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News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992
6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH: PEROT'S INVESTIGATIONS 'SHOCKING AND FRIGHTENING' --
Reports that Ross Perot has bankrolled investigations of President Bush dating to the mid-1980s betray a "shocking and frightening pattern," the White House says. (UPI, Washington Times)

BID TO CONFRONT URBAN PROBLEMS FACES SNAG -- The already-strained efforts of President Bush and Congress to form a bipartisan response to urban problems could well break down this week as Democrats press ahead on their own tax measures and jobless aid. (Wall Street Journal)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

SHARP FIGHTING CONTINUES AROUND SARAJEVO AIRPORT -- Machine-gun and small-arms fire rattled around Sarajevo's airport Sunday, but the heavy fighting that has prevented U.N. relief flights from bringing food and medicine to civilians in Sarajevo subsided in most other areas of the city. (Washington Post)

POW SEARCH MOVES TO TAMBOV -- The hunt for missing U.S. POWs moved to the Russian city of Tambov Sunday after a report that up to 2,500 Western soldiers -- including Americans -- had been held in labor camps there after World War II. (Washington Times)

NETWORK NEWS (Sunday evening)

PEROT INVESTIGATIONS OF BUSH --
A published report says Ross Perot tried for years to turn up evidence implicating George Bush in unethical conduct.

CLINTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN --
Bill Clinton unveiled his economic and social agenda.

AMERICAN POWS IN RUSSIA --
Boris Yeltsin renewed his pledge to track any missing Americans that may still be held on Russian soil.

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NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH: PEROT'S INVESTIGATIONS 'SHOCKING AND FRIGHTENING'

Reports that Ross Perot has bankrolled investigations of President Bush dating to the mid-1980s betray a "shocking and frightening pattern," the White House says.

The White House used those words Sunday in commenting on the Washington Post's revelations that Perot launched a series of investigations on Bush. The White House told UPI Perot's actions were "a shocking and frightening pattern of investigations and intimidation." (UPI)

Bush Campaign Blasts Perot Investigations

Torie Clarke Sunday blasted Ross Perot over investigations he reportedly conducted into Bush's financial and official activities since the mid-1980s.

"If he's going to go after the Vice President of the United States, on absolutely no grounds, for absolutely no reason, would anybody in this country be safe from his prying?" commented Clarke.

"If you look at what he did as an individual, the amount of time and energy and resource he spent on hiring investigators and sleuths and secret agents, what would he do if he had the FBI and the IRS and the CIA?" she asked. "The country does not need big brother as President." (Nation, Washington Times, A2)

'TOUGH TALK' A PREVIEW OF BUSH'S STRATEGY

President Bush's rip-roaring attack on Ross Perot before Texas Republicans was a preview of his fall campaign strategy -- and a glimpse into the depths of his frustrations with Perot's popularity and Bush's blueprint for dismantling it.

"That was the real George Bush," says Jim Oberwetter. "He's been subdued for a while, but he's been unleashed. He's wooing Texans back his way."

The Bush camp hopes Perot will be made even more vulnerable on "personality" issues by a Washington Post story Sunday describing his investigation of Bush's financial and political dealings.

Bush hasn't abandoned his promise to avoid campaign-style assaults until after August's GOP convention. "This does not represent a change in strategy," says Fred Malek.

(Judy Keen, USA Today, 6A)

UNBLEMISHED VETO RECORD MAY HAUNT BUSH

President Bush could veto as many as 10 more bills this year, adding to his record of 28 vetoes -- all without a single override by Congress.

Political experts say veto politics is a key reason for Ross Perot's campaign. "It reinforces the sense of gridlock, the sense that the system can't accomplish anything," says William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute.

Still, Bush hasn't been overridden. And there's only a slim chance he could be overridden in the coming months. "He has exercised his veto very skillfully," says David Mason of the Heritage Foundation. A veto "gives him a platform, makes him look in control."

Thomas Mann of the Brookings Institution says Bush's record leaves the impression that his only agenda is thwarting Congress. "For the election, he has to answer the question of what will a second term be about, and if all he can do is stop things from happening, that's not a compelling reason for re-election," Mann says.
(Maria Puente, USA Today, 4A)

PEROT HOPES TO ADD MINORITIES TO COALITION

DALLAS -- Ross Perot is reaching out to minorities, particularly blacks who appear to be more inclined to support Bill Clinton.

He appears to have won at least one influential black voice: Retired Army lieutenant general Calvin Waller, deputy commander of Desert Storm, introduced Perot at a rally Friday in Denver.

Among conservative blacks, support for President Bush is solid despite misgivings about the spat with Congress over the civil rights bill, the appointment of Clarence Thomas and the Los Angeles riots, said Fred McClure. "The President... will have a real good showing at the polls, at least equal to his (black) support in 1988," said McClure.
(Debbie Howlett, USA Today, 6A)

**BID TO CONFRONT URBAN PROBLEMS FACES
SNAG AS DEMOCRATS FOCUS ON OTHER BILLS**

The already-strained efforts of President Bush and Congress to form a bipartisan response to urban problems could well break down this week as Democrats press ahead on their own tax measures and jobless aid.

The House and Senate must settle their differences over legislation extending emergency unemployment benefits, following the Senate's voice-vote passage of its version Friday. The White House isn't likely to be happy with Congress's final product because it opposed the bills from both houses. Congressional Democrats, sensing they have a winning issue, all but invite a veto. Yet an impasse could threaten the emergency aid, which begins running out July 4.

