldiers brought Crimea into the Russian empire two centuries ago, its semitropical coastline has been an object of dreams, of poetry and of contention. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, indigenous Crimean Tatars fought to establish an autonomous republic—and local commissars argued to Lenin that they should be denied so that Russia's proletariat could preserve a vacation spot.

In the decades after, workers sometimes were rewarded with summer holidays on the increasingly crowded and polluted beaches of Yalta and neighboring towns. But Foros, cleaner and more isolated, remained the preserve of the rulers, in three gradations: the private *dacha* with its escalator to the beach where General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and his family were vacationing, and then under house arrest, during last summer's hard-line coup attempt; the Southern Sanatorium, where Central Committee members and Communist Party general secretaries from "friendly countries" like Syria and Romania were pampered; and the Main Sanatorium, for cosmonauts and local first secretaries, the equivalent of mayors and governors.

Now, the former communists who control Crimea's Supreme Soviet have claimed the vacation homes; the allure of the sea-front property is said to be a prime motivation for Crimea's quest for sovereignty from Ukraine.

"It's really a fight over privatization," said Mikhail Kanafotski, an official with the Union of Ukrainian Students who opposes Crimean independence. "The old Communists want to control the privatization of all the rest homes and sanatoria."

"Of course, they are on our territory, and it's natural that we should want to possess them," responded Gennadi K. Siunkov, chief editor of the Supreme Soviet newspaper. "It used to be that a Crimean couldn't even get through to the seashore, because of all those special preserves."

What to do with them remains a question, however. Gorbachev's *dacha* remains shuttered, while various leaders fight over it; a warship rides at anchor offshore, keeping watch over its quiet private beach.

The Southern Sanatorium is serving enterprise directors and others who can pay in beef or furniture or other supplies to keep the hotel going, according to director (and physician) Arkady P. Rogozhnikov. If the politicians would get out of the way, Rogozhnikov added, the "workers' collective" would take possession, find an outside investor and turn the sanatorium into a world-class resort.



Foros, the former communist luxury getaway, sits in the cliffs above the Black Sea.

At the Foros Sanatorium, the private Moscow-based firm Phoenix already has leased two floors from the Crimean parliament and is seeking to replace apparatchiks with the new aristocracy of Russia—entrepreneurs and foreigners. For 1,500 rubles—a huge sum by Russian standards, but less than \$15 at current exchange rates—Phoenix will provide a seaside room and three meals a day.

Since the dining room remains out of Phoenix's control, however, those meals remain something of a problem. Although the hotel's few guests now eat in a small side room, while the vast, chandeliered dining hall goes unused, the kitchen has retained an uncanny ability to prepare meals that taste as though it is cooking for hundreds. A request for beverage produces the familiar Soviet choice: tea, or tea.

Still, the sanatorium has sugar for the tea, which is more than every Russian hotel can boast of. It has the glorious park and elegant estate of Count Kuznetsov, the prerevolutionary ty-

coon whose classical home with flagstoned terrace was turned into a library and ballroom for the apparatchiks.

And it has its glorious view of Foros's blue-green waters.

Georgy D. Dmitrienko, Phoenix's chief, acknowledged that, so far, his firm is losing money here, and attracting too few customers. But he said he will keep the price relatively low, until word gets around of this hidden treasure—and until attitudes of workers and customers alike can catch up to the new economic realities.

"For decades, people worked more or less for free, and expected to get everything more or less for free," he said one evening over a Crimean cognac in the small "club" Phoenix has created a ninth-floor corner room.

"Now we expect them to work for their money, and we expect them to pay for what they get," he said. "The attitudes will be the hardest thing to change—much harder than rebuild a hotel."

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Clinton Lauds Yeltsin, Backs Aid Package

By Dan Balz and MaraLee Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writers

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin yesterday and praised him as a "brave and historically important figure" who deserves American moral and financial support.

Clinton lauded Yeltsin for signing a dramatic nuclear arms reduction treaty with President Bush that risked a military backlash at home, described him as "a dramatic departure from anything we've ever seen from Russia" and called for bipartisan approval of the major aid package for Russia and other former Soviet republics stalled in Congress.

The 30-minute meeting at Blair House was largely a get-acquainted session—and an opportunity for a small-state governor with limited foreign policy experience to stand side-by-side with a major foreign leader—and it began with a bit of stock-taking.

"My, what a young man you are," Yeltsin said to 45-year-old Clinton when the two were introduced.



Gov. Bill Clinton, left, called Boris Yeltsin "brave and historically important."

"But I'm getting older every day," Clinton replied, a spokeswoman said.

"But you have a lot of experience," the 61-year-old Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin told reporters during a photo opportunity he was familiar with Clinton's pro-aid position and called him "a fighter against bureaucracy." Then it was down to business.

Clinton pledged to do what he could to influence Congress to pass the aid package. He also said there

should be no linkage between the aid package and Yeltsin's stunning revelation earlier this week that some American POWs from Vietnam and Korea had been moved to the Soviet Union.

Clinton said that despite differences with Bush on some foreign policy issues, "Today is the day to talk about something we agree on."

Staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

From Russia, With Lower Tariffs

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

As a result of a number of agreements signed during the George Bush-Boris Yeltsin summit this week, Russia for the first time in 41 years will be treated as a normal trading partner of the United States.

Within days, its products will enter the United States at the lowest tariffs set for any country—dropping to 3 percent of the total value from the 40 percent rate levied before the two presidents did away with some of the last vestiges of the Cold War.

This resulted from a trade agreement that grants most-favored nation trading status to Russia, a privilege enjoyed by most countries but denied to Moscow since the Korean War.

The agreement originally was signed by Bush and former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev two years ago and approved by Congress last year. It was ratified by Russia's Supreme Soviet on Friday.

"It's a big plus," said Robert D. Hormatz, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International. "It sweeps away all the Cold War baggage."

But that doesn't mean that local

supermarkets will be flooded with Russian products. The most obvious benefit to American consumers could be a reduction in the price of Russian vodka—if wholesalers pass on to the retail customer some of the benefits of the old \$1.25-a-fifth duty.

While Russian factories and forests don't produce a lot of things that Americans will want to buy, some products are well made and inexpensive. American logging companies and oil firms, for example, are looking at powerful Russian-made Mil and Kamov helicopters, which would be an inexpensive way to move drilling equipment to potential oil wells and lift giant logs from forests.

Leo Welt, a Washington-based newsletter publisher and trade specialist on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, listed a number of other Russian-made products Americans might buy, from bicycles to big specialty machine tools that formerly served the Soviet military. While Russia needs high-technology equipment for difficult mining operations, it produces good, simple and inexpensive mining machinery for less complex operations.

Meanwhile, a trade agreement

signed Wednesday by Bush and Yeltsin will make it easier for U.S. companies to do business there, assure nondiscriminatory treatment of U.S. products and protect patents and copyrights on a range of products—including movies, recordings, advanced technology, jeans and books.

The two leaders also signed a tax treaty that avoids double taxation—something that U.S. business executives have complained about.

They also signed a bilateral investment treaty that allows U.S. investors to bring ruble profits home in hard currency, guarantees "prompt, adequate and effective compensation" if property is expropriated, and provides for third-party international arbitration of disputes between U.S. investors and the Russian government.

As a result of the Russian government completing the legal requirements, a previously signed agreement took effect that allows the Overseas Private Investment Corp. to insure U.S. investments in Russia against political risks and to make its financing and promotion programs available to U.S. companies interested in investing in Russia. OPIC President Fred M. Zeder will lead a business mission to Moscow on Sunday.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Beset Sarajevo Doubts Will of Blue Helmets

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia, June 18—Irked residents of this shell-battered, hungry capital have coined a new name for the U.N. peace-keeping force that is supposed to open the city airport and rush in food.

They call it the U.N. bungling force, and they accuse it of playing into the hands of the besieging Serbs who are trying to starve them.

The head of the primarily Muslim Bosnian defense force called up U.N. headquarters here Wednesday night and accused its forces of providing cover for Serbian tanks that shelled Sarajevo earlier in the day.

Angry questions were asked today on the front page of the Sarajevo daily *Oslobodjenje* about why a convoy of blue-helmeted U.N. troops stopped off for two nights this week at a Serb military base in the suburbs before entering the city.

A well-placed Western diplomat in Belgrade said the patience of the U.S. State Department with the U.N. operation also "is beginning to fray." He said Washington has begun making contingency plans for a military assault that would neutralize Serbian artillery and allow humanitarian flights into the city.

"There are more signals of U.S. military action than ever before, but nothing at this point is imminent. The point is that Washington and other Western governments are angry with the U.N.," the diplomat said.

One indication of the mood is that residents out scrounging for bread this morning said they believe U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is taking bribes from the Serb forces that shell Sarajevo from the hills. They booed at the sight of white U.N. armored personnel carriers. They had cheered them two weeks ago.

"We have a public-relations headache in Sarajevo," conceded U.N. spokesman Adnan Abdel Razek.

It was 13 days ago that U.N. negotiators won approval from the Serb forces that surround Sarajevo, as well as from the outgunned gov-

ernment of Bosnia, for the city airport to be opened immediately to humanitarian flights. Hundreds of tons of food and medicine are waiting on the runways of nearby European airports for delivery.

When first announced by the United Nations, the airport agreement was hailed here as the beginning of the end of suffering. Since Bosnia's ethnic war began in April, Serb shelling has killed more than 1,000 Sarajevo residents and wounded about 6,000.

The U.N. agreement to end all this has proved, so far, a crushing disappointment. In the last two weeks, Sarajevo has been pounded as never before by Serbian artillery and tanks. Up to 50 people a day have been buried in city parks, as the few inner-city cemeteries are already full of the newly dead.

Western diplomats said today that Serb forces are managing to play the airport agreement to their advantage, never refusing to negotiate but delaying any loss of military position and continuing to pound Sarajevo. These sources repeatedly have attributed such tactics to forces under the command of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Milosevic, a Serb nationalist and the last Communist-era leader left in Eastern Europe, has been singled out by the West as the primary cause of the war in Bosnia, as well as for the collapse of Yugoslavia.

Three weeks ago, the United Nations slapped tough economic sanctions on the new Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, an unrecognized state run by Milosevic, for sponsoring aggression in Bosnia.

"The delays suit certain people," said U.N. spokesman Abdel Razek, refusing to name names. "But in our conversations, we have not seen any attempts to actually stop the opening of the airport."

Frustration and confusion have dogged nearly every step of the U.N. peace-keeping force as it has tried to bring in airport technicians and take control of the hundreds of big guns that are in range of the airport runway. With the exception of a few captured guns, nearly all of the artillery is in Serb hands.

More fundamentally, the first

condition for the opening of the airport—a durable cease-fire—has yet to be fulfilled.

The leader of the Serbs in Bosnia, Radovan Karadzic, had announced a "unilateral cease-fire" effective Monday morning. But it lasted less than a day and a half before Serb forces opened up on the city with heavy artillery and seized three strategic points around the city.

In the western suburb of Dobrinja, where some sealed-off residents say by phone that they now are eating grass, Serbian tanks and artillery fired continuously for more than 12 hours Wednesday.

The U.N. force, as it shuttles its personnel and supplies back and forth between Sarajevo and Belgrade, the Serbian capital, has to pass through nearly 150 miles of roads controlled by Serb forces.

When U.N. convoys arrive on the outskirts of Sarajevo, they have to get the Serbs' permission to enter.

This has made the peace keepers temporary captives of a military force that has been denounced by the U.N. Security Council as the primary aggressor in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The last two Sarajevo-bound convoys, one ferrying in specialists to examine the airport and the second bringing in military specialists to deal with Serb artillery, have both been directed to a Serbian army base.

Last week's convoy spent one night there. This week a convoy spent two nights. During these three evenings, Serb gunners at the same Lukavica barracks opened up on Sarajevo.

Thus, to some desperate people of Sarajevo, U.N. peace keepers were dining and sleeping with the Serbs who were killing the city.

U.N. officials have tried to explain to Bosnian officials that they did not willingly spend the evening with Serb fighters. "My [military] monitors spent two nights at Lukavica not as happy guests," Maj. Gen. Lew Mackenzie, chief of the U.N. mission here, told Sarajevo radio today.

Fighting in the city, meanwhile, ebbed this morning.

U.S. Considers Deactivating More Strategic Missiles

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Defense Department said last night that it is considering deactivating some additional U.S. strategic missiles after Russian President Boris Yeltsin's pledge in Washington this week to render the most threatening missiles in his nation's nuclear arsenal incapable of being launched on short notice.

The announcement reversed an earlier statement yesterday by Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams that the Bush administration was not considering taking strategic missiles such as the 10-warhead MX off "alert" status.

In a written statement, the department said "the U.S. is interested in early deactivation of all land-

based . . . [multiple-warhead] missiles"—a category that includes the MX and the Minuteman III. But officials did not say when such a move might be taken.

Yeltsin, in a gesture underscoring improved U.S.-Russian relations, told a joint session of Congress on Wednesday that his country had "begun taking off alert" SS-18 missiles targeted on the United States.

Williams said that Washington has no independent information to verify Yeltsin's claim. But Williams hailed Yeltsin's commitment in a new arms agreement signed with President Bush on Wednesday to eliminate the entire force of 308 SS-18 missiles by the year 2003.

U.S. analysts have long claimed that the 10-warhead SS-18 missile forms the backbone of Russia's nuclear strike force. Officially named

the "Satan" by Western military analysts, the SS-18 is "the single most powerful . . . most destructive weapon in the world's nuclear arsenal" and a "system . . . designed as a first-strike weapon to threaten" U.S. land-based missiles, Williams said. "Its elimination will contribute greatly to global stability."

Yeltsin's public statement did not make clear whether all of Russia's SS-18 missiles, carrying 3,080 warheads, were immediately being taken off alert.

During the Cold War, the United States and the former Soviet Union kept most of their land-based missile force on alert as a deterrent against any surprise nuclear attack. But Bush announced last September, following a sudden improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations after the failure of a coup attempt in Moscow, that he would

promptly remove 20 percent of such missiles from alert status as well as 40 strategic bombers.

Additionally, in his State of the Union address last January, Bush ordered that 160 missiles aboard 10 Poseidon submarines be rendered incapable of being launched on short notice.

The total number of U.S. warheads thus removed from alert since last year has been 2,690, according to the Arms Control Association, a private group here. Reciprocal moves announced earlier this year by Yeltsin and last fall by Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev have led to the removal of a total of 1,186 strategic nuclear warheads from alert status aboard land-based and submarine-based strategic missiles, according to association figures.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Khmer Rouge Charges Tilt Toward Phnom Penh

By William Branigin
Washington Post Foreign Service

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia—Efforts to get Cambodia's faltering U.N.-sponsored peace process back on track are being complicated by the Khmer Rouge guerrilla group's underlying fear of outside influence and by an apparent U.N. tilt toward its archenemy, the Phnom Penh government, according to analysts here.

As bloodstained and reviled as the Khmer Rouge is, diplomats and some U.N. officials acknowledged, the radical communist group has a point in complaining that the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) has not done enough to address its concerns and has shown favoritism toward the Phnom Penh administration, one of the four Cambodian parties to the peace accord.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The peace process has bogged down, with the Khmer Rouge refusing to let UNTAC into its areas or participate in the accord's crucial second phase, the grouping under U.N. supervision and eventual demobilization of combatants that ostensibly started Saturday.

If the process continues to degenerate, it could lead to more cease-fire violations and trigger calls for a change in the U.N. mandate here, diplomats said. Among the possible options are sanctions against the Khmer Rouge or the group's exclusion from the peace process and outright international backing for the Vietnamese-installed government in partnership with two noncommunist guerrilla groups that had formerly fought against it.

However, that would doom the idea of "free and fair elections" envisaged in the peace plan and almost certainly lead to a resumption of war with the still powerful, although now more isolated, Khmer Rouge.

The head of the peace-keeping operation, career U.N. diplomat Yasushi Akashi of Japan, has made clear that he thinks he is taking the proper approach. When asked before he left for Tokyo on Tuesday whether he should be more flexible



toward the Khmer Rouge, he replied: "Some people say we should be more flexible. Other people say we should be harder. I think we are taking the right line."

In an effort to resolve the problem, the U.N. undersecretary general in charge of peace keeping, Marrack Goulding, is flying to Cambodia this week.

The aim of the peace plan, signed in Paris last October, was to use a massive U.N. presence to demobilize 70 percent of the warring forces, run five key ministries and create a "neutral political environment" so that the Cambodian people could freely choose a new government in elections by May 1993.

The underlying hope of most of the accord's international backers was that the Khmer Rouge, blamed for more than 1 million deaths during its bloody 1975-79 rule, would be rejected at the polls and thus sidelined in its efforts to recapture power. However, reaching that point appeared to depend largely on Khmer Rouge acceptance of its own demise and on UNTAC's evenhandedness in ushering the group along.

Instead, UNTAC has alienated the Khmer Rouge on three key issues: the withdrawal of all "Vietnamese forces" from Cambodia, the strengthening of Cambodia's four-party Supreme National Council and the solicitation of budgetary support for the Phnom Penh government.

Even diplomats implacably hostile to the Khmer Rouge say UNTAC could do more to confirm the pullout of Vietnamese occupation troops and address the widely

held concerns of Cambodians about a large population—and growing influx—of Vietnamese civilian settlers. Hanoi says it withdrew all of its forces in 1989, and no proof has been produced that Vietnamese combat units are still in the country. But the border with Vietnam remains open to undocumented migrant workers, whose presence must be dealt with eventually when UNTAC registers voters for next year's election.

The Khmer Rouge also has demanded greater powers for the Supreme National Council, a vaguely defined body formed under the peace plan to embody Cambodian sovereignty before a new government is elected. Although U.N. officials say it was never meant to substitute for Phnom Penh's existing administration, it does not appear to have evolved at all and, if anything, has become less relevant.

But perhaps the greatest grievance of the Khmer Rouge is an appeal, issued by UNTAC in April, for international contributions to a \$595 million rehabilitation aid package for Cambodia, including \$111.8 million in outright budgetary support for the beleaguered Phnom Penh administration. The language of the document equates "Cambodia" with the Phnom Penh government, fueling Khmer Rouge charges of UNTAC "de facto recognition" of that party as the country's legitimate representative. A pledging conference is scheduled for next week in Tokyo, which Akashi is to attend.

When the Khmer Rouge objected to the budgetary support, intended in part to pay Phnom Penh's civil servants, Akashi dismissed the grievance and vowed to seek the funding anyway, diplomats said.

The Khmer Rouge may have reneged on the accord anyway because of other, officially unstated concerns, analysts said. But if that is the case, UNTAC would appear to have handed the group a convenient pretext. Chief among these other concerns is a fear that the organization's tightly controlled military and civilian base would be "corrupted" by outside influence if it let UNTAC provide assistance and if it sent guerrillas into U.N.-supervised areas, called cantonments.

FRIDAY, JUNE 10 1992

U.N. Seeks Permanent Armed Force

Boutros-Ghali Presses 'Peace Enforcement'

By Trevor Rowe
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, June 18—Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali offered the Security Council today a blueprint for a United Nations that calls on member countries to make armed forces available on an ad hoc and permanent basis.

In his report, Boutros-Ghali argued that a military option "is essential" to the credibility of the United Nations as a guarantor of international security. He proposed that separate "peace enforcement units" be created to deal with potentially high-risk situations.

At present, the units volunteered by member states for U.N. peace-keeping missions are characterized by such tight restraints against use of arms that the troops generally have been discounted as a credible military force.

The blueprint is the result of a Jan. 31 meeting of world leaders, including President Bush, at the Security Council. They asked Boutros-Ghali to report on "ways of strengthening and making more efficient" the council's capacity for preventive diplomacy, peace making and peace keeping.