(Jackie Calmes, Wall Street Journal, A2)

**CITIES' \$35 BILLION PROPOSED CURE
FINDS FEW WASHINGTON ALLIES**

Thomas Cochran has a question: Why is \$35 billion too much to save America's cities? According to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, where Cochran is executive director, that figure is the minimum amount necessary to create the jobs, overhaul the infrastructure and attract the business investments needed to turn around the nation's urban areas.

But a long-term aid package has yet to be settled. Frustrated by the reception, Cochran and 175 mayors from across the country are meeting at their annual conference this week in Houston to plot a new strategy to sell their agenda to lawmakers and the public.

The mayors' \$34.8 billion program includes \$15 billion in targeted assistance to the most troubled cities, \$5 billion for public works, \$6 billion for community development block grants to generate new jobs, and \$2 billion in low-interest loans to small businesses.

"We have nothing against the President's plan," Cochran said. "Our plan includes proposals for enterprise zones and housing credits, too. But just doing that is not enough. If we really want to seriously address the problem, we've got to make a bigger investment than that." (Gary Lee, Washington Post, A15)

**CONSUMER CONFIDENCE CONTINUES TO IMPROVE,
INSTITUTE STUDY FINDS**

Consumer confidence in the economy continues to improve, according to the latest soundings by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research.

The institute's index of consumer sentiment, which has been climbing since the beginning of the year, rose to 80.6 in early June, according to people in the financial markets. That's the highest reading since last September. The index stood at 79.2 in May, 77.2 in April and 76 in March.

(Staff Reporter, Wall Street Journal, A2)

**U.S. FALLS TO FIFTH IN
RATINGS FOR COMPETITION**

GENEVA -- Japan remains the world's most competitive country, while the U.S. has dropped from second place to fifth, says a report published by two Swiss-based economic consulting firms.

It said the U.S. dropped to fifth place because of the depth of its recession and structural problems in its economy. Government policies were rated worse for the economy than last year, and American companies received lower marks for management and their efforts in science and technology.

The report rated the U.S. educational system 21st overall, trailed only by Greece among the industrial nations.

(AP, Washington Times, B4)

**TOP EXECS SALARIES
MAY BE AIRED OUT**

The SEC is expected to propose rules this week that would force companies to spell out what they are paying their top executives and allow easier communication among stockholders.

The agency has scheduled a vote by its four commissioners for Tuesday on a plan to require companies to list executives' pay in charts that would be easier for shareholders to read than the pages of text they now have to wade through. The tables, according to SEC officials, would let shareholders compare pay with a company's performance. (Roger Fillion, Reuter, Washington Times, B4)

INDEPENDENT COUNSEL LAW INCREASINGLY BESET

Last week's indictment of Caspar Weinberger comes at a troubled juncture for the independent counsel statute under which prosecutors are investigating the Iran-contra affair.

A consensus is growing among key House Democrats to let the much-debated 1978 statute lapse at the end of the year, then try to enact it again next year after political tensions subside and a new Congress takes office.

"Things have gotten so political and so angry this year, maybe it's best to let it lapse a few months," said Rep. Frank. He said independent counsels who were already conducting investigations could continue their work but that no new ones could be appointed in the interim.

While Attorney General Barr has not commented on Lawrence Walsh's investigation, Barr has stepped up his criticism of the statute on independent counsels in the past several months. At his Senate confirmation hearing, Barr said he would support renewing the act if "certain practical concerns" were resolved. In April, Barr said the statute has led to injustices and that he would recommend that President Bush veto extending it unless it is substantially changed. (Sharon LaFraniere, Washington Post, A4)

**LAW SENDS MORE TO JAIL
KEEPS THEM THERE**

More federal offenders are going to prison and staying there longer since a tough sentencing law went into effect five years ago, the Justice Department reported Sunday.

The department's Bureau of Labor Statistics said that in 1990, 74% of the defendants covered by the Sentencing Reform Act went to prison, compared with 52% of those sentenced in 1986, the last year before the new law took effect. Federal prisoners released from prison in 1990 had served an average of 19 months, which was 29% longer than the average term served by prisoners released in 1986.

(Nation, Washington Times, A2)

FAA APPOINTEE WINS OVER SKEPTICS

When Barry Harris arrived in Washington in 1989, his major claim to the number two spot at the FAA was that he was a friend of President Bush and had helped finance his campaign.

Sen. Ford reportedly said Harris would never get past his panel. The aviation community collectively rolled its eyes and grudgingly accepted yet another presidential political appointee.

But this spring, a collective groan went up in Congress and the aviation community when the Bush Administration decided not to nominate Harris to the top job, FAA administrator.

Those who know the transportation community well say Harris won over his detractors at a personal level. More important, he used his position to launch some major initiatives, including a change in the way that air traffic controllers are selected and trained.

(Don Phillips, Washington Post, A15)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

SHARP FIGHTING CONTINUES AROUND SARAJEVO AIRPORT

SARAJEVO -- Machine-gun and small-arms fire rattled around Sarajevo's airport Sunday, but the heavy fighting that has prevented U.N. relief flights from bringing food and medicine to civilians in Sarajevo subsided in most other areas of the city.

The lull in the fighting allowed city residents to venture out in search of food after a 2 1/2 -month siege by Serb militia forces. Markets also offered flowers, apparently for the frequent funerals in the battered city.

In Washington, meanwhile, Secretary Baker said that additional international measures may be needed to force an end to the Bosnian war, but he said that U.N. sanctions imposed on Serbia for its aggressive role in the conflict should be given more time to work.

"The sanctions were just put in place," Baker said on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley." "We should continue to press them forward." He added, however, that if the sanctions fail to have the desired effect, "we should not rule out the possibility that resort to some sort of multilateral pressure would be required." He did not specify what form such pressure might take, but he ruled out unilateral U.S. military action. (AP, Washington Post, A13)

NUNN URGES U.S. PLAN FOR MILITARY ROLE TO END YUGOSLAVIA'S STRIFE

Sen. Nunn said Sunday the Pentagon should draw up contingency plans to send U.S. troops to war-torn Yugoslavia as part of international efforts to bring peace to the region.