The secretary general stressed that "the ready availability of armed forces on call could serve, in itself, as a means of deterring breaches of the peace, since a potential aggressor would know that the council had at its disposal a means of response."

Boutros-Ghali noted that while the forces may never be sufficiently large or sophisticated enough to face a threat from a major army, "they would be useful . . . in meeting any threat posed by a military force of a lesser order."

See NATIONS, A30, Col 1

NATIONS, From A29

The idea of a standing force was suggested by French President Francois Mitterrand, who volunteered to have 1,000 soldiers available at all times and to double this number within 48 hours. It is unclear whether other world leaders, including Bush, share his enthusiasm.

Response to the report could serve as a test of whether the 15 council nations and other U.N. members share Boutros-Ghali's vision of the organization in the post-Cold War era.

The troops' function would be to respond to "outright aggression, imminent or actual." While the secretary general recognized that these forces are not likely to be available "for some time," he recommended they be made available. He added that they would be more heavily armed than peace-keeping forces and would need extensive training within their national forces.

Boutros-Ghali stressed preventive diplomacy as well as what he called post-conflict peace-building, aimed at strengthening peaceful conditions.

Among his suggestions for pre-operations exceed \$800 million. He recommended that, as has been proposed by some in the United States, contributions be budgeted by defense ministries rather than foreign ministries.

"A chasm has developed between the tasks entrusted to this organization and the financial means provided to it," the report said. "The truth of the matter is that our vision cannot really extend to the prospect opening before us as long as our financing remains myopic."

Among some new financial solutions, it proposed a levy on international air travel, "which is dependent on international peace," general tax exemption for contributions to the United Nations and a levy on arms sales.

Boutros-Ghali noted that since the creation of the United Nations in 1945, more than 100 major conflicts around the world have left some 20 million dead. He blamed this in part on the ideological struggle between the United States and Soviet Union and the use of 279 vetoes in the council. "Never again must the Security Council lose the collegiality that is essential to its proper functioning," he said.

ventive diplomacy, he called for an enhanced role for regional organizations, more fact-finding, an enhanced U.N. presence—including, in exceptional circumstances, council meetings away from New York headquarters to gather information and exercise authority.

He also recommended "preventive deployment" of U.N. peace keepers in cases of national crisis or inter-state disputes. This would be done with the consent of the governments or all the parties, but the council also would be able to dispatch forces at the request of a single government that feared aggression by a neighbor.

Another idea is to use demilitarized zones before rather than after conflicts. They would offer a means of separating potential belligerents or, at the request of one party, a way of removing a pretext for attack.

The report called for greater reliance on the International Court of Justice and proposed that all nations join by 2000.

The secretary general noted that the United Nations will not be able to play an enhanced role if it lacks the financial resources. At present, he said, arrears for peace-keeping

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

U.S. Team Starts Search for POWs in Russia

Reported Sighting of American Prompts Trip to Arctic Camps; No Evidence at 1st

By Fred Hiatt
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 18—A delegation of Russian and U.S. officials flew to an Arctic prison camp region today to investigate a report that an American serviceman missing since the Korean War might be there.

At the first camp they visited, they found no evidence of American prisoners and officials there said there were none, the Associated Press reported. The delegation is to visit more camps Friday.

Deborah DeYoung, a spokeswoman for the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs, said the mission was prompted by information provided to a committee investigator working in Moscow. DeYoung described the information as a "recent account" and said there is "every reason to think this guy may be alive."

The committee, chaired by Sen. John Kerrey (D-Mass.), would not identify the prisoner or his alleged location. Russian sources said he is in one of several camps near Pechora, 900 miles northeast of Moscow, and identified the prisoner variously as David Martin or Markin. One Russian source, however, described him as Navy pilot David Martin of Orlando, Fla., born in 1942 and missing since disappearing in Vietnam in 1967.

The Pentagon has said that a David Martin was shot down but that they had no reason to believe he was in a Soviet prison. A private American group, the Ark Project, said it believed the man was Lt. Robert Martin, who was taken prisoner during the Korean War, the Associated Press reported, but no further information on him was available.

The mission came after Russian President Boris Yeltsin said in Washington that U.S. prisoners of war from the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts had been imprisoned in the former Soviet Union. Yeltsin promised, in an address to Congress, to use all his resources to discover whether any Americans remain alive here and, if so, to return them to their families.

Some Russian officials expressed skepticism that Americans might still be living in Siberia or elsewhere.

Alexander Strelkov, head of the main directorate of prison camps that includes the Pechora region, was quoted in the newspaper *Izvestia* today as saying, "We have examined all lists and archives and spoken to the guards, including the ones who are retired, and I am confident that there are no American prisoners in our colonies, nor have there ever been any."

Col. Gen. Dmitri Volkogonov, an adviser to Yeltsin, said in Washington on Wednesday that he believes such reports contain a large element of "mystification." He said any American still alive would have been able to make his presence known to the world during the last five years of relative openness.

[Former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, visiting in Israel, scoffed at Yeltsin's account, the Associated Press reported from Tel Aviv. "I heard that the president of Russia delivered sensational news that I know nothing about. Not only me, but also unknown to others," Gorbachev said on Thursday, adding that Yeltsin appeared to have joined "those who are working on defaming Gorbachev."

[A spokeswoman for the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry called Yeltsin's statement "absolutely baseless" and said, "No American prisoners were taken from Vietnam to the Soviet Union during or after the war," *Reuter* reported from Hanoi.]

Investigations of other recent "sightings" of Americans have proved fruitless. But the recent discovery of U.S. defector Victor Hamilton in a psychiatric hospital outside Moscow has fueled speculation that other Americans could be held in isolation in camps or hospitals in this vast country.

Boris Yuzhin, associate director of a private U.S.-Russian organization that helped locate Hamilton, said he feels "pretty sure" other Americans may still be living in psychiatric hospitals or the network of prison camps known as the gulag. "I'm an expert on the gulag, and I know how it is possible to hide people out there," Yuzhin, a former KGB officer, said in an interview today. He said he was jailed for five years for offering the FBI information on what he considered unethical KGB operations.

According to Yuzhin's organization, Ark Project, and the All-Union television station here, which also investigated the case, Hamilton was a cryptanalyst at the top-secret National Security Agency until he was dismissed in 1959 for what Yuzhin called "mental problems." Hamilton, now 75, defected to the Soviet Union in 1962 and was used for propaganda and as a source of information, being kept in elite Communist Party psychiatric clinics in Moscow until 1971, Yuzhin said.

He was then transferred to Hospital No. 5, about 35 miles outside Moscow, where he has been since, Yuzhin said.

Hamilton was found after Yuzhin and a colleague, Mikhail Kazachkov, appealed in a March television interview for information on the whereabouts of U.S. prisoners. A doctor gave a tip that eventually led to Hamilton's discovery, Yuzhin said. But Yuzhin said Hamilton has lost his memory and so remains, for the time being, in Hospital No. 5.

U.S. Embassy officials here declined to discuss today's mission to Pechora, except to confirm that it is taking place.

President Bush said he would send Malcolm Toon, former ambassador to the Soviet Union, to Moscow to conduct further inquiries into the fate of missing Americans.

The Associated Press added from Labor Camp PL-350-5:

U.S. investigators came to this remote prison today looking into reports that an American prisoner of war is in this area. But all they found were freshly painted walls, smiling prisoners and officials who insisted the hunt was pointless. "We don't have any Americans here," said Maj. Gen. Leonid Khamluk, chief of the camps.

The investigators filed through the dilapidated administration building, its interior walls freshly painted. Soldiers, inmates and officials all said no Americans were present.

"We heard some rumors that somebody was around here, but nobody has ever seen him. And I don't believe them," said Alexander Babenko, 18, one of a half-dozen young soldiers posted at a guardhouse.

The entrance road was lined with freshly planted pine saplings and the road around the camp had been swept clean. A convict said camp officials ordered inmates to clean up the grounds in the last two days.

Russian Conservatives Hit Yeltsin Arms Cuts *Moderates Praise Agreement With U.S.*

By Fred Hiatt
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, June 18—Russian conservatives opened a campaign today against what they consider lopsided concessions by Boris Yeltsin in arms cuts, accusing the Russian president of giving away the strength and parity that Soviet leaders fought for decades to achieve.

Government leaders rejected the complaints, and middle-of-the-road analysts welcomed the agreement as a historic breakthrough that will benefit Russia's reeling economy. Several analysts said they doubted that the military or the military-industrial complex would be united and strong enough to undermine the agreement.

Right-wing politicians and newspapers angrily denounced Yeltsin for agreeing, in his Washington talks with President Bush, to scrap the core of Russia's strategic arsenal, its land-based multi-warhead missiles. They accused him of betraying the pledge he made to Russian officers just before the summit that he would not scrap all the SS-18s or allow the United States to seize a strategic advantage during Russia's time of need.

There also were widespread predictions that Russia's conservative parliament will seek to overturn the agreement. Even the liberal newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* said the pact "will surely trigger a lot of emotions and passions in the parliament." It said Yeltsin's own delegation in Washington was sharply divided over the deal.

Pravda, former mouthpiece of the Communist Party and still a voice for hard-line Communists, said the arms-cut agreement might be "a hasty, unjustified concession to Washington—and the final loss of Russia's status and its significance as a superpower."

"It is still unclear why it is precisely Russia that has to sacrifice its most powerful weapons of deterrence," *Pravda* said.

"They are pushing us to destroy the best part of our stockpile," said the conservative newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, which suggested that the U.S. military will now push ahead with development of better arms. "And they will do so while knowing full well that our military-industrial complex is agonizing in convulsion of conversion," it added. Leaders of a sizable hard-line faction in Russia's parliament held a

news conference today to denounce the agreement, even hinting at armed struggle to stop the cuts.

"I am not calling for violations of the constitution, but if the parliament does not prevent Russia from coming under America's nuclear umbrella, then clashes are inevitable," faction leader Nikolai Pavlov said. "If the opposition by democratic means fails, then Russian Red Brigades will emerge in the court."

Sergei Baburin, another hard-line leader, said Washington is supporting Yeltsin and his economic reform program in gratitude for "the destruction of Russia's defenses." Even former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, who when in power proposed the destruction of all nuclear weapons, criticized his rival Yeltsin. While claiming credit for the reductions as a logical outgrowth of his policy and giving them "my blessing," Gorbachev accused Yeltsin of failing to take into account the needs of Russia's arms industry.

"One should not act using a populist approach just to make an impression on the world," Gorbachev said during a visit to Israel. "One must take into account human beings... the military industries and apparatus involved."

Arms control expert Andrei Kortunov said Russia's military, preoccupied with problems of personnel and conventional forces, will likely object less than some big arms factories that will have to close, such as missile and guidance system plants.

Kortunov said he believes Yeltsin will seek to "sell" the agreement at home by pointing out that America also agreed to trim the core of its strategic arsenal, the submarine-based missiles.

A Russian Foreign Ministry official insisted, in an interview with Interfax news agency, that the agreement "does not in the least weaken Russia's defense capabilities," because the country would retain a "fantastic" number of warheads even after the agreed-upon reductions.

Similarly, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, traveling with Yeltsin, was quoted on television here as rejecting criticism of unilateral concessions as "invalid" and saying Russia will have the means to maintain a balance of forces.

Russian disarmament expert Alexander Savelyev told *Izvestia* that both countries will be better off

Both Sides Embrace 'New Relationship' Forged During Summit

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the wake of the first summit meeting between the U.S. president and the elected president of a democratic Russia, officials moved yesterday to make a reality of the "new relationship" proclaimed by President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The best news for both leaders came from Capitol Hill. After weeks of delay, Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) announced he plans to bring the U.S. aid bill for Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union to the floor for Senate action as early as Tuesday.

Another piece of favorable news came from a meeting between Russia's economic czar, Yegor Gaidar, and Managing Director Michel Camdessus of the International Monetary Fund. The IMF said the talks could lead to "early agreement" on an economic program that the international financial organization would help finance. Sources close to the Russian government said the IMF would probably release a first

installment of support funds before a summit meeting in Munich next month of the seven leading industrialized democracies.

With the successful completion of the U.S.-Russian summit, a senior State Department official said yesterday "the framework is in place" for the new, cooperative relationship heralded here this week to replace the Cold War confrontation. "The question now," the official added, is how rapidly the two sides can move to put substance on that framework.

The seven agreements signed by Bush and Yeltsin and more than a dozen other accords signed by lower-ranking officials provide many possibilities for eradicating some lingering barriers to relations and moving on to normal ties. Among the expected developments, according to administration officials, are:

- An end to the seven-year logjam over a new U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Officials signed a memorandum of understanding during the summit giving the United States the right to work unrestricted in constructing a new chancery building to replace the still-in-

complete structure that was bugged by the Soviet KGB. The United States would be permitted a long-term lease on the antiquated structure it has occupied in Moscow.

The Russians, in a reciprocal move, would be permitted finally to move into the office buildings the Soviet Union built at Mt. Alto on Wisconsin Avenue and to occupy a one-third acre plot nearby. Also as part of the deal, the United States would drop its \$30 million claim against the now-extinct Soviet Union. These terms will require cooperation from Congress, which is why the arrangement has not been formally announced.

- A start on expanded military cooperation. Envisioned eventually are Russian officers coming for training to service schools in this country under a U.S. aid program. U.S. defense officials, military and civilian, are also expected to be stationed in Moscow to assist the Russians in working on such issues as civilian control of the military.

- Broader security discussions that are likely to involve senior U.S. representatives of the State and Defense departments, National

Security Council and other agencies with their Russian counterparts. This expanded strategic dialogue would be in addition to joint discussions of missile defense issues, which are to begin within a month in Moscow under the chairmanship of Dennis Ross, State Department director of policy planning.

- Expanded U.S.-Russian trade under most-favored-nation tariff arrangements established Wednesday. The trade benefits were authorized in the trade agreement signed by Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in 1990, but they could not take effect until the Russian legislature ratified the accord last Friday.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III and other U.S. officials gave credit to Vladimir Lukin, the Russian ambassador to the United States and former foreign relations chairman of the Supreme Soviet, for pushing through the ratification. The U.S. Senate ratified the agreement last November.

Beyond these and many other exchanges or initiatives in the works, the central result of the summit was to establish the political underpinning for the new relationship.

"Let me just say to the American people, our support for Russia is unshakable because it is in our interest," said Bush in his joint news conference with Yeltsin Wednesday. "Success for Russian democracy will enhance the security of every American. Think for just a minute about what that means—not for presidents, nor for heads of state or historians, but for parents and their children. It means a future free from fear."

Yeltsin justified the new relationship on a more historical basis, saying at the state dinner Tuesday that "America and Russia have always affected not only the course of world history but have also influenced each other." He harkened back to the World War II alliance of the two nations.

Now that communism in Russia has collapsed and a fledgling democracy has replaced it, the stakes are high for both countries in a cooperative relationship, both leaders declared.

Staff writer Steven Mufson contributed to this report.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Yeltsin Goes With the Grain in Kansas

'We Can Learn From Your Experience,' Ebullient Russian Tells Crowd

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Staff Writer

WICHITA, Kan., June 18—Russian President Boris Yeltsin lost his jacket during a barnstorming meet-the-people tour here today, but he appeared to win the hearts of Middle America with his announcement that communism in Russia was dead and could never be resurrected.

The 61-year-old Russian leader demonstrated his flair for the dramatic, crowd-pleasing gesture by giving the top half of his tailor-made summer suit to the president of a Wichita meatpacking plant who had presented him with a black pigskin leather jacket. Russian security men were seen frantically removing Yeltsin's wallet and personal papers from the jacket before handing it over.

"I would have given you the trousers, too, but there are ladies present," said Yeltsin, as he helped Dold

Foods President Dick Knolton into his jacket. "It's a little on the large side," said Knolton, who later told reporters that he normally wears a 44 long.

Yeltsin's determination to match his American hosts gift for gift and promise for promise—even if it meant giving away his own jacket—reflected his pugnacious, ebullient mood as he dived into the American heartland at the end of the first U.S.-Russian summit before heading for Canada.

When the president of Wichita State University promised to create two scholarships worth \$10,000 each for visiting Russian students, Yeltsin countered with an off-the-cuff pledge to set up five scholarships worth \$5,000 each for American students. The Russian leader was so impressed by his visit to a family farm outside Wichita that he talked about creating 5 million such farms back home in Russia.

See YELTSIN, A33, Col. 1

■ Hard-line Russian politicians and press open a campaign against Yeltsin's arms-cuts plan.

Page A33

Ebullient Russian Leader Takes Kansas by Storm

YELTSIN, From A1

Yeltsin's message—the Cold War is over, Russian missiles are no longer being targeted on American cities, a new Russia is rising from the debris of totalitarian rule—appeared to go down well with the Kansans who were listening. They applauded him everywhere he went. And when they didn't applaud, Yeltsin provoked them into a show of enthusiasm by asking bluntly: "Why aren't you clapping?" He frequently uses the same trick during his tours of the Russian provinces.

"I think this man is as straight as you can get," said Don Peterson, chairman of the Kansas Conservation Association, who waited for several hours in the 94-degree heat to catch a glimpse of Yeltsin at the Rau family farm outside Wichita. "Serving 26 years in the Air Force left me with some hostility to the Russians. They breed it into you there. But it's difficult for me to feel it anymore now."

The Russian president began his trip to the Midwest by flying into McConnell Air Force Base where, until a year ago, B-1 bombers were on 24-hour standby to fly nuclear devastation to Russia in the event of war. Yeltsin drew some ironic cheers from the flight crews assembled on the tarmac when he suggested that the B-1 bombers be converted from military use to transport "some kind of civilian cargo."

"I have come to learn how you grow your crops, how you pack your meat, how you feed your cows, because we can learn from your experience," Yeltsin told the crowd.

The Russian leader had been invited to Kansas by Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), who was introduced by the mayor of Wichita as "one of the greatest statesmen in the world today." Dole befriended Yeltsin when he came to Washington last year at a time when the Bush administration was lavishing practically all its diplomatic attention on Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

"Dole was the only person who would meet Yeltsin at the airport," the senator's press spokesman, Walt Riker, kept repeating to anyone who would listen. "No administration official was there to greet him. It wasn't politically correct back then."

The meat-processing plant made a big impression on Yeltsin. As one visitor from Moscow remarked, the plant seemed considerably more hygienic than the average intensive care ward back home in Russia.

Yeltsin and the visiting press corps were fitted out in white coats, white shoe covers, and white hair nets—which gave them the appearance of surgeons touring a hospital. "GET IT RIGHT THE FIRST TIME" proclaimed the capitalist-style slogans on the wall.

"I have visited more than 100 meatpacking plants in my life, but I have never seen one like this," mar-



Yeltsin talks with workers at Wichita, Kan., meatpacking plant, about which he said, "If we could build 20 of these in Russia, we could feed 150 million people."

veled the Russian leader. "If we could build 20 of these in Russia, we could feed 150 million people."

At Wichita State University, Yeltsin threw away his prepared speech ("You would doze off," he explained) to deliver an impassioned appeal for cooperation between Russia and America.

"I have seen today the future of America," he told the students. "I want to create such a feeling of friendship that you will never again consider Russia your enemy."

As Yeltsin drove through fields brimming with wheat and corn, he was briefed by Dole on the history of Kansas. By the time he reached the Rau family farm, he was churning out sound bites for the senator's reelection campaign. "First in freedom and first in bread," he told an appreciative audience. "That's why I came to Kansas."

Someone told the Russian pres-

ident that the wheat that provides Kansas with its modern-day prosperity was brought to the state a century ago by Russian and Ukrainian immigrants. He mulled that over as he drove a combine harvester for the benefit of photographers.