Nunn said the U.S. does not have the same strategic interest in Yugoslavia as it did in sending troops to fight in the Persian Gulf War. But he said: "We do have an important interest there. We have an interest that I think demands we work with the U.N., with the Europeans to do everything we can to protect human life, to provide humanitarian relief and to bring about a cease-fire."

Separately, Secretary Baker said he was "pessimistic" about the breakdown of the latest cease-fire in Sarajevo. "I do not believe, notwithstanding the fact that we should stand up when there is a humanitarian horror like this, we cannot be, should not be the world's policeman," he said. "And human nature being what it is, you're going to continue to have instances in places around the world where you see this happen."

(Bill Gertz, Washington Times, A3)

POW SEARCH MOVES TO TAMBOV

MOSCOW -- The hunt for missing U.S. POWs moved to the Russian city of Tambov Sunday after a report that up to 2,500 Western soldiers -- including Americans -- had been held in labor camps there after World War II.

Itar-Tass news agency said reporters in Tambov had recovered documents dating from 1945 showing a commander had been ordered to ready his camp to receive 2,500 foreign POWs. "We can only assume those were prisoners of Hitler's camps freed by our troops and sent over here," Tass quoted Tambov local administration official Vladimir Penkov as saying.

Yeltsin returned to Moscow Sunday and renewed pledges he made in Washington to track down any missing U.S. POWs he said might still be held on Russian soil. "Now comes the matter of their destiny. How many were freed, how many died, how many were shot and where were they buried? We still do not know the fate of several prisoners," he said.

Creation of a joint Russian-U.S. commission had been agreed on with Bush, he said. Its members would have access to archives in the whole of Russia and would be free to travel throughout the country. (Janet Guttman, Reuter, Washington Times, A8)

NEW LINKAGE HINDERS AID FOR RUSSIA

The concept of "linkage" used to be at the center of negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, as concessions on one issue often had to be compensated by the other side's backing down somewhere else.

The idea may now be passe diplomatically. But it is at the heart of political dealings between President Bush and House Democrats over aid to the nations of the former Soviet Union. The Democrats insist they won't help Russia and the rest if President Bush won't support their efforts to help Americans.

(Adam Clymer, New York Times, A11)

**NAVY CHIEF IS MENTIONED
IN WEINBERGER CHARGES**

Navy Secretary H. Lawrence Garrett, already embroiled in an inquiry into the assault of 26 women at a convention of naval aviators last year, has now seen his name surface in a larger scandal: the Iran-contra affair.

The indictment of Caspar Weinberger last week twice mentions Garrett, who served as the Pentagon's senior lawyer from February 1986 to August 1987 and accompanied Weinberger when congressional investigators questioned him in 1987.

Garrett, through a spokesman, declined to comment last week about his knowledge of the diaries or whether he had been interviewed by the independent prosecutor investigating the Iran-contra affair.

Friends and former colleagues say it is very unlikely that Garrett knew about the diaries or committed any wrongdoing. Even his critics say they doubt that Garrett participated in any cover-up. (Eric Schmitt, New York Times, A15)

**RECORDS OF ARMS SALES
TO IRAQ SAID ALTERED**

LOS ANGELES -- Commerce Department records of technology exports to Iraq from 1985 to 1990 were altered to remove any mention of military uses before the lists were turned over to Congress, the Los Angeles Times reported Sunday.

The records, provided to Congress in late 1990, contained 68 deletions of military designations for goods licensed for export to Iraq during the period before Saddam Hussein's troops invaded Kuwait, according to classified government documents the newspaper said it had obtained.

An internal Commerce Department memo indicates that then-Commerce Secretary Mosbacher or someone on his staff may have had a role in preparing the export list, the newspaper said.

(Nation, Washington Times, A2)

**ECUMENICAL RALLY SEEKS
FREEDOM FOR POLLARD**

NEW YORK -- Pat Robertson joined Jews Sunday at a rally at a New York synagogue calling on President Bush to commute the life sentence of Jonathan Pollard.

"I am outraged at this miscarriage of justice," Robertson told supporters of Pollard. "I would like to make a fervent call to George Bush to commute the sentence of Jonathan Pollard."

Robertson, Elie Wiesel, several Pollard family members, Pollard's attorney and former Reagan Administration Assistant Attorney General Ted Olson pleaded for the government to end what they called mistreatment of Pollard and to commute his sentence to time served.

(Reuter, Washington Times, A4)

ANC HALTS TWO-PARTY TALKS WITH S. AFRICA

JOHANNESBURG -- Nelson Mandela announced Sunday that his organization is suspending bilateral negotiations with the government in response to a township massacre and police shooting of black protesters. Mandela said the ANC also would review its participation in separate, multiparty constitutional negotiations aimed at ending South Africa's apartheid system.

In Washington, Secretary Baker urged South African blacks and whites to continue their talks, saying, "I think it is important that all of us do everything in the world that we can... to see they're resumed."

(David Ottaway, Washington Post, A1)

**U.S. BUYS FOREIGN PRODUCTS
IN LIEU OF HOMEMADE GOODS**

Baseball may be the national pastime, but when Uncle Sam needed some Louisville Slugger baseball bats, he bought them from a Canadian contractor.

That is just one of the more puzzling examples of the federal government buying hundreds of millions of dollars worth of equipment from foreign companies, congressional critics say.

One congressman said the way federal purchases are made needs to be reviewed. "It might be worthwhile to stop and take a look at this purchasing system to ensure that American-owned companies are being treated fairly as they attempt to sell their products and services to our federal agencies," says Rep. Duncan.

Duncan is also concerned that foreign governments, especially the Japanese, continue to resist buying American products. "While federal agencies purchase Japanese products, Japan's governmental agencies have had 'buy Japanese' policies in government procurement of construction services, satellites, computers and supercomputers that have only been recently modified," he said.

In contrast, during the past five years, federal agencies spent at least \$700 million on products bought from foreign contractors -- mostly Japanese.

(Michael Hedges, Washington Times, A3)

NETWORK NEWS

(Sunday evening, June 21; ABC preempted by golf coverage)

PEROT INVESTIGATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT

CBS's Edie Magnus: A published report today says Ross Perot tried for years to turn up evidence implicating George Bush in unethical conduct.

CBS's Scott Pelley: Ross Perot's crusade to find missing American POWs in Southeast Asia reportedly led the Texas billionaire to launch a series of private investigations into the conduct of President George Bush.

(**TV coverage** of then-Vice President Bush with Ronald Reagan and on stage after speaking.)

The Washington Post reports today that in the 1980s Perot came to believe then-Vice President Bush had dropped the ball on finding American POWs. Perot apparently started the investigations in an attempt to discredit Mr. Bush. The Post reports that Perot hired law firms to conduct several investigations which included a probe into real estate deals that Perot suspected could be improper, an inquiry into whether Mr. Bush had suppressed information about POWs, and an investigation into whether Mr. Bush participated in the Iran-Contra scandal. Mr. Bush was never implicated in any wrongdoing. The Post says Perot's investigations came up empty. Republicans clearly see Perot's history of using private investigations as a prime area of attack.

(**Vice President Quayle, "MacNeil/Lehrer," Friday:** "The way that he had conducted himself on all these private investigations of taking photographs, hiring private eyes, getting involved in personal lives -- too many people talk to me about what Ross Perot has done to them personally, individually. This is all going to come out. And when it comes out the American people will say that's the type of person that should not be president.")

There is no indication that Perot did anything illegal or improper. The investigations were largely just searches of the public record. Here in Dallas at the Perot headquarters a Perot spokesman says the Republicans are trying to use fear to discredit the Perot campaign. The Republicans believe fear is their best weapon, the spokesman said, and they use it against anyone who dares run against them.

(CBS-2)

NBC's Garrick Utley: It was reported today that he [Ross Perot] has been investigating George Bush and his personal and family finances. It began, it seems, about five years ago when Bush was Vice President and continued to until recent months. The Washington Post says the aim was to find improper conduct but that none was found.

(NBC-5)

CLINTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN

Magnus: You have a right to know what I'll do and where I stand: that from Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton today as Clinton unveiled his economic and social agenda for the U.S.

CBS's Richard Threlkeld reports Clinton's economic plan is similar to the one he outlined last October. But it reflects some things he has learned while campaigning across the country -- namely, spending more on America and Americans.

(Clinton: "This is a plan that both reduces the deficit dramatically over the next four years but substantially increases investment -- probably the biggest investment program of its kind over four years ever offered, at least in modern time.")

Clinton plans to invest \$50 billion a year in fixing up the nation's infrastructure, reforming welfare and improving education. He'd provide access to health care for everybody, cut down on medical and insurance costs but stop short of a federally-funded national health care system. He's still supporting a middle-class tax cut but plans on combining it with a tax credit for families with children to make it less expensive. Clinton also promises to cut the federal deficit in half by cutting government waste and some of the federal payroll and increasing taxes on corporations and the very wealthy. Critics may quarrel with Clinton's arithmetic. It's hard to imagine the country can afford to make major repairs and pay off the federal deficit without a big tax increase -- something not mentioned in the Clinton plan.

(NBC-4, CBS-Lead)

AMERICAN POWS IN RUSSIA

CBS's Anthony Mason says returning to Russia today, Boris Yeltsin renewed his pledge to track any missing Americans that may still be held on Russian soil. At the same time, former U.S. ambassador to Moscow, Malcolm Toon [phonetic], arrived to lead the American end of the investigation.

(Toon: "But so far, I must be frank with you, we have not seen any evidence that there are any live POWs or MIAs.")

During his U.S. visit President Yeltsin suggested that Soviet leaders covered up the presence of American POWs.

(TV coverage of Presidents Bush and Yeltsin in Rose Garden last week.)

(CBS-6)

AMERICAN POWS IN VIETNAM

Magnus reports the top U.S. official in Vietnam says some 50 experts in four separate teams have accelerated the search for American MIAs there.

(NBC-10, CBS-7)

SOUTH AFRICA TALKS CALLED OFF

Utley: No one ever said it would be easy: whites and blacks in South Africa agreeing on a new political system that would provide democratic rights for all. And this evening those negotiations are at a halt, a halt ordered today by Nelson Mandela, the head of the ANC. His reason: his charge that whites are behind the killings of blacks.

NBC's Charles McLean reports in Washington Secretary Baker expressed regret that the negotiations had broken down and warned of the possible consequences.

(Secretary Baker, "Brinkley": "If change doesn't come peacefully, and I think change is going to come, but if it doesn't come peacefully it's going to come with tremendous bloodshed.")

(CBS-4, NBC-Lead)

-End of B-Section-

ABC -- THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY

Moderator: David Brinkley. **Panel:** Sam Donaldson, George Will.

Guest: Secretary Baker.

Brinkley: ...We had a visit by Boris Yeltsin this week. He made some rather attractive promises. We all know he has serious opposition at home. Can he deliver, do you think?