"Your wheat came from Russia—and now you get yields that are three times as high as ours," he told farmers later. "This is the result of the fact that we lived under a communist system for 70 years. Before 1917, we were the number-one exporter of wheat to the rest of the world. Now we have to import it."

"I think he made an excellent impression," said Kelly Lenz, the host of a farm radio call-in show. "He is less formal than Gorbachev, more grass-roots. He comes across as someone with the common touch."

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Ruling Bars Race-Based Jury Picks

High Court Extends Anti-Bias Precedent To Criminal Trials

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Criminal defendants cannot use race as a basis for keeping people off juries, the Supreme Court ruled yesterday.

The court previously had ruled that prosecutors were prohibited from racial discrimination in jury selection, and that neither side in civil cases could exercise their jury challenges in a discriminatory way. Yesterday's ruling completes the picture.

Justice Harry A. Blackmun, writing for the majority, said it is "an affront to justice to argue that a fair trial includes the right to discriminate against a group of citizens based on their race."

Criminal lawyers said the high court's decision yesterday could make it easier to avoid all-white juries in racially charged cases, such as the retrial of a white Los Angeles police officer charged in the beating of motorist Rodney G. King.

But they said it could pose a problem in the far more common situation of minority defendants excluding some white jurors to ensure that minorities serve on the jury.

Justice Clarence Thomas, the only black justice, went along with the majority decision in the case because he said it was dictated by earlier rulings. But Thomas said he was "certain that black criminal defendants will rue the day that this court ven-

See COURT, A16, Col. 1

■ Biden warns against preelection
high court nominees. Page A25

Supreme Court Expands Rules for Juror Selection

COURT, From A1

tured down this road.... Simply stated, securing representation of the defendant's race on the jury may help to overcome racial bias and provide the defendant with a better chance of having a fair trial."

Many criminal defense lawyers believe minority jurors tend to be more sympathetic to the situation of minority defendants and more skeptical of testimony by police.

In addition to potential jurors excused by the judge because they are not qualified to serve for a particular reason, prosecutors and defense lawyers each are allowed to exclude a specified number of prospective jurors without giving a reason. In cases with minority defendants, defense lawyers may often use those challenges to strike whites so that minorities remain on the jury.

"It's good that race be purged from the criminal justice system," said Charles Stephen Ralston of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Inc. But, he said, "for the typical minority defendant faced with what might be an all-white jury, they're taking away a tool that may actually be able to get some blacks or Hispanics on the jury, which is really the game" for a minority defendant.

Yesterday's ruling came in a Georgia case in which whites were

sault and beating of a black couple in the couple's dry cleaning store in Albany, Ga. Before trial, the prosecutor, contending that the defendants' lawyer had indicated his intention to use jury challenges to keep blacks off the panel, asked the judge for an order barring such discrimination.

But the Georgia Supreme Court said the rule against racial discrimination in jury selection did not apply to defense lawyers. The Bush administration entered the case on the side of Georgia.

The 7 to 2 vote in the case obscured a closer division among the justices. Two justices in the majority—Thomas and Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist—said they were going along only because of a ruling last year extending the prohibition against racial discrimination in jury challenges to civil cases.

Blackmun said discrimination by either side in a criminal case was abhorrent and pointed to riots that have erupted in the wake of acquittals by all-white juries in racially charged cases. "[I]f a court allows jurors to be excluded because of group bias, it is a willing participant in a scheme that could only undermine the very foundation of our system of justice—our citizens' confidence in it," he wrote.

Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and Antonin Scalia filed separate dissenting opinions. Scalia accused the court

the ages-old right of criminal defendants to exercise peremptory challenges as they wish, to secure a jury that they consider fair."

O'Connor expressed concerns similar to those voiced by Thomas. She noted that "conscious and unconscious racism can affect the way white jurors perceive minority defendants and the facts presented at their trials, perhaps determining the verdict of guilt or innocence," and said "the distorting influence of race" can be minimized by allowing use of peremptory challenges to maintain a mixed-race jury.

In its 1986 ruling in *Batson v. Kentucky*, the court threw a monkey wrench into the use of peremptory challenges. It said that, if defense lawyers can point to a prosecution pattern of using the challenges to keep off jurors of one particular race, the prosecutor can be required to put forward a legitimate, non-discriminatory reason for the apparent bias. Under yesterday's ruling, defense lawyers will be held to the same standards.

The basis for the court's ruling in *Batson* was the equal protection clause, which prohibits state-sanctioned discrimination. The issue in the case decided yesterday, *Georgia v. McCollum*, was whether defense lawyers could be deemed to be acting for the state in exercising peremptory challenges.

Blackmun said they were. "In exercising a peremptory challenge, a criminal defendant is wielding the power to choose a quintessential governmental body—indeed, the institution of government on which our judicial system depends," he

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Hill Study Challenges Military's Exclusion of Gay

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

A new congressional study strongly challenges the U.S. military policy of excluding gay men and lesbians, estimating the cost of replacing uniformed men and women kicked out of the services for homosexuality at \$27 million in 1990 alone.

The General Accounting Office, reviewing the Pentagon's controversial ban on homosexuals in uniform, found that several European

countries allow homosexuals to serve and that some police departments in the United States have reported a "positive impact" since they began hiring gays and lesbians.

The investigators found virtually no scientific or sociological evidence to support the Pentagon's argument that the gay ban is necessary to ensure "good order, morale and discipline."

The report said "many experts believe that the military's policy is unsupported, unfair, and counterproductive; has no validity accord-

ing to current scientific research and opinions; and appears to be based on the same type of prejudicial suppositions that were used to discriminate against blacks and women before these policies were changed."

Efforts to repeal the ban have been gathering steam, helped along by the military's recent, highly publicized expulsions of such model officers as Army National Guard Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer, a former chief nurse of the Washington National Guard who says she is a

lesbian. A bill to repeal the prohibition was introduced in Congress last month; the GAO is the investigative arm of Congress.

The military is the only branch of government that explicitly prohibits the employment of homosexuals. A copy of the GAO report, which is slated for release Saturday, was obtained by The Washington Post.

Christopher Jehn, the assistant defense secretary for manpower, said in a written response to the GAO study that the ban on gay ser-

See GAYS, A12, Col. 5

Military Ban On Gays Hit

GAYS, From A1

vice personnel is based on "military judgment . . . [and] that military judgments about overall combat effectiveness are inherently subjective in nature." As a result, Jehn said, "scientific or sociological analyses are unlikely" to affect the policy.

Jehn also cited numerous federal court rulings upholding the policy and affirming that "the military concern about homosexuality has a basis in fact."

The GAO study, which was requested by House Government Operations Committee Chairman John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.), Rep. Gerry Studds (D-Mass.) and Rep. Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.), challenges the policy on a variety of grounds.

It notes, for example, that mainstream psychiatric groups no longer consider homosexuality a disease; that polls indicate widening public acceptance of homosexuals; and that the Defense Department's own internal studies largely have erased the notion that gays in uniform constitute a security risk. The latter finding also has been endorsed by Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney.

The report also attacked the ban on fiscal grounds. The Pentagon spends \$28,226 to recruit and train replacements for each enlisted person and \$120,772 for each officer it kicks out of the service, the report said. That works out to roughly \$27 million for the approximately 1,000 personnel discharged from all military services in 1990, the GAO said.

The department said in its response that the cost estimate is excessive because it assumes that none

of the discharged gay men and lesbians would have left for other reasons.

GAO's look at policies toward gays in 17 foreign countries, mostly U.S. allies in Europe, turned up a mixed picture. Only four of the 17, or 24 percent, specifically banned homosexuals from military service, while the 13 others did not exclude homosexuals from at least entering the armed forces.

However, several countries in the latter category "had policies requiring separation if an individual's homosexuality was disclosed later or if an individual's behavior was found to be aggressive . . . or disruptive," the report said. Canada and Britain were among the countries with strict homosexual bans; Denmark, France, Belgium, Italy and Finland take a more relaxed attitude.

The report also examined the experience of homosexuals in police and fire departments, which are organized in similar fashion to the military and are perhaps its closest organizational parallel in civilian life. In general, the report said, police and fire officials "stated that homosexuals and heterosexuals appear to have acceptable working relationships."

The Pentagon response disputed the relevance of the GAO's comparisons. "Military personnel policies in the United States are . . . based upon the unique factors in our nation that go into the overall combat effectiveness equation," the department said. "The U.S. must make its own policies based upon what is best for the national security."

The Pentagon acknowledged "some organizational similarities" between the armed forces and police and fire departments. However, the Pentagon said, "There are some very fundamental differences. The mission and related training, deployments, work environment . . . and lack of personal privacy combine to make any such comparison misleading."

ON CAPITOL HILL

Urban Aid Easily Approved; Russian Aid Still Hostage

Congress yesterday approved a scaled-back \$1.1 billion urban aid bill and edged closer to passing a new extension of unemployment benefits, clearing the way for Senate consideration of a broad package of aid to Russia as early as Tuesday.

But, even after the House overwhelmingly approved the urban aid bill and the Senate followed suit by voice vote several hours later, the Senate remained mired in partisan squabble over unrelated issues that threatened the timetable.

The dispute—triggered by a maverick Republican effort to revive anti-crime legislation and a proposed constitutional amendment to balance the budget—will have to be resolved before the Senate can take up the Russian aid bill.

Continued deadlock could delay the measure—sought by Russian President Boris Yeltsin in his enthusiastically received speech to a joint session of Congress Wednesday—for “a long time,” an angry Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) told the rebellious Republicans.

The earlier logjam that was holding up the Russian aid bill was broken when Mitchell announced he had reached tentative agreement with Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) to bring the measure up Tuesday if the Senate completes action on the domestic bills by then.

Many Democrats, fearful of giving voters the impression that they were giving priority to foreign aid over domestic needs, had been reluctant to consider the Russian aid measure before acting on short-term urban aid and unemployment benefits.

The Russian aid bill includes a \$12 billion increase in the U.S. commitment to the International Monetary Fund and other assistance to republics of the former Soviet Union.

The “emergency” urban aid bill, prompted

by the Los Angeles riots but delayed for nearly two months by partisan bickering, was approved in the House by a vote of 249 to 168 after it was scaled back by half in order to satisfy objections from President Bush to an earlier \$2 billion version.

The bill included \$500 million for summer jobs for young people, with the remainder designated for small business loans and emergency assistance to riot victims in Los Angeles and flood victims in Chicago.

The larger package, including urban enterprise zones and social and jobs programs in targeted areas, is bogged down in negotiations between the White House and congressional leaders.

Many who voted yesterday for the emergency package voiced little enthusiasm for it.

“Most of us on this floor think the [bill] is either too much or too little,” said Rep. Julian C. Dixon (D-Calif.). Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), whose district was worst hit by the riots, said the bill “does not begin to get at the problems.”

The GOP rebellion in the Senate was set off by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), who threatened to try to attach Bush’s anti-crime bill and the balanced-budget constitutional amendment to a minor bill that the Senate was scheduled to consider before bringing up the urban aid and unemployment measures.

Mitchell rejected an offer from Gramm to drop the proposal in exchange for a guaranteed vote on the amendment at some future date, saying he and Gramm had different ideas of what constituted a compromise.

Water Policy Revision Approved

■ The House yesterday approved legislation overhauling the federal government’s largest water project, but the measure falls short of what environmentalists had sought in diverting water from agricultural users of California’s Central Valley Project to cities and wildlife.

Touted by some as the most significant

change in federal water policy in decades, the legislation faces an uncertain future. Though agricultural interests and lawmakers representing the lush irrigated farmland of California’s Central Valley had supported the bill in committee, they opposed the legislation yesterday after last-minute negotiations broke down.

Critics of the Central Valley Project—an elaborate system that annually moves about 7 million acre-feet of subsidized water per year from northern California to primarily agricultural users further south—say that it encourages wasteful farming practices, harms fish, waterfowl and other wildlife, and short-changes the state’s thirsty municipal water users.

The system serves about 25,000 farms, which use about 90 percent of the project’s water. The project has contributed to the loss of about 96 percent of the Central Valley’s wetlands, and reduced salmon spawning habitat from 6,000 miles of streams to just 300.

The legislation approved yesterday on a voice vote would limit long-term water contracts to 20 years from the current limit of 40 years, and permit agricultural water users to sell their subsidized water at market rates to other users, including cities and towns. But it bars any new contracts until conditions are met for improving fish and wildlife habitat.

Dropped from the bill were tougher provisions that would have guaranteed yearly diversions of 1.5 million acre feet for wildlife.

House Votes to Look at Itself

■ The House also cast a vote yesterday aimed at overhauling the way it goes about its business. By 412 to 4, the House sent the Senate legislation to set up a wide-ranging, 18-month study that will include review of committee structure and staffing. “The aim,” Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.) said, is “to restore public confidence in Congress.”

—Helen Dewar, Tom Kenworthy
and Eric Pianin

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

U.S. Officials' Perks on Chopping Block

Hill Belt-Tightening Bill Targets Meals, Cars, Fairways, Air Travel

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

The menu at the Treasury Department's executive dining room today offers seafood bisque, shrimp and crabmeat pasta salad, fruit salad and strawberry sundaes. On another Friday, it offered broiled lobster tail, roasted "red bliss" potatoes, asparagus and poached pear with chocolate and raspberry sauce.

The Treasury executives' tab: \$4.75 each.

The taxpayers' tab this year for the Treasury executives' meals: \$126,048.

In fiscal 1992, in fact, taxpayers can expect to pay nearly \$4 million to subsidize meals for high-ranking officials (including those making over \$100,000 a year) at the major federal agencies: \$18.7 million to subsidize health and fitness centers, \$6.5 million to support military golf courses and about \$5.7 million to provide federal executives with 288 cars and 190 chauffeurs, according to new figures provided by the Office of Management and Budget at Congress's request.

In the days of \$400 billion annual deficits, the idea that taxpayers

subsidize government employee services for which nongovernment workers must pay full price is, to say the least, not politically popular.

Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) yesterday became the latest lawmaker to take a swipe at almost-free lunches. He introduced a bill that would prohibit taxpayer subsidies for executive meals, fitness centers, and on-site medical offices, which are available to all federal workers.

The bill also calls for opening military golf courses to the public and giving the Treasury profits from the fees, limiting chauffeur-driven

See PERKS, A9, Col. 4

Belt-Tightening Bill Would Pinch Perks

PERKS, From A1

cars to assistant secretaries and above, cutting the number of executive branch political appointees by 15 percent over three years and, most contentious, prohibiting the use of government aircraft for personal and "mixed"—political and official—trips, except for the president.

The bill comes from a highly partisan Democrat and is aimed at the Republican-controlled executive branch. But since it is an election year, even the administration may end up supporting parts of it.

"There's an interest in looking at some of these things," an administration official familiar with the bill admitted.

In a Senate Appropriations subcommittee hearing in April, OMB Director Richard G. Darman, answering DeConcini's questions about executive branch perks, said, "The public is rightly disturbed about some patterns it observes in the Congress and in the executive branch." He predicted it would be "a race between the two of us as to who can propose to eliminate it first."

Darman declined comment yesterday on the proposed legislation.

"This is not nit-picky stuff to the average taxpayer," said DeConcini. "They can't get a lobster lunch for \$4.75. To me it's nothing to sneeze at."

In the wake of the House Bank scandal, House and Senate leaders in April eliminated most congressional perks, including cut-rate gym dues, medical care, stationery items and free prescription drugs. Passing DeConcini's legislation is expected to be much more difficult, in part because it would touch some sacred cows—military golf courses, for example.

Information from OMB and Golf Digest magazine helped DeConcini identify 280 golf courses owned or operated by the Defense Department and the Veterans Affairs Department and supported by \$6 million in taxpayers' money. In the Washington area, there are military courses at Fort Belvoir, Fort McNair and Andrews Air Force Base.

At Fort Belvoir, the annual fees are \$158 to \$422, depending on rank. Retired and active military must pay another \$4 to \$13 to play a round, according to Fort Belvoir officials. There are two beautifully manicured courses with a sports shop, snack bar and patio that resemble private clubs. The courses generated \$250,000 in profits last year, money that was spent on other recreational facilities on the post.

Golf Digest, which surveyed federally owned courses, estimated that the government could reap \$110 million in annual revenue if the greens were open to the public.

The OMB figures show the range of government expenditures on executive dining. At the departments of State, Veterans Affairs, Agriculture, and Housing and Urban Development, costs are covered by the meal price.

But the cost to taxpayers of Navy executive meals this year is expected to be \$1,014,328; for Defense secretary executives, it is \$502,777; for the Army \$403,171; for the Transportation Department \$211,605 and for NASA \$128,962.

Treasury press secretary Desiree Tucker-Sorini said the five employees who staff the executive dining room also cater important departmental functions and that it would cost Treasury more to hire caterers for events.

"It's disappointing to me," she said, "that Congress is spending its time on issues like this instead of the economic problems facing our country."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

By Walter Pincus
and George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writers

During two years of the Iran-contra affair, former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger jotted down 1,700 pages of notes, and about a tenth of them are relevant to investigations of the scandal. But Weinberger's lawyers are expected to claim that he did not have criminal intent when he failed to give the notes to investigators, according to sources close to the defense.

"He may have made a mistake," one source said, "but with his record, he certainly did not deserve to be indicted at this late date."

Weinberger, who strenuously opposed the arms-for-hostages dealings of the Reagan administration, is scheduled to be arraigned today before U.S. District Judge Thomas F. Hogan on a five-count indictment that charges him with obstruction, perjury and making false statements. Weinberger, the highest-ranking official in the Reagan administration to be charged in independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh's 5½-year investigation, is expected to enter a not guilty plea.

Weinberger wrote each workday on the 5-by-7-inch pages in notebooks as part of a habit developed when he was a young lawyer and had to fill out a daily time sheet, according to sources. As each notebook on top of his desk was filled, it was filed away and never read or referred to by Weinberger, these sources said.

Many of the two- and three-line notes that Weinberger made in the Iran-contra years concerned personal matters that could range from the health of his wife, to dinner, lunch or phone conversations with friends or to personal problems of employees.

They also, however, contain brief fragments and occasional sentences describing some of the key events in which the prosecutors allege Weinberger gained knowledge of a key arms shipment he subsequently denied he knew about. The notes also reinforce Weinberger's opposition to the arms-for-hostages deals, sources said.

In addition, other notes, the prosecutors believe, cover meetings during which an administration coverup was being designed to hide then-President Ronald Reagan's role in potentially illegal actions supporting covert arms sales to Iran designed to gain release of U.S. hostages then held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian militants.

After the Iran-contra scandal became public in November 1986, congressional investigators and lat-

from Pentagon officials, including Weinberger. Although the requests asked for all notes, diaries and telephone logs, the note pads that sat on Weinberger's desk throughout the days of the affair and its aftermath were never delivered to investigators.

In addition, on two occasions, Weinberger denied to investigators that he made records of any meetings or took notes. In one case, according to the indictment, Weinberger objected to an FBI report of a 1988 interview with him because he said "it infers that it was his habit to make notes throughout his seven years as secretary of defense, which was not the case."

When told on Oct. 10, 1990, by associate independent counsel Craig A. Gillen that someone had alleged that Weinberger had withheld some notes concerning the Iran-contra affair, "Weinberger responded that the allegation is not true," according to the indictment.

Weinberger's lawyers, according to sources, are expected to argue that his daily jotting down of events, most of which were personal, was done so habitually that he forgot the events they described. Therefore, the sources said the lawyers will argue, the notes could not be considered "official" or relevant to any of the inquiries. A memory specialist hired by the defense to examine Weinberger may testify that the writings were so routine that Weinberger did not link them to any requests for Iran-contra material.