Baker: ...I think it is a good agreement [arms agreement] for the U.S., a good agreement for Russia, and a very good agreement for the world because it's going to take down many, many of these weapons of mass destruction. And I think he can deliver on that.

Will: ...The butchery in Yugoslavia...is of course horrible to watch on television but seems to be exactly the kind of human behavior not susceptible to change by economic sanctions. It's just passions are too large for this. Is there a large United States interest involved, and if so, what should we do short of or up to and including intervention?

Baker: ...Our interest really is to do what we can to prevent the humanitarian nightmare that's taking place there from continuing. Do we have as significant a national security interest there as we do for -- as we did for instance in the Gulf? I think the answer to that has to be no. But that does not mean we must remain totally on the sidelines while this slaughter takes place. So you say well, these sanctions aren't going to work, and I say that's possible but not yet proven. There has been some significant impact of the sanctions in Belgrade and on the part of the Serbian leadership. The sanctions were just put in place. We should continue to press forward.

Baker: ...And if they don't work then I have said and others have said we should not rule out the possibility that resort to some sort of multilateral pressure would be required. We have ruled out the unilateral use of American military power.

Donaldson: ...Do you believe that there are any service personnel -- Americans -- from the Vietnam War era still being held in Southeast Asia against their will?

Baker: I don't know, but I do know this: We have a very, very effective, I think, and comprehensive program for following up each and every lead....

Will: ...For years now we've been arguing about the relevance of the 1972 ABM Treaty to the possible deployment, testing, research into missile defense. Why isn't it time to say in an utterly transformed strategic situation -- and since the entity with which we signed the ABM Treaty no longer exists -- that it no longer exists and will have no constraining influence whatever on anything we wish to do with SDI?

Baker: I think if we had said that -- for instance, if we had said we're walking away from the ABM Treaty just pure and simple, just like that, I don't think we would have gotten this arms reduction agreement.... We take the position here in the United States, and we state it to them every time we sit down with them, that in order to deploy a defense against limited ballistic missile attacks, renegade nations or terrorists and that sort of thing, we will have to have some changes in the ABM Treaty. And we've had some discussion with them. They are not ready yet to move to that stage because they want to know a little bit more about what it is we mean when we say we want to cooperate with you and share technology, we want to establish a ballistic missile early warning center....

Donaldson: ...The Supreme Court has now said it's all right to kidnap the Mexican doctor -- to bring him to the United States where he is now for trial in the Camarena case. And Mexico now has retaliated by cutting off all cooperation on the drug enforcement scene in both countries. How badly is that hurting the effort to curb drugs?

Baker: First of all, that's not exactly what the Supreme Court said. What the Supreme Court said is we're going to leave it up to the executive branch to determine those instances in which it wants to resort to that fairly unusual proceeding.

Donaldson: Meaning it's all right to do it if the executive branch says --

Baker: Saying that it will not prevent a criminal conviction under our domestic law. But they did not pass on the international law point or on the international political point. So far we have managed through intensive discussion with Mexico to preserve the general status of our cooperation on drug enforcement, and that's something that we want. We are talking to the Mexicans now and I hope and believe that we will continue to see the excellent cooperation that we've seen in the past.... As the President himself said yesterday, you're not going to see this pursued as a routine type of policy in the future.... There are some fairly egregious cases where it would be important, particularly in cases of terrorists operating from countries that might not be as friendly to us as Mexico is. I think we're resolving the problem with Mexico and I think that the drug cooperation will continue.

Donaldson: ...The Washington Post says that the Administration has concluded that there is no viable plan that would work at the moment to destabilize Saddam Hussein, that despite our efforts and the efforts of others, he's just locked in. Is that correct?

Baker: ...I'm not going to comment on intelligence matters. And that happened to be a story with respect to a presumed national intelligence estimate, so I can't comment.

Brinkley: So it is true that Saddam Hussein is as strong now as he was at the end of the war: that he's getting supplies -- all he wants, coming in from Jordan, courtesy of King Hussein?

Baker: He is not as strong in my view by a long shot as he was before he marched into Kuwait, and that's the real issue here. Here's a man who was building a nuclear bomb or trying to, who was developing his chemical and biological weapons capability, who was building up a massive conventional army. All that is gone. It's over. Is he still in power in Iraq? Yes, he is. But he does not represent the threat to his neighbors that he represented pre-August.

Brinkley: In hindsight, should we have gone to Baghdad and captured him?

Baker: I don't think I would say that; no, because that would have involved a different type of war entirely. That was never one of...our political aims or one of our war aims. And we made it very clear at the time that our aim, as reflected in the United Nations Security Council resolutions, was to get Iraq out of Kuwait, and we accomplished that, and to destroy those capabilities that I have mentioned.

Donaldson: Are you now resigned to the appointment of an independent counsel to check into the Administration's pre-Kuwait invasion policy?

Baker: That's a matter, first of all, for the Congress to determine whether or not they're going to recommend it, and secondly, for the attorney general that suggested it.

Donaldson: ...You refused to make available two Administration witnesses they wanted. Have you not?

Baker: ...Yes, that's true: the White House counsel and the counsel to the National Security Council.

Donaldson: ...If the President calls you...and said, "I'm drowning," you would go and you would help him. Is that not correct?

Baker: ...I've said, and I will repeat it here today on this program that I've had no discussions with the President about this. There have been no discussions about it.

Will: ...Mr. Lake, Mr. Black, Mr. Maleck and Mr. Teeter are all employed by the Bush Campaign and also have independent businesses in which they deal with clients. Some of these clients are foreign governments or foreign interests. Are you happy and at ease with this in your fastidious approach to politics and foreign policy, having this kind of entanglement of private interests and public policy?

Baker: I don't know that it is an entanglement with public policy. They are not officials of the government. If they were officials of the government they would have to undertake to do all of the

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Will: I'm not suggesting they're not complying with the law, but do you think this is appropriate behavior?

Baker: I think if it's not, the Congress will promptly legislate in order to correct it. But I frankly don't have any quarrel with it. I'm not bothered by it.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION

On the campaign, joined by Cokie Roberts:

Will: ...What is amazing is the degree of heat in the campaign already and the fact that we have a President out of the White House campaigning hard.

Donaldson: ...Let me say something about James A. Baker. I think [ABC News correspondent] John McWethy is right. He will respond reluctantly [to a Bush request for help]. But when we get to August and if it's still bad news for George Bush, Jim Baker will go and try to help bail him out. But I don't think at that point the managers can do it. Only George Bush can do it.

###

NBC -- MEET THE PRESS

Moderator: Tim Russert. **Panel:** Elizabeth Drew, R.W. Apple.

Guest: Sen. Nunn.

Russert: ...Boris Yeltsin has left. What's your reaction to his visit and the agreement that he and the President have arrived at regarding the trimming of nuclear weapons to about 3,500 on each side by the end of the century?

Nunn: ...I think that they did reach a very significant arms-control agreement -- one that was beyond any imagination two or three years ago. That arms-control agreement reduced greatly the risk to the United States of a first strike if it's implemented, and it will be implemented over a period of time....

Russert: You would support the agreement as outlined by the President -- President Bush and President Yeltsin?

Nunn: I have a lot of questions that I think are important questions, but I think it's a very positive agreement, and I certainly expect to be able to support it.

Drew: ...Not long ago you voted, in effect, to not remove the wall that's in the budget agreement between domestic and defense spending. It was put there in 1990, before the collapse of Communism, to protect defense spending. Don't you think that could be revised now?

Nunn: It could be revised if there's a bottom -- if there's a floor under which defense spending can be assured for the next couple of years so we don't wreck the morale of the people in the military and basically do what we've done after every war: build down so rapidly that we create a vacuum for the next conflict to arise....

Nunn: ...I think we can save more money [in defense expenditures] than President Bush has talked about over five to 10 years. I do not think we can draw down the force faster than they're doing right now....

Apple: ...What do you think is going to happen [to the President's aid package for Russia]?

Nunn: I think we're going to pass it in the Senate. We're going to take it up on Tuesday.... We may need to tighten it somewhat. It has some open-ended aspects, but I very much think it's in the United States' interest to pass that general proposal.

Apple: ...There's a war going on in Europe. Not too many people are aware of it. Six thousand people have been killed in Yugoslavia. The Serbians are trying to destroy Bosnia-Herzegovina. What's the difference between that and what happened...in Kuwait?

Nunn: I'd say the big difference is the United States had a strategic interest in the Middle East because of the oil and because of the threat to the oil pipelines.... We certainly weren't going in there to save democracy in Kuwait. That's obvious to everybody who's aware of what we did before and what we've done after. But in Yugoslavia we don't have that same stake. We do have an important interest there. We have an interest that I think demands we work with the United Nations, with the Europeans to do everything we can to protect human life, to provide humanitarian relief, and to bring about a cease-fire.

Russert: ...The House last week passed a moratorium on nuclear testing.... That'll be soon coming to the Senate. Are you supportive of that?

Nunn: I think we need to move from the status quo. The Administration has created a vacuum by lack of leadership in this area. We do need to continue some tests for safety purposes. Whether we can afford a one-year moratorium is an open question.... I would like to see all testing phased out over a period of time, but we do have to make changes in our nuclear systems. We have to make them safer. When you incorporate those safety changes you need to make sure the system still works. So for our own safety, we probably have to have some tests over the next three to five years, but we don't have to continue this indefinitely.

Nunn: ...I give Clinton better marks than the other two candidates by far because he's talked about a lot of things that are absolutely right.... He's talked about the absolute necessity of reforming the medical system -- getting the growth of Medicare and Medicaid down. He's talked about cutting administrative costs. He's talked about a lot of things that are much further along than the other candidates. The thing that's not realistic on the part of all the candidates is the pretension that we can get by without any revenues -- any additional revenues. That is not realistic. Everyone who's looked at the budget knows that it's not realistic....

Drew: You mean taxes?

Nunn: Yes. The Republicans call it enhanced revenues....

###

CBS -- FACE THE NATION

Moderator: Bob Schieffer. **Panel:** Gwen Ifill, New York Times; Howard Fineman, Newsweek.

Guests: Jesse Jackson;

Schieffer: ...Are you going to support the nominee of the Democratic Party in November?

Jackson: I certainly have had every intention to do so, and last Saturday we were extending a hand of friendship -- talking about a plan for healing, a plan for rebuilding -- and yet there was some ploy [Clinton comment about Sister Souljah] to divert attention away from that process....

Schieffer: I guess the original question was, are you going to support the nominee? The first part of your answer was, "I certainly intended to." Does that mean now that you have decided no to?

Jackson: We reached out; Bill Clinton pushed off. And so we do not want to interfere with the campaign, nor do we want to be a foil for any tricks.... I hope that in the coming weeks we would see the advantage of healing and bridge-building and not a kind of racial -- a kind of push-off politics.

Schieffer: ...Could you see yourself endorsing Ross Perot or campaigning for him?

Jackson: ...Certainly we intend to take our plan to Perot, as we've taken it to Clinton, trying to force the debate this year to be about a plan for economic rebuilding, as opposed to rap singers and sitcom stars.

###

THE McLAUGHLIN GROUP

Moderator: John McLaughlin. **Panel:** Fred Barnes, Jack Germond, Eleanor Clift, Morton Kondracke.