In addition, Weinberger turned over responsibility to Pentagon lawyers to fulfill any requests made to him for documents and gave them authority to give whatever was required. His defense attorneys may argue that it was left to those lawyers to determine whether the daily jottings had to have been turned over.

Weinberger's lawyers, according to sources, may argue that he was not trying to hide the notes since the entire collection was turned over to the Library of Congress in 1988 along with 370,000 other Weinberger documents. Finally, they may contend there was no attempt to obstruct any inquiry because Weinberger did not destroy the notes but rather granted the prosecutors authority to go through his papers, where they eventually found the notes.

As for the false statement and two counts of perjury in the indictment, the Weinberger defense is expected to be that the notes—on which the charges appear to be based—are fragmentary, ambiguous and do not read as clearly as the information provided in the indictment. "They don't have the spin the prosecution has put on them," one

Intent Likely to Be Key To Weinberger Defense

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Shadow of Budget Knife May Fall on Space Station

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House's vote to scrap the multibillion-dollar Superconducting Super Collider (SSC) signals new-found congressional resolve to whittle away at the deficit, members said yesterday, that could threaten other costly projects, such as the space station.

"Things will change here in a very dramatic way," said Rep. Byron L. Dorgan (D-N.D.), who voted against the super collider. "Every big-ticket project that is controversial will face new scrutiny and a new challenge to its funding."

The 232 to 181 vote Wednesday night against the SSC, the most expensive scientific experiment ever planned, reflected a disparate set of forces on the House floor. They included lingering dismay among conservatives over the recent defeat of a balanced-budget constitutional amendment, frustration among Democrats over the House's refusal to cut defense and shift the money to domestic programs, and many lawmakers' gnawing fear of voter retribution.

Once Election Day has passed there are no assurances that this new fiscal austerity will continue to prevail, but budget pressures appear almost certain to increase for the short term.

Yesterday, several members pointed to the \$2.2 billion in proposed new space station funding as a likely target for attack later this month in the House Appropriations Committee.

"I think any large program of that kind should be counted as probably being facing a stiff challenge," House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) said. "I'm not going to predict the results, but I think undoubtedly there are going to be efforts to move against the space station."

Since Congress and the White House reached agreement on a budget and deficit-reduction package in 1990, the noose around congressional spending has gradually been tightened. At the same time, funding available for domestic programs has gradually shrunk and the government's interest on the national debt and automatic spending on Medicare, Medicaid and other entitlement programs have soared.

The fiscal pressure increased earlier this year when Congress rejected proposals to alter the budget agreement in the post-Cold War era by allowing any "peace dividend" to be used to finance hard-pressed domestic programs.

House and Senate appropriators have warned repeatedly that 1992 would be the toughest year in memory, and now, with the appropriations process underway, Democrats and Republicans are declaring that everything, including entitlement programs and costly projects like the space station, must be placed on the bargaining table.

"A lot of hard, difficult choices have to be made, and this will be the most difficult year since I've been on the committee," said Rep. William H. Natcher (D-Ky.), the acting chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

To underscore the new austerity, the House yesterday agreed to cut by half a proposed \$2 billion short-term urban aid spending bill, dropping from it millions for additional summer jobs and education for young people, Head Start, and targeted spending on policing and social services.

At the same time, the Appropriations Committee, meeting to consider three fiscal 1993 bills, voted to cut \$1.3 billion from the president's \$15.1 billion request for foreign operations and reduce spending for the

House and other legislative operations by \$295 million, or 14 percent.

The committee action will have the effect of gradually eliminating 2,345 congressional staff positions from the number currently authorized.

"This is going to be the tightest bill we've ever presented," said Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), chairman of Appropriation's legislative subcommittee.

Not everyone is convinced that the vote Wednesday night to kill the super collider, a giant particle accelerator under construction near Waxahachie, Tex., necessarily portends the demise of the space station, a solid-rocket booster plant being built in northeastern Mississippi or other big-ticket projects.

The SSC, a pure science project with little economic benefit outside of Texas, was viewed as highly vulnerable. The space station, by contrast, has generated billions of dollars of contracts for companies throughout the country and has a much broader constituency in the House.

Some Democrats reportedly viewed the vote against the SSC as a fitting payback to the Texas House members, especially Reps. Joe Barton (R) and Charles W. Stenholm (D), who sharply criticized runaway congressional spending in advocating the balanced-budget amendment.

"A lot of Democrats said the Texans' enthusiasm for the balanced-budget amendment was a reason to stick it to them," said Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.).

The SSC was further hurt by Republican defections, despite an attempt by Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) to salvage the project. Republicans were split, 79 to 79, while the Democrats proportionately delivered far more support for a Bush administration project.

"Everybody is dealing with the question of where can I cut spending," said Rep. Mickey Edwards (Okla.), a Republican leader who voted against the SSC. "Here was an easy target, a big sore thumb sticking out."

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Navy Requests Aid In Tailhook Scandal

*Pentagon Official to Scrutinize
Handling of the Investigation*

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

The secretary of the Navy yesterday asked the Defense Department's top investigator to scrutinize the service's handling of sexual assaults and misconduct at a convention of Navy and Marine aviators in Las Vegas last year.

The Navy already has conducted two investigations into the Tailhook Association convention, by the Naval Investigative Service (NIS) and by the Navy inspector general.

But Navy Secretary H. Lawrence Garrett III, responding to congressional and public pressure, yesterday asked the Pentagon's inspector general to examine how the investigations were conducted and look for any new evidence of misconduct. The scandal threatens scores of Navy and Marine Corps careers and has caused turmoil throughout the service.

"Questions have been raised regarding the completeness of the investigations," Garrett said in a memorandum to Deputy Inspector General Derek J. Vander Schaaf. "Criticisms of the investigations, along with rumor and innuendo of coverup, have eroded seriously the Department of the Navy's credibility to investigate further the Tailhook '91 matter."

Garrett noted in his memo that many officers refused to cooperate with Navy investigators; that neither Navy, investigation "fully developed facts regarding" the role of senior officers at the convention; that the investigations focused primarily on reports of criminal assaults, while reports of sexual and other forms of misconduct went largely unexamined, and that the NIS withheld 55 pages of material from its final report in April, including an eyewitness statement placing Garrett near one of the hotel suites where some of the misconduct took place.

The convention was an annual event put on by the Tailhook Association, a group of active-duty and retired naval aviators. This year's event has been canceled.

Garrett said through a spokesman this week that he briefly stopped by an outdoor entrance to one of the suites to fetch a beer but saw no evidence of inappropriate behavior. Garrett, like other senior officials, attended a large outdoor party on the last night of the convention on the third floor patio.

The most egregious incidents occurred on a third-floor hallway where junior officers are said to have sexually molested at least 26 women—more than half of them Navy officers—who passed their way. Nearby, members of aircraft squadrons maintained "hospitality suites" featuring strippers, pornographic movies and excessive drinking.

The Tailhook scandal is more than just a public relations nightmare, with Congress holding up nearly 5,000 officer promotions until the Navy determines whether any of them were implicated in the misconduct.

High Court Upholds California's Restraint on Property Taxes

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court yesterday upheld California's Proposition 13 property tax limit, saying it does not unconstitutionally discriminate against recent home buyers forced to pay dramatically higher taxes.

Adopted by California voters in a property tax revolt in 1978, the state constitutional amendment adopted a new method—ironically dubbed the "welcome stranger" system—for calculating property taxes, which had skyrocketed along with real estate values in the state.

The new system taxed existing homeowners at 1 percent of the assessed value of their property in the 1975-76 tax year. Those who

bought homes later had to pay the same 1 percent tax—but on the new, higher price of their property.

Although other states have not followed California's lead, Michigan has a similar measure on the ballot this fall and another property tax limit is expected to be on the ballot in Florida.

The change, as the court acknowledged yesterday in an opinion by Justice Harry A. Blackmun, "created dramatic disparities in the taxes paid by persons owning similar pieces of property." The vote was 8 to 1.

Stephanie Nordlinger, whose challenge to Proposition 13 was rejected by the court yesterday, said she paid nearly as much in property tax on her \$170,000 home

as the pre-1976 owner of a \$2.1 million Malibu beachfront home. While Nordlinger's tax bill came to \$1,701, a neighbor in an identical house on a larger lot a block away paid just \$358.

Overall, those people in homes they owned at the time Proposition 13 was enacted account for 44 percent of state homeowners but pay only 25 percent of the \$4 billion in residential property taxes.

Blackmun said the different treatment did not violate the Constitution because it "rationally furthers a legitimate state interest"—preserving neighborhood stability, and protecting existing homeowners who may be on limited budgets that make them unable to cope with rising property tax rates.

"In short," Blackmun said, "the state may decide that it is worse to have owned and lost, than never to have owned at all."

He said there was "some appeal" to the argument that Proposition 13 "frustrates the 'American dream' of home ownership for many younger and poorer California families." But, he said, the provision "is not palpably arbitrary and we must decline [Nordlinger's] request to upset the will of the people of California."

Justice Clarence Thomas concurred separately in the case, *Nordlinger v. Hahn*. Not only did he think the California measure was constitutional, Thomas said, a 1989 ruling striking down a West Virginia county's taxation plan was also a "needlessly intrusive judicial in-

fringement on the state's legislative powers."

In a caustic dissent, Justice John Paul Stevens referred repeatedly to the property owners who benefited from Proposition 13 as "the Squires" and said the law "establishes a privilege of a medieval character: Two families with equal needs and equal resources are treated differently solely because of their different heritage."

In other action yesterday, the court:

■ Ruled 5 to 4 that federal worker safety laws prohibited Illinois from adopting additional training requirements for workers handling hazardous waste. The case is *Gade v. National Solid Wastes Management Association*.

■ Said Iowa unconstitutionally discriminated against foreign commerce when it taxed business dividends from foreign subsidiaries while granting an exemption to dividends from domestic companies. The ruling in *Kraft General Foods v. Iowa Department of Revenue and Finance* was 7 to 2.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 10 a.m.
Committee:
Environment & Public Works—10 a.m. Environmental protection subcommittee.
U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service's administration of National Wildlife Refuge System & National Wildlife Refuge System Management and Policy Act. 406 Dirksen Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Not in session.
Committees: None.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

On Once and Future Supreme Court Nominations

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, has urged President Bush not to fill any vacancy that might open up on the Supreme Court until after the November election.

Warning that any election-year nominee "would become a victim" of a "power struggle" over control of the Supreme Court, Biden said he would also urge the Senate not to hold hearings on a nomination if Bush decided to name someone.

In a two-hour interview on Wednesday in which he confessed to having regrets over last year's confrontation before his committee between Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas and Prof. Anita F. Hill, Biden said his main concern was that he had not "attacked the attackers" of Hill "more frequently and consistently."

But he said he could not have acted differently toward Thomas without violating "the basic values embodied in our constitutional system."

"That's what makes me mad about the Republicans," Biden said. "What they do is they put you in a position on so many matters of principle that in order to fight with them and have a chance of winning, you have to either have the ability to go right above the issue, or you've got to do it the way they do it and disregard the rules."

Biden also called for greater consultation between the Senate and the president before an individual is named to the court, including compromise over the judicial and constitutional predispositions of a nominee. "That is the root, that is the base, that is the essence of it," Biden said. He added that if a nominee refused to answer questions about judicial philosophy, that alone should be grounds for a senator to oppose the nomination.

If a New High Court Vacancy Occurs . . .

The president, he said, should be prepared to compromise with the Senate not only on the identity of a nominee but also on the question of what judicial philosophy should be reflected on the court. "Unless the president is willing . . . to actually sit down with and compromise with the Senate beforehand, it is bound, guaranteed, that there will be a serious fight no matter who is sent," Biden said.

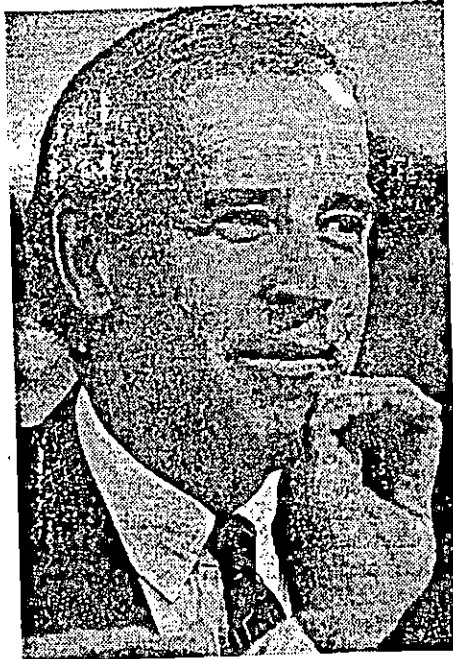
Biden said he had no knowledge of whether any member of the high court planned to resign this year and added that he hoped no one would. But if a vacancy occurred—three of the justices are over 70 years old—he warned that any nominee would face a harrowing experience.

"If someone steps down, I would highly recommend the president not name someone, not send a name up," Biden said. "If he [Bush] did send someone up, I would ask the Senate to seriously consider not having a hearing on that nominee."

"Can you imagine dropping a nominee, after the three or four or five decisions that are about to be made by the Supreme Court, into that fight, into that cauldron in the middle of a presidential year?" Biden went on. "I believe there would be no bounds of propriety that would be honored by either side. . . . The environment within which such a hearing would be held would be so supercharged and so prone to be able to be distorted."

"Whomever the nominee was, good, bad or indifferent," he added, "would become a victim."

Biden said the Thomas-Hill confrontation was about



SEN. JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR.

"That last hearing was not about Clarence Thomas, it was not about Anita Hill. It was about a massive power struggle going on in this country, a power struggle between women and men, and a power struggle between minorities and the majority."

—Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr.

more than the character of the two individuals involved and that the bitterness of last year's hearings grew out of a battle over control of the court.

"That last hearing was not about Clarence Thomas, it was not about Anita Hill," Biden said. "It was about a massive power struggle going on in this country, a power struggle between women and men, and a power struggle between minorities and the majority, and it's a reflection of the schizophrenic personality of the American public now with regard to both those issues, feminism and race."

Biden also warned that judicial conservatives associated with the "law and economics" school of jurispru-

dence were trying to use the court to limit Congress's ability to legislate on matters ranging from the environment to labor law. He said that this "fundamental" issue of jurisprudence was often underplayed in judicial hearings because the issue of abortion aroused such passionate feelings on both sides and tended to dominate judicial discussions.

Sensitive to criticism of his committee's handling of the Thomas-Hill controversy, Biden insisted that "there is nothing that we could have further have investigated that would have enlightened us any more than we already knew."

Biden conceded that the committee might have halted the hearings to investigate whether there was a "pattern of behavior" on Thomas's part that would have shed light on Hill's charges of sexual harassment. But he said Republicans on the Judiciary Committee opposed a postponement, and that had the hearings been stopped, the committee would have faced other problems.

"Had we announced we were holding up this hearing in fairness to the nominee—who I don't think warranted a lot of fairness in retrospect, in terms of their [Republicans'] activities and actions—in fairness to their positions, he would have been cannibalized."

A postponement, Biden said, would have unleashed a flood of rumors against Thomas. "We did check out what were patterns of behavior," he said.

"It is also impossible to conduct in that circumstance at that point in the development of a nomination, an investigation relating to the character of an individual with any remote hope of providing that person with some semblance of due process, some semblance of fair chance to respond," Biden said.

If He Had to Do Thomas Hearing Over . . .

Asked if he regretted that Democrats had not been more aggressive, Biden replied: "In my gut I regret it in my intellect I don't. Because it would have made a lot of everything I say I believe."

"For example, I could have brought in the pornography stuff," he went on, referring to assertions that Thomas had watched pornographic films. "I could have decimated him with that. I could have raised—and with more legitimacy than what they [the Republicans] were doing—but it would make a lie of everything I fought for. . . . To go back and say because the guy was 70 years old and he watched pornography at Yale, that that means that there's a nexus between that and whether not he spoke of pornography 20 years later? It's outrageous. But compelling."

Biden said the battle for control of the court had become so bitter that liberals and conservatives seem prepared to use any means necessary to win confirmation battles.

"Both sides are so self-righteous that it truly is that ends justify the means," Biden said.

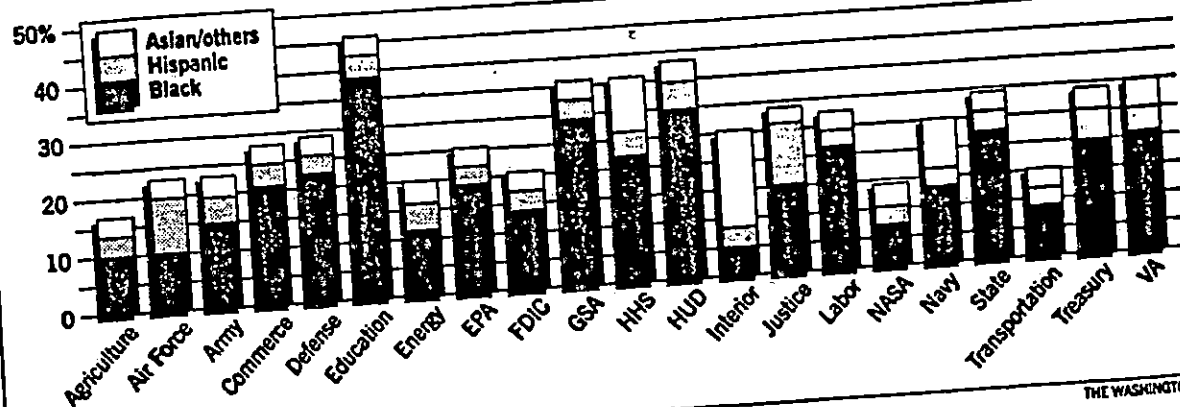
"I do not regret at all not having used the same tactics," Biden said.

Referring to the Republicans' treatment of Biden, Biden said: "If [there's] any place that I've made a mistake from my perspective—you asked what I regret—I regret not having attacked the attackers more frequently and consistently. . . . If anything, I think I erred in not attacking the attackers, not in turning the method on him."

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN FEDERAL WORK FORCE

PERCENTAGE THAT ARE MINORITIES, BY AGENCY



SOURCE: General Accounting Office

THE WASHINGTON POST

Bypassed by the Job Market?

Federal Recruiters Overlook Black Colleges, Government Study Says

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

Federal job recruiters tend to bypass the nation's 117 historically black colleges and universities, according to a recent government report, and many students on these campuses say they can't find information about government job opportunities in their schools' career development offices.

An Office of Personnel Management study described the finding as a "tremendous void in the federal recruiting pipeline." OPM Director Constance Berry Newman said the pattern has emerged because federal recruiters tend to focus on large campuses rather than small ones, and historically black colleges and universities are relatively small. "I don't think it was that agencies avoided" such schools, said Newman.

But Wesley C. McClure, president of Virginia State University, attributes the bypassing of black schools to "a general lack of awareness of the resources that are available at our institutions" and "an ingrained view that students at our institutions may not have been prepared for responsible positions in the federal government.... The perception has been out there for a long, long time and has been very difficult to change."

This week, in response to a 1989 presidential executive order intended to encourage the development of black colleges and universities, Newman presented OPM's plan to increase the number of such stu-

dents and graduates recruited for the federal work force.

The plan calls for federal and school officials to work together where necessary to ensure that the curriculum "includes the development of knowledge, skills and abilities which will be needed for jobs in the future." Historically black colleges and universities, which traditionally have received less funding and technical support from the government, in many cases do not offer the breadth of courses found at small, predominantly white institutions. According to the American Council on Education, 25 percent of black college students are enrolled at historically black schools.

McClure, who also is a member of the executive committee of college representatives and federal officials who are overseeing the recruitment effort, praised OPM's plan, saying it is "not cosmetic in its intent, not cosmetic in its possibilities." Five to 10 percent of Virginia State's 4,500 students were recruited for federal jobs last year, said McClure, who would like to see that proportion doubled. Virginia State's student body is 13 percent white.

OPM based its strategy in part on the results of a survey conducted last year of 5,262 students at historically black schools. Nearly 70 percent of all students—and 55 percent of seniors—said that either federal recruiters had not visited their schools or they were unaware of any such visits. About 75 percent of the students said they had never seen federal recruitment literature.

The specific steps taken by the

black recruiting effort so far include:

- A January 1991 OPM career exposition in Atlanta, home of a cluster of historically black institutions, where about 4,000 students submitted resumes to 60 federal agencies. OPM officials could not say how many students actually were hired.

- A talent bank of students at black schools who have grade point averages of 3.0 and above, established by the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education.

- Expansion of summer internship programs, such as the one at the Agriculture Department, which has hired 1,400 students from black institutions nationwide.

Federal officials are only beginning to collect statistics on the recruiting effort. Leonard Klein, associate director of OPM's career entry group and chair of the executive committee on historically black schools, said that of the 11,000 graduates hired into professional positions throughout the government last year 25 percent were minorities. He could not say what proportion came from the black schools. Three years ago, minorities constituted less than 10 percent of college hires, he said.

Blacks in 1990 made up about 17 percent of the total federal work force, up from 14.5 percent in 1976, according to a General Accounting Office study released in February. Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities together made up 27 percent of the federal work force, up from 21.5 percent in 1976.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Bush Not Ready to Fight Yet; Clinton Works on Economics

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEWARK, Calif., June 18—Bragging about what he called his "really historic" arms agreement with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, President Bush resumed campaigning today, vowing "I know how to fight" but insisting that he still was not yet ready to directly attack either independent Ross Perot or Democrat Bill Clinton.

"...Right now there's a hurricane blowing out there and all I can do is run this country as best I can," Bush told a group of workers as a small oil recycling plant in the San Francisco Bay Area. He acknowledged he was beset by widespread voter discontent, triggered by an economy that has been "in the dregs."

But he rejected a questioner's suggestion that he respond to Perot's criticisms in an effort to keep his supporters from deserting. "I know how to fight and I'm not going to be their spear carrier for the rest of this year."

Bush also drew the line on how far he would go in engaging in the new campaign techniques of call-in shows and appearances on MTV. He said he would not turn the executive mansion "into a call-in place" and added:

"I'll be honest with you. I think, in a campaign year, you've got to draw the line somewhere and I'm not going to be out there, trying to be a teeny-bopper at 68. I just can't do it."

Campaign aides earlier today had suggested that Bush would begin making veiled references to his opponents in a series of speeches scheduled for Southern California and Texas this weekend. But Bush went out of his way to point out that he had not criticized either opponent and did not plan to any time soon.

"I'm going to take that case [for reelection] to the American public, but right now I don't think it's in focus," he said during a question-and-answer session with about 400 workers at the tiny Evergreen Oil Co., a company that reprocesses used motor oil into new oil.

Bush used his appearance to repeat his environmental positions, and won polite applause, but appeared oblivious to suggestions that his policies put the 200-

employee oil company he was visiting at a disadvantage—and harm the environment.

Company officials and environmental groups charged that the firm has been at odds with administration policy that allows larger competitors to use recycled motor oil as heating fuel without removing the lead. The Evergreen plant removes the lead while turning it into new motor oil, a more costly procedure.

When asked about whether federal rules were helping large refiners and hurting Evergreen, Bush pleaded ignorance. "...I guess it's all right as long as you don't do it all the time."

Officials of the Washington-based Hazardous Waste Treatment Council, a group of 60 recycling companies, called the visit "a shameless display of photo environmentalism."

Torie Clarke, spokeswoman for the Bush-Quayle campaign, said the White House had been aware of the company's position when the trip was planned but decided to come anyway because "it's a terrific company."

Clinton, meanwhile, returned to Little Rock this afternoon after a quick stop in Washington that included a visit with Yeltsin at Blair House. Before he left, he said that he is revising his economic program, but hedged on whether he was giving up on a tax cut for the middle class.

"I'm not backing away from the idea of tax fairness," he said, adding that "the press and my political opponents always made more of the middle-class tax cut than I did even in my speeches."

During the New Hampshire primary and later contests in the South and Midwest, Clinton highlighted his support of middle-class tax cuts as one of the principal differences with former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, who called the proposal bad economics.

Clinton said that "six or seven increases in Social Security taxes in 12 years" meant that something "needs to be done" on the issue of tax fairness. But, he said, "I'm going home to work for the next two days on this revised plan on how we're going to update it and change it."

Staff writer Dan Balz in Little Rock contributed to this report.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

Perot Begins Marching Like True Campaigner

California Visit Launches Series of Rallies

By David Von Drehle
and John E. Yang
Washington Post Staff Writers

IRVINE, Calif., June 18—In Ross Perot's brief history of campaigning, it was something of a first. Today he entered the lion's den.

On the first day of a three-day schedule of rallies that will also take him to Denver and Boston, Perot addressed an enthusiastic crowd of several thousand on the grounds of the former Lion Country Safari, a park where visitors used to be able to drive their cars through fields of lions.

The park also happens to be in Orange County, bastion of this state's conservative Republicans and a place likely to test the Texas billionaire's appeal in the state with nearly one-fifth of the electoral votes needed to win the presidency in November.

Perot appeared to do all right. Although the crowd was not as large as one at an appearance in Sacramento earlier in the day, volunteers collected 156,181 signatures in Orange County alone for the still undeclared candidate, more than the 134,781 need statewide to place his name on the ballot. In the state, Perot volunteers collected more than 1.4 million signatures.

"They told me we would fail in California," Perot said. "When Orange County popped up on the screen, everybody said, 'No, that's Reagan country.'"

Perot arrived in the state Wednesday for an unpublicized visit to Los Angeles neighborhoods where rioting occurred after the verdict in the Rodney G. King beating case. He visited a youth center in East Los Angeles, met with Asian-American, black and business leaders downtown.

For most of the day he avoided reporters but later told some who caught up with him, "We are all here together and we are all equal and will either win or lose together."

It was a theme he returned to here this afternoon, drawing perhaps his least enthusiastic response when he preached racial harmony to the virtually all-white crowd. "One for all and all for one," he said.

"Now just in case someone in the audience is saying, 'You include those people?' You bet. Everybody's that here. One for all and all for one otherwise we lose because we're divided."

Perot's California appearances marked the beginning of his closest pass so far at a campaign swing. To date, the undeclared independent has been content to pass long periods of public silence broken by occasional bursts of television banter. His rallies could be counted on one hand.

But after California he was headed for a rally in Denver on Friday, a parade and rally in Boston on Saturday and next week, a visit to Annapolis, where thousands of petition signatures to qualify for the Maryland ballot will be delivered by boat, if all goes according to plan.

For a moment, anyway, the campaign looked almost conventional—and sounded like it as well—the satiric jabs at opponents, the unmeasured praise for supporters, the repeated punchlines of the stump speech.

Perot mixed all three when he told his California congregations that their grass-roots campaign to get him on the ballot had already given the major party candidates a jolt.

"Now, hold your hat here," he said in mock amazement to some 6,000 people in Sacramento. "The president had a press conference! Wow. Gov. Clinton is on TV playing the saxophone! And Vice President Quayle is trying to figure out how to spell potato!"

Perot has been criticized for lacking specifics on major issues, and he did little in his public appearances here to dispel the criticism.

On issues ranging from the economy to crime to problems in the inner cities to collapsing roads and bridges, his message was the same. Americans are great people, and once they make up their minds to fix something, it will get fixed.

"We can fix it, as long as you're sick of it," Perot said in Sacramento.

"If you're not really sick of it, then we'll have to live with it." In closing, he said, "It's time to just go out and do it"—although he did not say exactly what "it" might be.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

NASA, Russian Official Sign Space Contract

Summit Pact Paves Way for Joint Missions

By Kathy Sawyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The heads of the American and Russian space programs yesterday signed their first commercial contract, part of a broader package that could lead to the integration of Soviet and U.S. space systems, a swap of astronauts and cosmonauts on each other's spacecraft beginning in 1993, and a joint docking in orbit.

NASA administrator Daniel Goldin and Yuri Koptev, director general of the Russian Space Agency, signed the pact at an Air & Space Museum ceremony here one day after presidents Bush and Yeltsin signed a new bilateral agreement to increase cooperation in space.

"Mr. Koptev and I have spent our lives building weapons of war," said Goldin, a former aerospace executive who worked on secret defense programs. "Now we will beat our swords into plowshares" in order to explore space together.

The signing took place beneath the Apollo and Soyuz vehicles which in 1975 carried out the only U.S.-Soviet joint exercise ever conducted in space.

The commercial contract provides for payments of up to \$10 million to the Russian aerospace organization NPO Energia for detailed technical studies of Russian hardware, particularly the Russian Soyuz-TM spacecraft for possible use as an emergency "lifeboat" for the planned space station Freedom.

Officials said NASA will pay \$1 million for the first year of studies and up to \$9 million more for acquisition of hardware models for testing.

In addition to the Soyuz-TM rescue vehicle, NPO Energia will provide information on: the automated docking system used with the Russian Mir space station in orbit, for possible use on American craft; the Progress cargo transport spacecraft, for possible use with the space station Freedom; and Mir's potential "for long lead-time life sciences experiments in support of" the space station Freedom.

Yesterday's signing built on the momentum of the Bush-Yeltsin agreement to put "space cooperation between the two countries on a new

footing." The leaders agreed to lay the groundwork for flying Russian cosmonauts aboard a space shuttle in October 1993. A senior administration official said the flight would involve space fliers from both countries spacewalking together to practice orbital construction techniques.

The plan then calls for U.S. astronauts to visit the Russian space station Mir sometime in 1993 to carry out life-sciences research, the official said.

The astronaut-cosmonaut exchange was agreed to in principle at the previous summit but went nowhere, in part because of the ensuing collapse of the former Soviet government. Now the swap is "no longer just words," the senior official said.

Yeltsin and Bush also agreed to consider a "rendezvous [and] docking mission between Mir and the space shuttle in 1994 or 1995."

The summit agreements also provided for:

- Possible U.S. participation in a Russian robot mission to Mars.
- A U.S. delegation from some 20 aerospace companies to visit Russia, probably next month, under the sponsorship of the Commerce Department to investigate possible joint ventures and procurement opportunities. A Russian aerospace delegation will also visit their counterparts here.
- U.S. support for the first launch of a U.S.-built satellite aboard a Russian Proton rocket, with assurances that the Russians will avoid unfair trade practices in pricing their launch services. Sensitive U.S. technology will be safeguarded, officials said.

Officials said civilian space activities drew a lower profile at the summit than expected because of the last-minute revival of a major arms control agreement and Yeltsin's statements concerning American POWs. But, said one official involved in the negotiations, the new agreement "gives us a lot more latitude than we had" to make new deals.

Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.), who chairs a key space subcommittee, praised the new commercial contract, saying, "For American taxpayers, it represents a high-tech bargain-basement sale where U.S. dollars will be saved."

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

'That Fiasco in Washington' Takes a Toll on Waxahachie

By Elizabeth Hudson
Special to The Washington Post

WAXAHACHIE, Tex., June 18—Since 1988, most of the 18,000 residents here have jubilantly anticipated the Superconducting Super Collider, the 54-mile, atom-smashing oval tunnel expected to bring prosperity, growth and recognition to this small town south of Dallas.

But that was before "that fiasco in Washington," as some people today called Wednesday night's House vote to slash funding for the massive scientific experiment that could be revived in Senate action.

"The saddest thing is not the dollars but what this has done to the people," City Manager Bob Sokoll said. "A tremendous amount have had to sell their land, and some of that land has been in the family for 100 years."

A ride today through much of the 16,000 acres being cleared for the collider showed cement foundations where farmhouses stood. Land that recently produced wheat, corn and cotton has been idle since the state began land acquisition two years ago. Some farmers have found new livelihoods in town.

Waxahachie is a picturesque village in the rich, blackland agricultural area of north-central Texas. A turreted granite county courthouse dominates the town, and the annual tour of Victorian gingerbread houses is well-known statewide. Such movies as "Places in the Heart," "Tender Mercies" and "The Trip to Bountiful" were filmed in the area.

That some of this charm could be lost with the arrival of the collider was a tradeoff that most residents appear willing to accept as they watch real estate sales boom and businesses feel new prosperity. More than 1,000 people have moved into the area to work on the massive project.

"We're pretty much devastated," said N.B. "Buck" Jordan, president of the Chamber of Commerce, who lobbied to bring the collider to his home town. "We expected it to pass. We really did. We never dreamed we would lose that kind of support."

Sokoll echoed the feelings of many residents who said they are taking the brunt of the House's failure last week to approve a balanced-budget amendment. "They said they didn't need the amendment to control spending," he said. "Then we're the first large project to come along. . . . This is their way of saying, 'See? We told you.'"

Others have different ideas. "Aw, it's go-

ing to be here," said Caesar Rogers, 87, born and raised in Waxahachie. "Those Russians were in town [Washington] yesterday to borrow money and throwing out their hard-luck story," he said. "But they'll still fuss and raise hell, and then the Senate will pass it and the president will sign it. It's going to be okay."

Claudia Morris, who owns an antique and gift shop across the street from the courthouse, said axing the collider "will be bad for business. A lot of my customers are people who have just moved in. It will really affect them."

Monnie Bratcher, 83, has refused to leave her house on land being cleared although the state has paid for her 44-acre ranch and ordered her off. She told the Associated Press that she feels vindicated:

"I just want to say, 'I told you so.' I didn't think the collider would help me a bit. I never wanted it to happen."

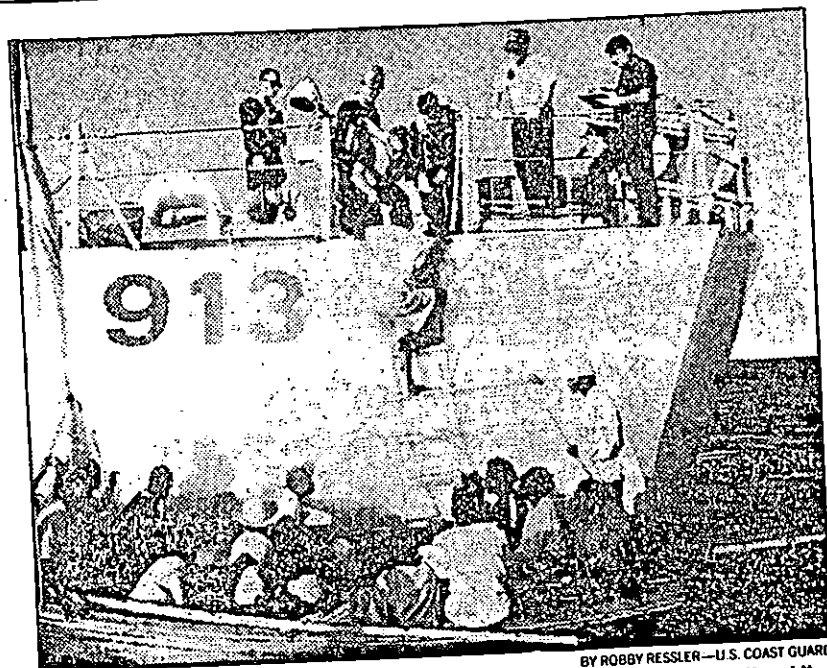
Jordan, who said he would go to Washington before Senate consideration, said, "We're still optimistic. If we lose this, one thing can be said. Our bright, young physicists and scientists will be gone to Japan or wherever they have to go to study. This is not a Texas pork-barrel project. Everyone will be affected."

The collider has powerful Senate friends, led by Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), chairman of the Finance Committee, and J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.), chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee and of the Appropriations subcommittee dealing with energy.

Johnston said today that he would try to preserve funding because "it would be tragic for this country, long the world leader in scientific research, to mindlessly begin burning our scientific seed corn." But he said it would be "an uphill fight."

Noting that more than \$1 billion has been spent on the collider project, Sokoll said, "We're a little bit in limbo. What's really bad is, say the Senate funds it anyway. Think we won't be concerned about it next year? They did it this year. Can't they do it again? It's like a roller coaster. Will it be built or not?"

Staff writer Thomas W. Lippman in Washington contributed to this report.



BY ROBBY RESSLER—U.S. COAST GUARD

Capt. Randy Beardsworth: "... very few boats would ever make it to Miami."

The Haitians' Emotional Wake

For the Crew of the Coast Guard's Mohawk, a Sea of Sadness

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer

KEY WEST, Fla.—Capt. Randy Beardsworth remembers the night his ship, the U.S. Coast Guard cutter Mohawk, intercepted its first boatload of Haitians.

The seas were calm in the Windward Passage, as calm as a table top, "flat-ass calm" as the Coasties like to say, as if the waters were oiled and this was not the roaring Windward Passage, but a lake in a dream.

The radar was the first to detect the boat's presence, a ghostly blip hundreds of yards away in the darkness, a shadow coming into the passage from the Gulf of Gonave, from between the claws of Haiti's outstretched peninsulas.

In the searchlights, the Haitian vessel looked beautiful, a wide, beamy wooden sailboat, 50 feet long, with

lovely lines, a sailing vessel in an age of nuclear submarines. Its name was Waiting on God.

The Coast Guardsmen took 189 people off the boat that night. They brought them aboard the cutter. As the Haitians climbed up the Mohawk's ladder, they left the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere and entered, if only for a few days, a floating outpost of the richest.

At 4 a.m., Beardsworth gave the order. His crew splashed fuel onto the Haitian boat. A flare was thrown. Though Beardsworth hated to do it, a vessel adrift in the passage would be a hazard to other ships. He turned his ship away, so the Haitians would not see what had been done to Waiting on God.

"I remember it burning," says Beardsworth. "The rigging in flames. The mast against the night, burning

See CUTTER, A21, Col. 1

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

On the Cutter Mohawk, Living With the Reality Of the Haitians' Distress

CUTTER, From A1

in the clear cold night. It was beautiful but it was sad."

And he knew then the Haitian operation was going to be a very different mission, that it was going to change him and his crew.

Since November, the U.S. Coast Guard has stopped, intercepted and sometimes literally pulled from the sea, 36,946 Haitians fleeing their homeland. It has returned to Port-au-Prince 26,269, most of them against their will. No Haitians have been intercepted since June 5, two weeks after President Bush announced the United States would return any Haitians instead of taking them to Guantanamo Bay to process their claims.

The sad arithmetic, the tallies of people intercepted and returned, is all that most know about the Coast Guard's Haitian operations. But Beardsworth and his crew say there is more.

Since 1981, the United States and Haiti have operated under an agreement whereby the Coast Guard would stop Haitian boats at sea and demand to know where they were going. If it was determined that a vessel carried economic refugees, which is usually the case, the people would be returned to Port-au-Prince.

In the 10 years before a coup toppled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in October, the Coast Guard returned thousands of Haitians to their impoverished island. But it was nothing like the flood of humanity that poured into the seas after the coup.

At first, the boats were old. But as those were confiscated, burned or set adrift, the boats have become new. You can smell the freshly cut wood, Beardsworth says; you can see the caulking still wet between the planks.

It is Cheyney's job to approach the Haitians and ask them where they are going and what they are doing in the middle of the Windward Passage in an overcrowded boat.

Usually, they just sit there. It is often hard to figure out who is the captain. Until the Coast Guard got translators, it was almost impossible to communicate. Cheyney used a little book of Creole phrases.

At first, Cheyney was poor at guessing how many people were aboard the boats. He would tell the cutter, there were 75 passengers, but 250 would be packed aboard. "They would just keep coming and coming," he says.