SUMMIT/U.S.-RUSSIA

McLaughlin: ...Does Boris deserve the \$12 billion from the U.S.,...especially now that he has given up nuclear parity?

Barnes: Yeltsin deserves the money not only because he's made these unprecedented cuts...and not only because he's finally lifting George Bush out of this time warp in which Bush thinks Mikhail Gorbachev...is somehow still a happening guy. But he deserves it mainly because he is now instituting capitalism in Russia....

Clift: ...There will not be a Russian aid package if the President does not sign the extension of unemployment benefits first. There's only so much Boris Yeltsin can do. George Bush has to do the rest.

Kondracke: ...George Bush was very late in coming around to giving an aid package to Russia. But it's Congress that's holding up this package based on domestic political games....

Clift: ...It [U.S. POWs in Russia] also fuels suspicion about what did the American government know and when did they know it. And I think it gives Ross Perot a little shot of credibility in the sense that he's been talking about government coverups of MIAs....

McLaughlin: ...Was this summit a plus for George Bush? Was it a plus for Boris Yeltsin?...

Barnes: It was a major plus for Yeltsin...and a minor plus for Bush.

McLaughlin: ...We've all stumbled into the truth: major for Yeltsin, minor for Bush....

###

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Moderator: Gordon Peterson. **Panel:** Charles Krauthammer, Evan Thomas, Carl Rowan, Mona Charen.

SUMMIT/U.S.-RUSSIA

Krauthammer: ...I think that we may have pushed a little too hard [on arms cuts] because he [Yeltsin] will be in deep trouble with his military going home. In the end it is less important to our security what the number of the missiles are on our side and on his side. What's important is who's in control of those missiles. And if we weaken Yeltsin -- if we push him too hard, as we may have done, we may end up with bad guys....

Rowan: ...I don't go so far as to believe Yeltsin when he says we will never be your adversary again because "we" does not include the people who may be running the Soviet Union a year from now.... I take his words with a degree of skepticism. We have had so many lies that each country has told the other over the last several years that I think there are some lies being told about the arms limitation agreement.

-End of News Summary-

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



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Last Week in Congress

In one of the busiest weeks on Capitol Hill this year, Congress sent to President Bush a \$1.1 billion supplemental spending bill to aid cities and voter registration legislation.

Bush has indicated he will sign the supplemental appropriations measure, which includes money to help riot-torn Los Angeles rebuild, but the "motor-voter" bill seems destined to be vetoed over concerns that it would lead to voter fraud.

It was a busy week as well for committees, as the House Appropriations panel continued to crank out fiscal 1993 spending bills and a House Judiciary subcommittee approved a measure that would prohibit states from restricting a woman's access to an abortion in most cases.

New York Reps. Frank Horton, R, and Henry J. Nowak, D, became the latest lawmakers to announce that they will retire at the end of the 102nd Congress. And after a recount, Rep. Les AuCoin was declared the winner of a Oregon Senate Democratic primary, besting businessman Harry Lonsdale.

Bills Cleared

Urban Supplemental. The Senate cleared an emergency fiscal 1992 supplemental spending bill (HR 5132) after Democrats agreed to cut its spending level nearly in half.

House and Senate conferees had agreed on June 5 on a \$2 billion package of aid, but Bush balked at additional funding for Head Start (\$250 million), a summer school program (\$250 million) and an anti-drug initiative (\$250 million). He also wanted \$500 million for a summer jobs program, not the \$675 million sought by Democrats.

Democratic leaders agreed to pare the objectionable funding from the bill, and the measure was quickly passed by the House and the Senate.

Voter Registration. The so-called motor-voter bill (S 250) was sent to the president after the House passed the bill

268-153. But most Republicans oppose the measure, and Bush has indicated he will veto it.

Democrats say the measure, which would allow citizens to register to vote when applying for a driver's license or by mail, would increase voter participation. Republicans contend it would lead to fraudulent voting.

Appropriations Bills

Energy, Water. The House passed, 365-51, its first fiscal 1993 spending bill (HR 5373), for energy and water projects, after voting to stop work on the superconducting super collider.

Lawmakers voted, 232-181, to strip all but \$34 million in funding for the project, which is being built in Texas and could provide clues to the origin of matter. The \$34 million in remaining funds would be used to close down the project.

Foreign Aid. The House Appropriations Committee approved a \$13.8 billion fiscal 1993 spending bill (HR 5368) for foreign operations, about \$249 million less than current funding.

It would be the lowest level of foreign aid since fiscal 1983, reflecting the decreasing support among lawmakers for sending funds abroad.

Military Construction. Funding to close or reorganize more than 100 military bases was included in an \$8.6 billion military construction spending bill (HR 5428) approved by the House Appropriations panel.

The fiscal 1993 measure includes \$2 billion for base closings, about \$1.3 billion above current funding. Appropriations for military construction projects would be scaled back, from \$4.2 billion in fiscal 1992 to \$2.6 billion.

Legislative Branch. The House Appropriations Committee approved a \$1.8 spending bill (HR 5427) for the legislative branch and related agencies.

See **LAST WEEK** on p. 4

This Week

The House once again this week will focus on appropriations bills, in an effort to pass as many of the funding measures as possible before the end of the month.

June 30 is the seldom-observed deadline for House passage of all 13 regular appropriations bills. This week, the House floor schedule calls for action on three of the fiscal 1993 spending measures — to fund foreign aid, military construction and congressional operations.

Appropriations Committee markups are scheduled this week for several other spending bills.

The House will also take up legislation to authorize new funds for intelligence-gathering activities.