Often, the Haitians have been at sea for several days. The bilges of the boats are filled with saltwater, which mixes with the food, which then rots. The boats do not have toilets. There may be a bucket. The boats reek of feces and urine and vomit. Even new boats have rats.

"The first thing you notice is how packed they are with people," says Richard Cheyney, 23, boatswain's mate second class. "The second thing you notice is the smell."

Cheyney asks if there are weapons aboard. Twice, there have been guns, carried by fleeing soldiers and police officers. The weapons are thrown into the sea. The boarding officers, following regulations, wear 9mm sidearms and flak jackets and carry two sets of handcuffs. Many Coast Guard crew members say the handcuffs and guns are overkill.

The master of the Haitian boat, if he can be found, is asked where he is going. He replies, "Miami."

Which way is Miami? Cheyney asks. Sometimes the captain points north. As often, he points south or east or west. Many think that Miami is right over the horizon, and not 600 miles away.

The boats carry no compass, no electronics, no lights. After four months in the Windward Passage, Cheyney has never seen a life preserver.

Sometimes, the boats are so small and so overloaded, there is only an inch or two of freeboard between the sea and gunwale, and as the boat rides in the swells, the men sitting on the edge of the rails are momentarily underwater.

"I can tell you as a sailor that very few of these boats would ever make it to Miami," Beardsworth says. "It would be a miracle."

Beardsworth thinks that the Coast Guard intercepts about 90 percent of the boats. Two or three a week, he believes, slipped through at the height of the operation in May. What happened to them? "They got to the Bahamas or Cuba or they foundered and drown."

While still in their sailboats, the Coast Guardsmen say, the Haitians quickly remove their tattered straw hats and throw them into the sea. Many try to change into their best clothes, and to wash the sickness and filth from their bodies with saltwater. Cheyney shouts for them to sit down, sit down, sit down, in Creole.

"One of the first things they do is eat. They start eating everything they have. Drinking cans of beer. Drinking these little cans of condensed milk," Cheyney says.

Sometimes, when the seas are rough and waves rise to 10 feet or higher, people panic. One boat flipped. At first, the Haitians were provided life preservers. But it took too long to tell them how to put them on.

"I'll give you an example of total mayhem," Cheyney says. It is late in the day, getting dark, the seas running six to nine feet. There are several hundred passengers aboard a 35-foot boat and they fear a night at sea.

The young men are trampling the women and children in their rush to get off. Several people are in the water. The seas pile up, anxious and gray. The Haitian vessel and the Coast Guard surfboat are crashing together. People are screaming and yelling. Cheyney and his men are trying to help the children, to keep them from falling between the boats.

Compared with the Haitian boats,

the Coast Guard cutter is as stable as a city sidewalk. As the refugees climb the ladder into the Mohawk, a 270-foot cutter, "you can see the desire to live in their eyes. I've never seen anything like it," says Tom Brown, 33, a machine technician second class from San Antonio, whose job it is to search the passengers when they come aboard the cutter.

"When they get aboard, many of them collapse," Brown says. "They just fall to the deck."

He pats everyone down and looks through their knapsacks and plastic bags, their worldly possessions.

The Coast Guard crew wear rubber surgical gloves, which has been shown in many photos and criticized. Beardsworth says the gloves are not so much to protect his men from AIDS, as many believe. The possibility of contacting the virus while touching someone is almost nil. But many of the Haitians do have tuberculosis, malaria, colds, sores, lice and pneumonia. They are also often covered with the filth of their rough passage.

Many of the men carry straight razors, which they use to shave. These are taken. So is their remaining food. And so, too, are items used in the practice of voodoo.

"It looks like little bags of dirt. Little bags with drawstrings and things inside," Brown says. "I've seen hair, bones, vials. It upset me. It's like you know it's important to them, but we can't allow it on the ship. So we pitch it overboard."

Many carry big black or white Bibles. These they are allowed to keep, since unlike voodoo relics, a Bible is comprehensible to the Coast Guard. The voodoo items are tossed, the guard says, for fear of contamination and to keep drugs off the ship.

While they are aboard, the Haitians live on the helicopter pad at the rear of the cutter. It is about the size of a basketball court. At one point, the Mohawk had 750 passengers aboard. They are not allowed to roam around the ship; doors to the flight deck are either sealed or guarded.

In the beginning, the crew feared riots, but there has been little trouble. Sometimes, there are fights over food. The menu is usually beans and rice, with bits of chicken, beef or fish.

Beardsworth bought tapes of Haitian music on a trip to New York's Little Haiti and he has his men play the music over a loudspeaker. On many nights, the crewmen say, the Haitians dance. They also sing, at sunrise and sunset. The crew can't understand the songs, but they sound like hymns to them.

The cutter has picked up some people more than once, and the crewmen get to know them. "I want them to look at the Haitians, to look into their eyes, to notice details, to think of them as individual human beings, not as hordes," the captain says.

Beardsworth does this because it keeps his men from resenting the Haitians, who keep his crew at sea for months, away from wives and girlfriends, away from birthdays and Little League games.

He confesses to being a romantic, a man who reads Joseph Conrad and Jack London. He says it is corny, but he believes that even though he cannot make their lives any better in Haiti, he can treat the Haitians with dignity and kindness while they are aboard his ship.

Chris Austin, 34, a first lieutenant and the man who steers the cutter, says, "It gives everybody real heartburn. You got 2,000 different emotions running through you." Austin remembers he once was shown a picture of a Haitian man with his friends, partying on the beach back home. "Man, that got to me," he says. "They're just like us."

Since January, the Mohawk and her crew have returned 1,514 Haitians to Port-au-Prince. It is a trip the men say they will not forget.

"I've been all over the world, in the Philippines, Korea, all over," Beardsworth says. "And I have never seen the kind of poverty I saw in Port-au-Prince."

Austin says steaming into the city is like coming into another world. The harbor is filled with abandoned boats, the wrecks of coastal freighters. The cutter is surrounded by small tenders and dinghies. Soldiers stand at the oily dock with machine guns slung.

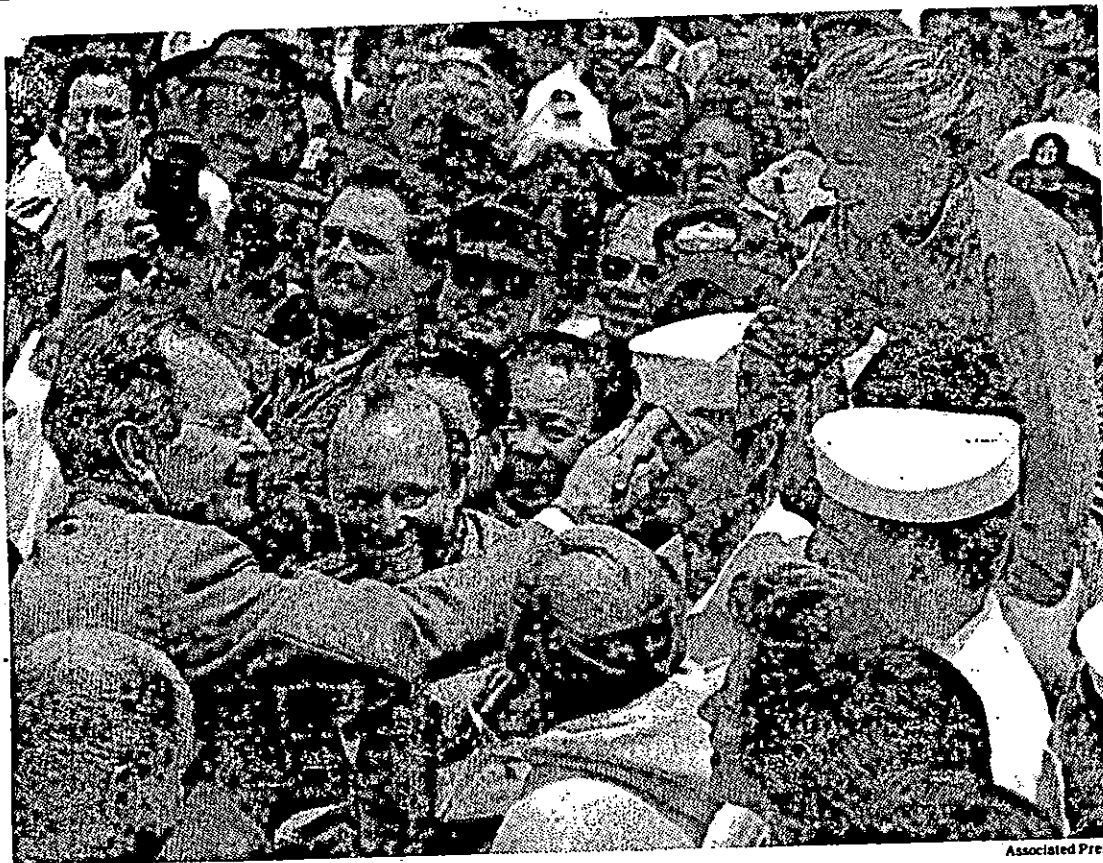
From a distance, Port-au-Prince looks like it could be pretty. But when you look through binoculars, Austin says, "the houses have no roofs, no doors, no windows."

What do the Haitians act like upon their return? Well, they are not happy. One man jumped into the water. Several have covered their faces, perhaps because they were truly political refugees or criminals. Most just walk down the gangway, resigned. Many of them, the crew says, shake their hands and say *merci* and God bless you.

"It is all so tragic," Beardsworth says. "But if we weren't out there, they wouldn't be able to go to Miami or home to Haiti, because they would be dead."



Haitian refugees await processing aboard the Coast Guard cutter Mohawk.



Whether or not they agree with his message, critics of President Bush say he has been unable to communicate it or inspire followers. Yesterday Mr.

Bush greeted a young girl in the crowd at the naval air station in Alameda, Calif., after arriving for a one-day campaign stop in the Bay Area.

White House

Bush Braces for a Political 'Hurricane'

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

NEWARK, Calif., June 18 — President Bush today described the voter discontent that has swept both the nation and his campaign as "a hurricane blowing out there," but vowed to ride it out and to take on Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot forcefully.

In a question-and-answer session at an oil recycling company in this northern California city, workers and area residents politely but firmly put Mr. Bush on the defensive, questioning his record on issues ranging from the environment to education to the economy. One asked him to explain why Mr. Perot was drawing away his supporters, and another suggested that he had been goaded by Mr. Clinton and Mr. Perot into holding the forum because of their appearances on call-in programs.

But throughout the session, Mr. Bush pinned the blame on Congress for not enacting his programs and said the roots of the political turmoil had been an economy "in the dregs." As for Mr. Clinton and Mr. Perot, he made clear that he will not hold his fire for long.

Will Not Play Spear-Catcher

"You haven't heard one negative comment against either of the two people that want my job," Mr. Bush said as he leaned on a stool and fielded questions near the refineries of the Evergreen Oil Company. "And you're

not going to hear one negative thing until maybe the middle of August. But then you are, because I know how to fight, and I'm not going to be their spear-catcher for the rest of this year. Already, on the first stop of a three-day campaign swing in the battleground states of California and Texas, Mr. Bush indirectly took on Mr. Clinton, the Arkansas Governor who is a Democrat, and Mr. Perot, who is preparing to run as an independent.

In an obvious jab at Mr. Clinton's appearance this week on MTV, the music television network, Mr. Bush drew laughter when he said, "I think in a campaign year, you've got to draw the line somewhere. And I am not going to be out there kind of being a teenybopper at 68. I just can't do it."

While portraying himself as a pioneer of informal question-and-answer sessions with voters, he said he will only go so far: "I just have a certain respect for the office that I don't want to turn it into a call-in-show place."

Mr. Bush also sought to dispel the notion that Mr. Perot, a billionaire businessman, has far more business experience. He said he calculated that half his career has been in business and half Government. "I wear business as a badge of honor," he said, "because I think it gives me some feel for what it means to run something."

Asked specifically why Mr. Perot was drawing support from him in the

polls, Mr. Bush said "a lot of the problems that face me politically" stem from a perception that "everybody ought to be out; everybody out ought to be in. But that's not the way it works."

The Bush campaign picked a controversial spot for his appearance, because Evergreen Oil has criticized the Administration's environmental policies. The company recycles used motor oil and participated in a pending lawsuit against the Environmental Protection Agency accusing the Government of not properly regulating big oil companies that burn instead of recycle oil. More than 100 protesters lined the motorcade route, with one holding a placard that declared: "George Bush, America's Environmental Wimp."

Business vs. Environment

Mr. Bush brushed aside the attacks but applauded Evergreen Oil as a cutting-edge company that is "committed to environmental sanity." And he took issue with a questioner who said, "We didn't look real well in Rio."

Mr. Bush, who was criticized by environmental groups for his stands at the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro, said it was important to balance the needs of business with those of the environment.

"I am not going to go down here, sign something away and then have on my conscience that a family doesn't have a job," he said.

The New York Times

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Bush Plans to Lower Fees Charged To Foreigners for Military Goods

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 18 — In a move to support military contractors at a time of shrinking budgets in the post-cold war era, the Bush Administration has decided to lower fees the Pentagon charges foreigners for some products.

According to a White House official, President Bush will announce the elimination of the tax-like fee, known as recoupment, in an address Friday before the Industrial League of Orange County, Calif., an area with many aerospace concerns in a state where the President's political fortunes have been sagging.

The official said the action would save tens of thousands of jobs by making it easier to convert their military production plants to the manufacture of civilian goods.

But the White House said the tax-like fees would not be eliminated for research and development costs of major armaments like planes and tanks, a move that requires a change in the law. The fee reduction would cover everything else manufactured under military reduction, from ready-to-eat meals to electronic gear to small weapons.

Administrative Burden

In addition to the fees themselves, which average about 5 percent but sometimes exceed 15 percent, the levies are considered a significant administrative burden with requirements that, if not met, can subject executives to fines and jail terms.

Despite the large exception for major equipment, industry officials heartily approved the impending move on which C. Boyden Gray, the Presidential counsel, and other officials briefed them late this afternoon.

"It will be extremely helpful in encouraging a greater flow of military technology into the civilian sector," said Joel Johnson, vice president-international for the Aerospace Industries Association.

Anticipating criticism from some quarters about an initiative that also seeks to make American companies more competitive in the world arms market, Mr. Johnson said the bulk of American equipment goes to affluent industrialized countries that would buy it elsewhere, not to the Third World.

The Defense Department has estimated that the fees now produce \$200 million a year, a figure that would be reduced to \$125 million under the new policy. According to the industry, paperwork and regulatory compliance cost an additional \$200 million, with the fee also resulting in the loss of \$1 billion of annual business.

Measure From 1960's

The fees date from the early 1960's when they were imposed as a way of sharing development costs of major weapons systems sold to allied governments. Subsequently, the process was broadened to apply the fee to sales to, say, foreign airlines, then to spare parts and finally even to commercial products within the United States.

Thus, somebody must calculate what an military aircraft maker owes the Pentagon if it should lend three engineers to General Motors to help develop displays for Pontiac windshields.

Industry officials said they did not expect the fee to be completely abolished, suggesting that for major weapons systems it might be capped or subject to a broader series of waivers than currently prevails.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

CONGRESS PASSES BILL TO AID CITIES

**\$1.3 Billion Measure Is Sent
to Bush for Signature —
2d Aid Package Likely**

By **CLIFFORD KRAUSS**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 18 — The House and Senate today passed a compromise \$1.3 billion urban aid bill amid indications that White House and Congressional negotiators are narrowing differences on other measures to increase private investment and law-enforcement in inner cities.

The House debate frequently split urban and rural lawmakers. Some conservatives contended that Congress was poised to spend more money for what they said were poorly conceived social programs. But increasingly, lawmakers sense that there is an urban crisis that they cannot ignore.

The bill passed the House by a vote of 249 to 168, with 205 Democrats joining 43 Republicans and one independent in favor of passage. About five hours later, the Senate passed the measure by a voice vote, and it is expected to be signed shortly by President Bush so the aid will be available this summer.

The aid package will provide \$500 million for 360,000 summer youth jobs in more than 75 cities. It will also replenish the coffers of the Small Business Administration and Federal Emergency Management Agency with \$495 million for loans they already made to people and businesses whose property was damaged in the Los Angeles riots and a flood in downtown Chicago.

The bill will also provide \$328 million for new loans by the Small Business Administration to businesses in the two cities.

Under the bill, New York State would receive \$46 million for the creation of 33,000 summer jobs, including \$19.3 million for 14,000 summer jobs in New York City. New Jersey would receive \$11.6 million for 8,000 summer jobs, and Connecticut \$3.4 million for 2,500 summer jobs.

Second Urban Aid Bill

Democratic and Republican leaders said they were willing to build on the

Aiding Inner Cities

Highlights of the compromise urban aid package making \$1.3 billion available to cities:

- \$495 million appropriated to replenish the coffers of the Small Business Administration and Federal Emergency Management Agency following the distribution of disaster relief and lending for businesses and homes destroyed in Los Angeles riots. Some aid will also go to Chicago to repair damage from a downtown flood in April.

- \$328 million for the Small Business Administration to grant and subsidize business and disaster loans in Los Angeles and Chicago.

- \$500 million for summer youth employment programs in more than 75 cities.

- \$8 million for law-enforcement programs for Los Angeles.

compromise bill, which they had worked out with the White House on Wednesday after a month of tough negotiations. Now they hope to move forward on an additional aid package for urban enterprise zones and the "weed and seed" program. That program is intended to coordinate the actions of special police operations to clear neighborhoods of crime and drugs with various education, health and employment initiatives.

Administration officials shared the new upbeat mood. "I'm cautiously optimistic," said Housing Secretary Jack F. Kemp. A senior White House official agreed. "Certainly things over the last week are on a positive track, though a slow one," the official said. Asked if an additional aid package could be agreed upon, the official said, "We think this is doable."

During the floor debate, Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House majority leader, said he hoped to pass a second aid package with White House support by the July 4 recess. Democrats are talking about a \$5 billion program over five years that would combine incentives to businesses to move into inner-city areas, law-enforcement programs aimed at controlling drugs and gangs, and a wide variety of social programs from immunizations to job training.

How to Spend the Money

A senior Gephardt aide complimented the White House for "showing some flexibility" in talks over the last week aimed at merging Democratic and Republican views on "weed and seed" programs and urban enterprise zones.

The aide, who spoke on condition of

anonymity, said that the Democrats and the White House were narrowing their differences on the kind of tax incentives to grant businesses that invest in inner-city neighborhoods, but that some Democrats would like the package to specify the number of zones and their locations.

The aide said the Democrats want to match the \$2.5 billion the Administration expects enterprise zones to cost the Treasury over five years, with \$2.5 billion more spent on the "weed and seed" program in the same period.

In an interview on Wednesday, Mr. Gephardt, the chief House negotiator in the talks, said he wanted to spend 80 percent of the money on the "seed," or social programs, and the rest on "weed," or law-enforcement efforts, while the Administration would reverse that ratio. But he said he was optimistic that a compromise could be reached.

Representative Vin Weber of Minnesota, a Republican negotiator in the talks, said he was disappointed that Democrats would not formally agree to the outlines of an urban enterprise plan as part of the aid package passed today. But he added: "I think Dick Gephardt wants to accomplish something. He has managed these negotiations in good faith."

Predictably, conservatives thought the bill was too costly while liberals thought it was not generous enough.

Representative Robert S. Walker of Pennsylvania, the chief deputy Republican whip, complained that it was foolish to increase the deficit by \$500 million only a day after the House voted to kill the huge Texas atom smasher called the super-collider. "Everything we saved last night, we're spending today in one fell swoop," he said. "I'm a little chagrined."

But Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, said the bill should only be considered "one small step" toward passing sweeping new urban initiatives, including job-creating public works projects, community programs for the aged, additional financing for Head Start and remedial school programs for the disadvantaged. "We have had ample warning of the consequences of past neglect," he said.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

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White House Is Refusing to Allow Testimony by Aides on Iraq Policy

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 18 — In a confrontation with Congress over its investigation of Administration policy toward Iraq before the Persian Gulf war, the White House has rejected a request to allow two Presidential aides to testify before the House Judiciary Committee.

This rebuff is likely to lead the committee to request the appointment of an independent counsel, who would also be asked to investigate allegations of a coverup by the Administration of its Iraq policy after the gulf war, including Congressional charges that the Administration delayed the prosecution of officials of the Atlanta branch of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, which made illegal loans of \$5 billion to Iraq.

Administration officials accuse Democrats of exploiting the Iraq investigation for election-year purposes. Democrats say that their investigation began more than two years ago and that it would have concluded long ago had the Administration cooperated.

Representative Jack Brooks, the Texas Democrat who is chairman of the committee, has asked President Bush to direct C. Boyden Gray, the White House counsel, and Nicholas Rostow of the National Security Council, to testify on Tuesday.

But responding for the President in a letter to Mr. Brooks, Nicholas Calio, the chief White House lobbyist, said the "longstanding practice" of the execu-

tive branch was to deny requests for testimony by members of the President's personal staff. Mr. Calio added, however, that the Administration was prepared to make the two aides available to members of the committee. This suggestion, interpreted as an offer of an interview, was likely to be viewed as unsatisfactory by the committee, which seeks public testimony.

In requesting the testimony, Mr. Brooks said the case for an independent counsel would be "bolstered" by a White House denial. A White House spokesman declined to comment.

Although refusing to allow the testimony of the White House officials, the Administration has indicated that it will produce some of the documents requested by Mr. Brooks, which are believed to relate to altered documents provided to the subcommittee of the Government Operations committee.

Mr. Brooks also requested testimony from Robert A. Mosbacher, the former Secretary of Commerce who is chairman of Mr. Bush's re-election campaign; Frank Lemay, the State Department's legislative management officer, and Frank DeGeorge, the Commerce Department's Inspector General. No decision has yet been made on their appearance.

**SUMMER IS FOR CHILDREN:
GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND**

I.M.F. Is Urged To Relax Terms On Russian Aid

Continued From Page A1

in Washington, and it appears to have solidified after the favorable impression Mr. Yeltsin made from his concessions on arms control and his conversations at the White House and appearance in the Congress.

Last year, the United States and the other major industrial nations making up what is known as the Group of Seven asked the I.M.F. to take the leading role in coordinating aid for Russia because of the fund's experience in pressing developing countries for reforms in return for loans. But now some American officials worry that the I.M.F.'s hard-line bankers and economists might be prescribing medicine far tougher than the Group of Seven doctors had ordered.

The American view on the I.M.F. had been expressed in private by some officials in recent weeks, but during Mr. Yeltsin's visit here, Russian and American officials engaged in rare public jawboning to press the I.M.F. not to drive too hard a bargain.

"If there is such a thing as a Chevrolet three-speed stick-shift agreement with the I.M.F., as opposed to a Cadillac agreement, and if we can get a Chevrolet, then let's do it," a senior Administration official said.

Aid Flow Tied to Pact

The Russians are eager for an agreement because it will enable them to tap much of the \$24 billion aid package for 1992 that the industrial countries pledged in April. The package includes \$11 billion in bilateral aid from various participating countries, \$6 billion for a special multilateral fund to stabilize the ruble and about \$4.5 billion in loans from the I.M.F. and World Bank.

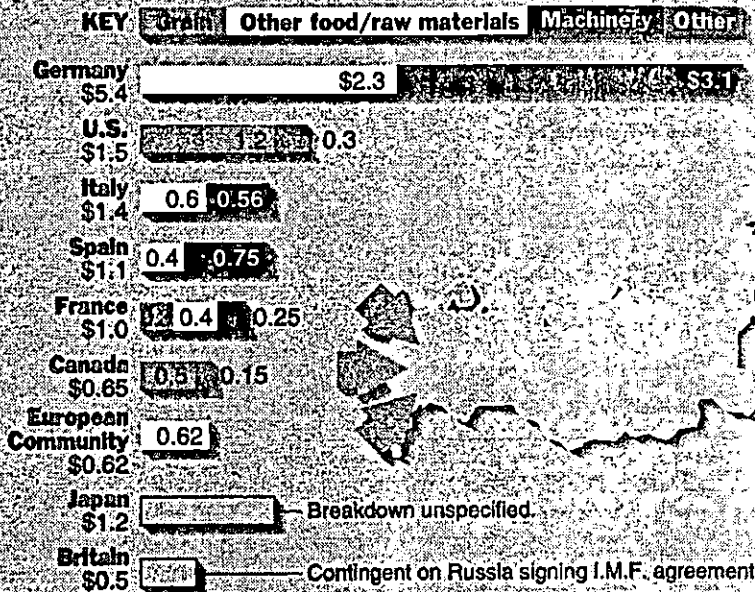
One feature of the current situation is that while monetary fund and Russian officials say there is broad agreement on what reforms are needed, the talks have become snarled over details, some Russian negotiators say. Marking the American shift in approach, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said on Monday that if Russia committed itself to move forward in several important areas, Washington would press the fund not to delay an agreement because of concerns about minor details.

In recent days, American officials have said that while they would like the I.M.F. to sign an agreement with Russia as soon as possible, they would be willing to wait a few weeks if that was what it took to make sure the agreement was a solid one.

In an apparent sign that the I.M.F. also recognizes a need for urgency, the fund's managing director, Michel Camdessus, and Yegor T. Gaidar, Russia's Acting Prime Minister, issued a joint statement today saying that they are "in basic agreement on the crucial objectives of an economic strategy devised to restore and sustain growth in the Russian economy on the basis of a

Russian Package: The Lenders

Value, in billions, of bilateral credits to Russia in 1992. The figures represent export credits — money to buy products from the creditor country — that Russian officials say have been tapped or can be tapped soon.



*Western and Persian Gulf countries have promised other export credits, but they are not included because they have not been negotiated and might not be used until 1993.

Source: Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations

The New York Times

market-oriented system."

Mr. Gaidar met with Mr. Camdessus in Washington for three hours today, after a 40-minute meeting Wednesday. Their statement said that "both sides were confident" that the negotiations "would lead to an early agreement on a program."

American pressure on the I.M.F. may not be easy, even though the United States is its biggest shareholder. I.M.F. officials assert, for example, that if they show leniency to Russia in negotiating an agreement, then African and Latin nations will demand similar leniency when it is time for them to sign new agreements with the monetary fund.

Some of Russia's negotiators expressed fears that the I.M.F.'s technical staff, in demanding tough commitments from Russia, would nullify the benefits of much of the \$24 billion in aid the Group of Seven pledged to Russia in April.

For example, according to negotiators for Russia, the monetary fund says that if Russia draws any money from a \$6 billion fund planned to stabilize the ruble, then Russia should pay back that money within 90 days.

Danger of Ruble Plan

Such a demand, Russia's negotiators said, could render the ruble fund almost meaningless because it would force Russia, which is desperately short of hard currency reserves, to be the main country carrying the burden of underwriting the ruble — not the 11 wealthy countries that have promised to back the ruble fund.

Administration officials say Russia should commit itself to reforms in three essential areas: reining in its

budget deficit, keeping its money supply and credit under control, and making the ruble convertible — that is, allowing anyone possessing rubles outside Russia to exchange them for Western currencies — to help integrate Russia into the world economy.

I.M.F. negotiators also want Russia to move in these areas, but they have pressed Russia further, asking Moscow to remove controls on oil prices as soon as possible. In recent months, Russia has let oil prices more than quadruple, causing huge discomfort in the country.

"They've already had a dramatic increase on prices," a senior Administration official said today. "Clearly the goal should be to liberalize energy prices as soon as possible, but whether that should be an absolute quid pro quo for an I.M.F. agreement, I don't know. There is a limit to what the political traffic will bear right now."

Urgency Is Expressed

On Monday, Treasury Under Secretary David C. Mulford, said the I.M.F. should be quick to negotiate an accord, but should not rush itself into a weak agreement.

"There has to be a sufficient quality there to establish credibility," he said. "This may take time, and probably it is more important to get the quality in place even if it takes an extra few weeks of negotiation."

One of the most difficult points in Russia's talks with the I.M.F. is that the fund wants Moscow to coordinate its monetary policy with other former Soviet republics that plan to use the ruble.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

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U.S. Backs Easier Terms for Russian Aid



Handshakes in the Heartland

"There will never be a war between our two countries," President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia said at McConnell Air Force Base in Wichita, Kan. He held an American flag as he greeted well-wishers. Page A8.

Presses I.M.F. to Bolster Efforts by Yeltsin

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 18 — The Bush Administration, in a shift of approach toward aid for Moscow, has called on the International Monetary Fund to ease some demands for harsh reform and not delay an aid agreement once Russia commits itself to broad economic changes.

Administration officials said today that they now feared that a delay in signing an accord with the I.M.F. would block the flow of economic assistance and destabilize the Government of President Boris N. Yeltsin at a time when Western governments want nothing more than to consolidate Moscow's fledgling democracy.

"The reason we have a sense of urgency on the economic side is if Boris Yeltsin can't succeed on economic reform, he will have a hard time staying as leader in Russia," a senior Administration official said. "This could seriously threaten the democratic reforms that are so much in our interest. The I.M.F. agreement is key to this."

Shift Is Linked to Reforms

The Administration's position this week was in contrast to its statements of a year ago. Last July, for example, at a meeting of the major industrial nations in London, President Bush was less eager than several European leaders to grant President Mikhail S. Gorbachev's request for extensive aid.

Administration officials said then that technical aid was appropriate, asserting that economic aid would be wasted because Russia had not yet begun comprehensive reforms.

The Administration's view began to change after the Soviet Union collapsed in December and President Yeltsin spoke out in favor of radical changes. Last winter, Washington took a leading role in forging the industrial nations' \$24 billion aid package. With Mr. Yeltsin's visit, the Administration appears to be taking an even more active role on Russia's behalf.

Changes Called Too Tough

Some Administration officials, for example, argue specifically that I.M.F. economists are demanding changes that are too difficult to carry out. These include requiring Russia to reduce its budget deficit to zero and removing all price controls on oil: changes that may be so strict that Russia will balk at an accord, which is essential for receiving billions of dollars in new aid.

The Administration's decision to pressure the I.M.F. began to emerge on Monday as President Yeltsin arrived

Continued on Page A8, Column 1



THE PRESIDENT

June 19, 1992
(California)

Dear David,

I saw Cy a while back when he came to the White House.
As you know, he's a good friend, and he and I are very
pleased that you are over at REA.

Many thanks for your note.

Sincerely,

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable David C. Laughter
Deputy Administrator
Management and Policy Support
Rural Electrification Administration
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C. 20250

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Friday, June 19, 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)

NEW YORK NEWSDAY, TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

* * *

THE TALK of the town is the New Republic's unprecedented attack on — of all people — Barbara Bush. In a discussion titled "Sacred Cow" columnist Andrew Sullivan discusses the pluses and minuses of the candidate's wives. But he describes Mrs. Bush as being far more clever than her rivals, attributing Machiavellian characteristics to the most popular woman in America. He says, "If she is to play politics in this way [and he lists several ways], the least that should be asked in return is that the press be entitled to ask her questions about the administration policies in general." Sullivan claims Mrs. Bush's "mastery of frumpy do-goodery is, of course, modeled artfully on the Windsors . . . she's the American Queen Mother, protected from private scrutiny, and the master politician, who is never questioned on public policy."

* * *

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992



Photo by Ruth Fremson/The Washington Times

More mayo,
anyone?

Naina Yeltsin and Barbara Bush X
laugh while working Tuesday to
prepare some of the 2,300 sand-
wiches made every day to feed the
homeless at Martha's Table in
Washington.

NEWSDAY, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

The First Ladies Help the Homeless

REUTERS

Washington — Departing from the high style of superpower summitry, Barbara Bush and Naina Yeltsin donned aprons yesterday to make cheese-and-bologna sandwiches for the homeless.

The first ladies of the United States and Russia, who toured Martha's Table soup kitchen as their husbands talked of arms cuts and economic aid, chatted and joked as they helped feed the hungry in a poor northwestern neighborhood of the city.

"You're faster than I am," Bush told Yeltsin as they slapped together about 35 sandwiches on the opening day of the U.S.-Russia summit.

It was their third meeting, and both women worked doggedly in matching red aprons.

Yeltsin was firmly in charge of the cheese; an ebullient Bush took control of bologna and bread.

"She's much too fast," joked Bush, dressed in a lilac suit and hallmark pearl choker. "I can't tear her away."

Her Russian counterpart, who calls herself an ordinary grandma, wore a beige dress patterned with jewels, antique earrings and white slingback shoes.

Yeltsin appeared relaxed as she took questions. Was she shocked by the poverty level in the U.S. capital?

"No, I'm not surprised. It can happen in any system, even when the state is rich. Under any system there will be poor people because people work differently," said Yeltsin, a former engineer. "We also understand your problems, but luckily, you have far fewer problems than we do."

Local children taking lessons at the downtown food and learning center gave both women hugs, flowers and flags — stars and stripes for one, a Russian tricolor for the other.

"Very nice," said an abashed 9-year-old when asked about the Russian first lady.



The Scene

In Philadelphia and its suburbs

By CLARK DeLEON

What a wonderful world this could seem

From the time I started high school until the time I graduated (four years, in case you're wondering), the world turned from bad to worse.

In ninth grade, the president of the United States was assassinated and 15,000 American troops were sent to a country called Vietnam.

In 10th grade, the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed the U.S. Senate and the Warren Commission told America that Lee Harvey Oswald was the only person involved in the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

In 11th grade, 34 people died in the Watts riots and 184,300 American military personnel were stationed in South Vietnam.

In 12th grade, there were 385,300 U.S. troops in Vietnam, with an additional 60,000 offshore and 33,000 in Thailand. During that long hot summer, 26 died in riots in Newark and 40 died in Detroit riots.

I took a year off from school after graduating and worked in a gas station. It didn't help.

By December 1967, a half million Americans were fighting in Southeast Asia; in January, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched the Tet Offensive; in April, Martin Luther King was assassinated, and two months later, Bobby Kennedy joined him in death.

In September, I enrolled in community college.

In November, Richard M. Nixon was elected president.

I was 18 years old, and I didn't have a clue how bad my future looked from here.

From here is a catbird seat in the auditorium of Drexel University's Mandell Theater Wednesday where the 1992 class of Bodine High School for International Affairs is seated on stage in caps and gowns.

There is an 18-year-old named Emily Sara DeLeon seated among the 88 boys and girls, now young

men and women, listening to senior class president Atiya Abney describe what happened to the world during their four years in high school.

As I recall, there wasn't a single person named Atiya in Lower Merion High School's Class of '67. Neither was there a LaTonya, a BobbiJo, a Jermaine, a Konal, a Shani, a Khary, a Chi-man, a Bunthoeun, a Mohamed, a Shonda, an Oshunbumi, a Kia, a Tyese, a Radeen, a Nakia, a Tysheia, an Elayne, a Heang, a Troung, a Hanh, a Hassan, a Thong, a Suon, a Moriba, a Shaneka, a Faridha, a Quang, a Hameya, a Wanny, a Saana or a Zhen-Yu.

There was one Michael, but not a single Steven, Robert, Mary or Susan in the bunch.

These are the names of Emily's classmates, and they say as much about the change in Philadelphia in my lifetime as did the monumental events of the world Atiya mentioned.

What have they seen change, these kids, since their freshman year?

Oh, just the world as we knew it. During their freshman year, the big news was that the president of the United States and the leader of the Soviet Union signed an "unprecedented agreement" to dismantle thousands of nuclear missiles. By the time, they

graduated there was no Soviet Union, let alone Berlin Wall.

The world as they know it appeared (see photo) on the front page of The Inquirer the morning they graduated. What parent of a child graduating high school today could have ever imagined such a photograph of the American and Russian presidents?

Yeltsin looks like Uncle Arnie at a picnic.

But Atiya did not speak of these events with hope as much as fear. She expressed the universal trepidation of graduates about to step out into the real world, but it was combined with a sense of awe about their entering a world that seems to make less sense without the threat of global holocaust than it did during the Cold War.

Peace looms over the world like a huge question mark.

What does it all mean? And why isn't their enough money?

Why does it feel like our side hasn't triumphed? It's more like their side threw up first in this thermonuclear pie-eating contest.

Why ask why?

Fact is every generation enters a world as terrifying as anything any 18-year-old ever encountered for the first time. We just have different names for the terrors.

As scary as the world looks to the Class of 1992, it's looked a lot worse.



A graduation present to the Class of 1992: The world as we know it.

Associated Press / Dennis Cook

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1992

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Dirty tricks

So the question becomes: Was this "potatoe" flashcard business just another trick by the cultural

elite to make the administration's designated conservative and family-values defender, Dan Quayle, look stupid? Trenton Mayor Douglas Palmer said the flashcard was "an honest mistake. There was no intent to trip up anybody." He's a Democrat.

Meanwhile, Marilyn Quayle is mad. Dan "gives five speeches a day for 25 months, never makes a mistake," she told CNN. "He makes one mistake and they air, air and air it." Her reaction to the uproar is "just complete and total irritation."

For his part, Mr. Quayle quoted Mark Twain: "You should never trust a man who has only one way to spell a word." The Associated Press immediately went to work to determine if Twain ever really said that, but, to its chagrin, the quote turns up attributed to the author in three different books.

The Family Quayle

By Karen Freifeld
and Rita Giordano

STAFF WRITERS

Imagine "Ozzie and Harriet" meets "Father Knows Best," add toothpaste-commercial smiles and generations of power and — *voila* — you have the Family Quayle.

Actually, it should come as no surprise that Dan Quayle is so big on family values. Even before his size-9½ feet touched the White House steps or he married Marilyn, his brighter half, this Hoosier didn't have to depend upon the kindness of strangers. He had his folks and their friends.

The vice president was born into one of the Midwest's most powerful, far-right families. The father of his mother, Corinne, was Eugene C. Pulliam, a self-made publishing tycoon who wielded political clout via his chain of newspapers. Big Jim Quayle, Dan's dad, married into the Pulliam empire and political powerbrokering.

When Quayle's family moved from Indiana to Arizona for several years during his youth, their home was on a golf course. When they moved back to Indiana, it was to Huntington — conservative, religious and very, very white.

Still, the family wasn't especially showy about its wealth. Quayle's spokesman David Beckwith said

Dan went to public schools, worked in the pressroom of his father's paper and waited tables in college.

Contrary to speculation that Quayle inherited a bundle from his grandfather, Beckwith said: "His grandfather did not believe in inherited wealth." Pulliam, he said, put his money in a trust that won't be collectible until more than two decades from now.

While growing up, however, membership did have its privileges. Unlike Murphy Brown, who is not known to have blood media ties, Quayle was brought into the family business.

And, of course, there is the tale of how an unsuspecting Quayle was tapped in 1976 to run for Congress by Orvas Beers, then a district Republican big-shot and golfing buddy of Quayle's father.

"You mean now?" Quayle asked.

Yes, he was told.

Quayle said he had to ask his father first.

By that time, Quayle had already branched out to a family of his own making. In 1972, a friend introduced him to fellow Indiana University law student Marilyn Tucker, a brainy daughter of two physicians. Ten weeks later, they were wed. In 1974, they opened a joint law practice, Quayle and Quayle, but Dan was mostly engaged in the family newspaper business. So Marilyn ran the practice. Although Marilyn mostly gave up her career to boost her husband's and raise her family, as did her mother before her, many say

she's still in charge, a chief adviser to her husband.

According to a 1987 *Vanity Fair* article, Marilyn may be the architect of Dan's family-values fixation. After a 1981 sex-for-votes scandal involving congressmen buzzed near but didn't sting Quayle, a family friend said Marilyn told her husband: "The way you stay out of this is to make a real effort to go to the ball game, to concentrate on the family."

Quayle's been going great guns on family values ever since, at least publicly. There was that embarrassment last month when, after Quayle's tirade on unwed mothers, it was learned the Quayles had leased their home in McLean, Va., an affluent Washington suburb, to an unwed couple.

But, according to Beckwith and others, the Quayles regularly attend their children's sporting events and, in the past, coached them. Their children are Tucker, 18, and Benjamin, 15, who attend Catholic high school. Daughter Corinne is 13. Marilyn Quayle has worked with other congressional wives for legislation to give lawmakers more family time. She and Quayle are Presbyterian and attend church regularly, Beckwith said.

The Quayle family car is a 1986 Pontiac, Beckwith said. And, he said, about \$300,000 was spent to spruce up the vice president's house. That included a putting green. In Quayle family history, it's the little house on the golf course revisited.

NEW YORK NEWSDAY, TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Fast Facts

BUILDING & LOAN: Former president Jimmy Carter and former first lady Rosalynn are in Washington this week as part of their annual Habitat for Humanity project. At 7:30 a.m. yesterday, the Georgians began building 10 homes in Southeast D.C. The Carters plan to finish the homes within five days. Don't worry though — they have over 500 volunteers working with them. . . .

Thu 18-June-92 14:24 EDT

By Gene Gibbons

WASHINGTON, Reuter - Just when he needed a political lift, George Bush turned his two-day summit with Boris Yeltsin into an eye-catching diplomatic success -- although his guest may have created some problems for Bush with his POW comments.

The crowning achievement of Bush's meeting with the Russian president, who flew to Kansas Thursday morning, was a dramatic agreement to slash U.S. and Russian stockpiles of strategic nuclear weapons by about two-thirds.

After bidding farewell to Yeltsin, Bush headed to California to begin a three-day campaign trip, and aides said he would focus on summit accomplishments.

The arms accord was one of seven pacts signed at the summit, during which many U.S. newspapers ran a remarkable front-page photo -- reminiscent of old-time family portraits -- showing Bush and his wife Barbara posed with their Russian guest by the White House south portico. Mrs. Bush's dog Millie was at their feet.

It looked ideal for an election campaign poster.

That imagery was an important political plus, said Democratic political consultant Mike McCurry, because it wiped away such negative images as Bush fleeing tear gas in Panama last week and replaced them with one of peace-making.

"It reinforced his strongest credential for re-election -- his expertise in foreign policy," McCurry said.

Before Yeltsin left Washington, the president's men were heralding the dawn of a new era in international affairs.

"We're now seeing, hopefully, the permanent end of the Cold War and the beginning of what we're trying to do to build a closer relationship, cooperative partnership with Russia. It's indeed a watershed period," national security adviser Brent Scowcroft said in an NBC interview.

Bush campaign spokesman Tony Mitchell boasted that for the first time in nearly 50 years, people "can go to bed at night knowing that the threat of nuclear war is greatly reduced."

"That is a significant accomplishment and it is clearly an asset in the re-election campaign," Mitchell said.

But some analysts say the Bush-Yeltsin summit afterglow is unlikely to last long because of public preoccupation with the domestic decay reflected in last month's Los Angeles riots and lingering economic problems.

Those events and trends have driven Bush's popularity to low points and put him behind potential independent challenger Ross Perot in many presidential preference polls.

In addition, Yeltsin's statements about possible Soviet involvement in the disappearance of U.S. military personnel unaccounted for since the Korean and Vietnam wars could reverberate from now until voters go to the polls Nov. 3.

U.S. and Russian officials said there was little evidence to support Yeltsin's claims that U.S. Vietnam War prisoners were held in Russia and some may still be alive.

Some POW experts speculated that his comments were a cunning

effort to discredit former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, whom he has accused of covering up the truth. Gorbachev fired back Thursday, casting doubt on the Vietnam POW claims and accusing Yeltsin of defaming him.

Democratic consultant Bob Neuman said Bush could be damaged if the statements raise false hopes on the volatile POW survivor issue, only to be dashed before election day.

If he were a Republican strategist, Neuman said, "I would be worried."

The sensitivity of the issue was shown by the reaction of the country's largest veterans' group to Yeltsin's statements.

American Legion national commander Dominic DiFrancesco accused Washington of bungling a matter of the greatest importance and said that if what Yeltsin said was true, it was apparent some U.S. officials "have not lived up to the trust placed in them by our government and the American people."

More than 2,200 U.S. servicemen who fought in Vietnam are still listed as missing. There have been persistent reports, never proven, that Americans with advanced weapons knowledge were held in the Soviet Union after the war.

Critics -- including Perot, a staunch supporter of efforts to track down missing Vietnam servicemen -- have long accused U.S. officials of failing to do enough to see if any POWs were left behind.

One on One: How a Devoted High-School Teacher Helped a Tormented Miami Teen Make It Through

One on One

Miami Teacher Makes Difference in the Life Of a Tormented Kid

Gil Bryant Teaches Drafting To a Talented Chris Sao At Jackson Senior High
Violent Deaths in the Family

By ERIC MORGENTHAUER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
MIAMI—On a drafting table in a high-school classroom, 19-year-old Christian Sao spreads out the drawings for his dream house.

"I like this house because it's so homey and cozy," says Chris, a slim Latin in jeans and an oversized T-shirt, as he looks over his plans for a two-story Mediterranean-style structure with four bedrooms and seven roof levels.

"The bedrooms are almost next to each other, to keep the family together," he explains.

"There's a balcony on the back, overlooking the pool. That's so you can go out on the balcony and look at your kids when they're in the pool, to know they're OK. My mom would love a house like this—you know what I mean?"

Chris Sao has never been in such a house, much less lived in one. He is a child of the inner city, and the house is his senior project in drafting class at Miami Jackson Senior High School, a sprawling old institution in the Allapattah neighborhood, northwest of downtown.

The class is taught by Maurice "Gil" Bryant, who in more than two decades at Jackson has used the drafting pencil to unlock the dreams, and the potential, of hundreds of students, many from deeply troubled backgrounds.

"Mr. Bryant is not just a teacher," says Chris. "He is like our dad in school. He is the reason I am here now."

No doubt, without Mr. Bryant, Chris Sao wouldn't be in school. Though the lines of his dream house are sure and his drafting talent clear, his school record has been shaky, not because he isn't bright, but because he has made a career of cutting classes. His home life has been tortured.

"I have given up on him so many times," Mr. Bryant says. Yet from the time he first had Chris in class — on a noncredit basis in summer school five years ago — Mr. Bryant recognized talent in the boy that he thought could be honed. Mr. Bryant's efforts since then have been a lesson in what it means to be a teacher.

Two years ago today, Chris left Mr. Bryant's drafting class, the last day of school, to go home. When he reached the public-housing project where he lived, he found police cars and a gawking crowd. As Chris moved closer, a TV camera zoomed in on him, and a neighbor rushed forth to tell him the news: His father had shot and killed his mother, and had killed himself.

Miami Jackson is a raucous place. About 60% of its students are Hispanic and



Gil Bryant

39% black, with a smattering of non-Hispanic whites. A majority is foreign born. A hallway sign reading "Welcome to Your School" is in English, Spanish and Haitian Creole. Built for 1,800 students, the school has 3,100. Security monitors with walkie-talkies patrol the halls.

"Lots of times, high schools are likened to mini-societies," says Jorge Claro, a former drafting-class star who is now a scholarship student at the University of Miami. "Jackson is an urban society, and it shows all the urban problems. There is the poverty, the environment, the delinquents, the dropouts. But there are also the success stories."

The success stories can be surprising. Teams of students from the school's Academy for International Business and Finance, a magnet program that has among its directors the head of the local office of the Securities and Exchange Commission, recently won first, second and 10th place — out of 4,562 teams throughout Florida — in a contest for high schoolers to put together the best \$100,000 stock portfolio.

Then there is Mr. Bryant's drafting class. "I think drafting is one of the easiest ways to get to kids, because you're asking them to dream," Chris Sao says. "Mr. Bryant will tell you straight out: 'What is your dream house? Put it to paper.'"

Mr. Bryant, who is 44, developed the drafting program on coming to Jackson in 1968, after graduating from the University of Southern Mississippi. Mr. Bryant was raised in rural Kentucky. His parents were divorced when he was small, and he was raised by relatives. He doesn't know what his father did for a living.

One of the pivotal figures in his life was Nettie Belle Perkins, his English teacher his senior year in high school. Miss Perkins had a fearsome reputation, but she gave him an A. "She started telling me and the rest of the class that I would

make a great English teacher," he says. "I guess gradually I believed it." In college, he switched to drafting from English, but he never lost his desire to teach.

"I'm not a teacher, I'm a guide," says Mr. Bryant, an unassuming man with pale blue eyes, who speaks in a soft voice tinged with a Kentucky drawl. "If you guide them just a little bit, they will do the rest."

In the midst of chaos, Mr. Bryant's class is a calm place. The room is neat and clean. The atmosphere is informal — Mr. Bryant typically wears jeans and a knit shirt — and he banters easily with students. He is strict: If he hears students using foul language, for instance, he throws them out of class for the day. But he respects his students.

Earlier this year, another teacher wrote Mr. Bryant to solicit his help with an unruly student who was disrupting her class. When the boy next came to drafting, Mr. Bryant took him aside and told him that if he misbehaved once more in the other class, he would never again participate in an architectural-drawing competition. A few weeks later, the other teacher reported to Mr. Bryant that the boy shaped up immediately.

"I have problems with students, yes," says Mr. Bryant, who is divorced and has two daughters in college. "But I don't have problem students."

Challenge to Teachers

Chris Sao is a student with whom many teachers have had problems.

Although he did fine in junior high, his grades tanked when he entered high school and began running with an older, wilder crowd. He failed his freshman year, then was kicked out of summer school for not attending. In his second freshman year, he skipped nearly a third of his classes.

"I'd go to the beach," explains Chris, who has quick eyes and a wispy moustache. "I had the perfect tan."

Chris has so much energy he can't sit still. "His teachers used to send him to me constantly because they couldn't control him in class," says Ondina Fidalgo, a school counselor.

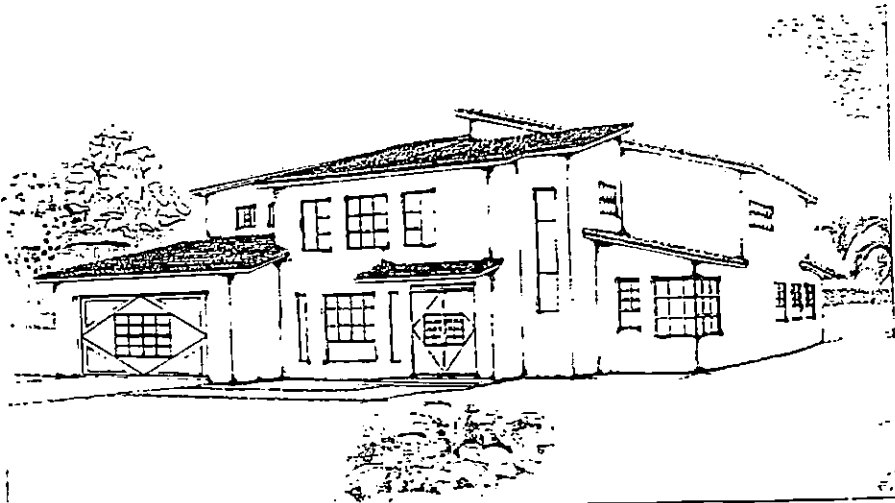
He claims not to care about his poor grades. "Failing a class doesn't mean I can't pass it," he says. "It doesn't mean I failed because I am stupid. It means I failed it because I didn't do the work. So what? I can pass it. Passing a class isn't that hard."

As he strides through the halls of school, Chris blows kisses at girls. Riding down the street, he yells out the car window to a friend, "You are UGLY, bro."

Chris was born in Miami on Sept. 20, 1972. His father was Cuban, and his mother Honduran. He has an older sister, Griselda, and a younger sister, Yesenia. Chris's father worked in construction, and his mother was a Miami tour guide.



Chris Sao



Chris Sao's latest house design

During his last year in junior high, Chris went with his schoolmates on an introductory tour of Miami Jackson. Among the classes they visited was Gil Bryant's. As Mr. Bryant talked to the youngsters, Chris and a friend started cutting up. Mr. Bryant stopped his talk, eyed Chris and said: "We could start on you today."

These days, Mr. Bryant can't remember when he really did start on Chris. "It seems like he has always been with me—always," he says, only half joking. "It's not just the time since we met. It's like we were always together."

After Chris was kicked out of summer school for truancy, Chris's mother begged Mr. Bryant, who had taught Griselda, to admit Chris to his summer class. He agreed to let Chris sit in, though not for credit.

"Mr. Bryant told me, 'You are going to come in here every day, on time, from 7:30 until 11:30, and you are going to draw,'" Chris recalls. "And I did."

The 14-year-old showed a talent for drafting. And Mr. Bryant moved him along quickly. "He did an entire year's work that summer."

Chris didn't take drafting again until the fall of 1988, his sophomore year, and then earned the highest grade Mr. Bryant gives, an A-minus.

In the following summer, Chris began designing his first house — a project that students normally don't undertake until their third or fourth year with Mr. Bryant. It was a mansion, with balconies, an atrium and a swimming pool, but only three bedrooms — Chris's mother had always wanted a three-bedroom house.

"I thought it was the best thing I had ever done in my life," Chris says. "I showed it to my mom. She loved it."

Mr. Bryant entered Chris's house in the Dade County Youth Fair, and it won a first prize. "I felt great about it," Chris says. "I never thought I was going to be able to accomplish anything."

Today, the drawing, with blue ribbon attached, hangs with the work of other top students on Mr. Bryant's classroom wall.

"He gave me space, but not too much space — you understand what I mean?" Chris says of his teacher.

Family Problems

His father was an alcoholic, subject to wild mood-swings. "He hassled me," Chris says. "Everything I did was wrong."

Chris had a different sort of conflict with his mother: She was deeply religious — a Jehovah's Witness — and concerned about the life her son was leading. "He would come in at 3 or 4 in the morning," recalls his 21-year-old sister Griselda. "He wouldn't call, and we wouldn't know where he was."

In April of 1990, Chris decided he was tired of being hassled by his parents. Using his earnings from a part-time job in a watch shop, he rented an apartment and left home. A few days later, his father unexpectedly moved out, too.

Soon, Chris and his mother started talking on the phone. He would drop by to see her, then began spending nights at home. "I was 18, she asked him

and he agreed. He surprised her with a University of Miami T-shirt and shorts and, that night, he slept with his

mother in her bed. "I told her I loved her," he says. "And I told her I was sorry for what I'd done. She said I didn't have to ask her forgiveness."

"I went to sleep that night with the biggest smile on my face. It's a smile you can only give your mom."

"The next day, she was dead."

Griselda Sao was home when the tragedy occurred and says there had been no warning of trouble. Her father showed up at the door, pulled a gun and shot his wife. Griselda called 911. When Mr. Sao heard the sirens, he fired two more shots at his wife, then turned the gun on himself.

"The last thing she said was, 'Jehovah, forgive him,'" Griselda says. No one is sure why he did it. Griselda thinks her father had become deranged. "He looked like a monster," she says.

Some Solace

That summer, Mr. Bryant drove Chris to the Social Security office to apply for benefits Chris hadn't realized he was eligible for. Mr. Bryant often sat with him for hours, in a glassed-in office in the back of the classroom. Although Chris put on a cheerful face around his classmates, he often would cry in front of Mr. Bryant.

Chris moved in with a friend of his mother's, who had a son his age. It was the first of several such living arrangements, which usually ended in Chris moving out after a fight. His sisters moved in with another family friend, and Chris had little contact with them. Griselda objected to Chris's style of life — which, after the killings, got more out-of-control than ever.

"I literally flipped out," Chris says.

In the fall, he flunked everything, including drafting. "I didn't try," he says. A few months later, in the spring of 1991, he dropped out of school altogether, ending whatever chances he had of graduating with his class.

When Chris turned 18, a few months after his parents died, he came into more than \$20,000 that had been held in trust for him from the settlement of a lawsuit over a dog attack when he was 14. Within three months, he had blown the money, mainly on a car that eventually got repossessed.

"You want to kick his butt, you want to hug him, you want to kick his butt — all at the same time," Mr. Bryant says. "There was so much self-destruction, and you could do nothing about it."

Yet in the midst of the turmoil, Chris began drawing another house. By the end of summer, he had completed a preliminary sketch. That fall and winter — despite his dreadful academic performance and chaotic personal life — he kept working on the house, completing the drawing just in time for the Dade County Youth Fair, at which he won a first prize.

A few weeks later, Chris dropped out of school. But when the yearbook came out in the spring, Chris the dropout was named "Most Talented" boy in what was supposed to have been his graduating class.

Bryant, "I felt totally defeated. I had put so much into this one kid."

A Dose of Truth

Yet a few months after dropping out of school, Chris, on impulse, called his former teacher. Mr. Bryant invited Chris to stop by his classroom, where, says Chris, "He sat me down and told me the truth."

"He said, 'Look at yourself. What have you done? You've lost everything. What are you going to do? Are you going to be a drug dealer on the corner? Are you going to steal, rob, maybe kill somebody? And then where will you go — to jail?'" Chris says, "I finally woke up."

His awakening was temporary. Although he enrolled and did well in summer school, by fall he was failing everything again. After more fits and starts and an interlude at Miami Beach Senior High, to which he transferred briefly, Chris was back this year at Jackson, thanks to Mr. Bryant. Chris convinced him that, finally, he was serious. Enid Weisman, a vice principal, agreed to readmit Chris but vowed to bounce him at the first sign of trouble.

Since Chris re-enrolled March 9, he has been marked absent just twice (a "miracle," says Mr. Bryant), one day to go to court over 21 unpaid traffic tickets.

(Of course, everything is relative. One morning when Mr. Bryant thought Chris was seeing a counselor, he was scaling the school fence and heading across the street to his favorite cafe. "Taking a break is what I call it," he explains. "Don't tell Mr. Bryant.")

In drafting class, Chris started his third house, building on the lessons he learned with the others. "This one is smaller, but I use the space better," he says.

Chris hopes to enter a local community college this fall and wants eventually to teach drafting, like Mr. Bryant. "I have seen what he has done for me, and I want to do it for others," he says. Just now he would like to be working for an architect, but the job market is weak. He recently hired on as a dancer for a rap group called The Dogs.

At times, Chris is giddy about his prospects. "The challenge is there, and I want to take it," he says. "I want to take it by the hand and just roll with it." He laughs and starts singing: "Just roll with it, baby."

His mentors are more measured in their predictions. "Christian has the ability to go on and do whatever he wants," says Mrs. Weisman. "Does he have the discipline? It's a roll of the dice."

Gil Bryant muses about why he took such an interest in Chris Sao. "There's a lot of Chris in me," he says. "Maybe I projected some of myself in him and saw some worth there."

Chris Sao will graduate today from Miami Jackson. But while Mr. Bryant says that getting Chris through school will be "my greatest accomplishment this year," he won't be at the ceremonies.

"I hate graduations," Mr. Bryant says. "When your kids graduate, a part of you