On the Senate side of the Capitol, work will resume on a bill to provide for greater federal surveillance of government-sponsored corporations, such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. The Senate may also act on a bill to provide aid and expand trade ties with Russia.

Here's a rundown of the schedule.

House Floor Action

Coast Guard. Today, the House will take up a Coast Guard authorization measure and more than a half-dozen relatively non-controversial measures.

The Coast Guard bill (HR 5055) would authorize the funding of \$3.6 billion for fiscal 1993, \$202 million less than the amount requested by President Bush. It is \$20 million more than was appropriated in fiscal 1992.

Legislative Branch. The House tomorrow will take up a \$1.8 billion bill (HR 5427) to finance the operations of the legislative branch in fiscal 1993.

When the Senate adds funding for its operations to the measure later this year, the bill's total is expected to reach \$2.3 billion.

The bill includes \$53 million for free

See **THIS WEEK** on p. 2

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mailings for House members. Current funding for House mailings is \$60 million.

Foreign Operations. On Wednesday, the House will take up a foreign aid bill (HR 5368) that would fund military and civilian aid programs in fiscal 1993.

The \$13.8 billion funding level represents the lowest level of foreign aid since fiscal 1983 and is about \$1.3 billion less than requested by the administration.

In military aid, the bill would allocate \$691 million less than the \$4.2 billion sought by the president.

Military Construction. Also on Wednesday, the House will take up an \$8.6 billion military construction appropriations bill (HR 5428) that includes funds for the closing down or reorganizing of more than 100 military bases no longer considered necessary by the Pentagon.

The measure would provide \$2 billion for the base closing effort, compared with the approximately \$300 million appropriated in the current fiscal year.

The measure also includes \$444 million for environmental restoration of bases slated for closure.

Intelligence Authorization. The

House on Wednesday will take up a bill (HR 5095) to authorize intelligence gathering operations of the government, including the CIA, in fiscal 1993.

As approved by the House Intelligence panel, the bill would cut intelligence spending by 5 percent in fiscal 1993.

While the precise intelligence budget total is classified, it is estimated to be about \$30 billion. President Bush has asked for an increase of about \$1 billion for fiscal 1993.

Overseas Investment. The House on Wednesday considers a bill (HR 4996) to reauthorize the Overseas Private Investment Corp. (OPIC) for three years.

OPIC helps U.S. companies find foreign investment opportunities and offers loans and insurance to exporters. The bill does not authorize funds for the organization, which pays for its own operations through fees and insurance premiums.

Underwater Research. Another bill on the schedule for Wednesday is HR 3247, which would write into law an undersea research program administered by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. The program, which has been in existence since 1980, provides researchers with remotely operated vehi-

cles and specialized scuba systems.

The program's authorization level would start at \$20 million for fiscal 1992, rising by \$5 million each year through fiscal 1996.

Marine Sanctuaries. Later in the week, the House will consider a bill (HR 4310) to reauthorize the federal marine sanctuary protection program.

Marine areas that have ecological, recreational or historical value are designated as sanctuaries.

The bill would authorize \$15 million in the current fiscal year, rising to \$30 million by fiscal 1996. Current appropriations are \$5 million.

Waste Isolation Plant. Later in the week, the House will consider a bill (HR 2637) that would transfer authority over the site of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant in New Mexico from the Interior Department to the Energy Department. The action is required before the facility, which will be a permanent repository for low-level nuclear waste from the nation's nuclear weapons plants, can be opened.

Senate Floor Action

GSEs. The Senate on Tuesday will resume consideration of legislation (S

Nuclear Arms Pact Headed for Approval

Amid the excitement surrounding an agreement announced last week between President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin to drastically reduce strategic nuclear weapons, the Senate is gearing up to ratify the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), a U.S.-Soviet accord signed in July 1991.

START was considered ambitious at the time but now seems like a much more modest proposal in light of the sweeping events of the past year. Still, Bush administration officials and most members of the Senate maintain that ratification of the treaty would lay an important foundation for all future arms control agreements between the two countries. In fact, the recently announced Bush-Yeltsin agreement may ultimately be folded into the existing treaty.

Tomorrow, Secretary of State James A. Baker III will testify as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee begins hearings on the treaty. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney will appear before the panel on Friday and CIA Director Robert M. Gates will testify on June 30. All three are expected to urge ratification, and they will probably find a receptive audience.

A Different World

When negotiations on START were completed last year, the Soviet Union was still a country and Mikhail S. Gorbachev was its president. By the end of 1991, the Soviet republics had become independent states and most were loosely joined together as the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Under the treaty, both sides would still be able to deploy thousands of strategic nuclear warheads, but the United States would be limited to about 8,500 warheads and the Russians could maintain about 6,100. The strategic weapons in Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, the other republics with nuclear arms, would have to be removed over a seven-year period.

The agreement reached last week by President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin calls for much deeper cuts — to about 3,000-3,500 warheads for each nation by 2003.

Currently, the United States has more than 13,000 warheads deployed on long-range delivery systems; Russia and the three other republics have almost 11,000.

START also establishes a thorough verification regime. Several types of on-site inspections would be employed, including intrusive short-notice inspections of missile sights and permanent monitoring of some missile production facilities.

Ratification Expected. Some Senate Republicans have concerns about the viability of START in light of the economic problems and political uncertainty faced by Russia. According to an aide to Larry Pressler, R-S.D., who sits on the Foreign Relations Committee and supports the treaty, "We need to ask how much will they be able and willing to comply" with START.

But staffers from both parties say these concerns are unlikely to stall or jeopardize ratification. Even former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, who stated at a recent hearing that "any agreement we enter into is likely to be overwhelmed by the crisis in Russia," favors ratification.

The Foreign Relations Committee is scheduled to mark up the treaty on July 2, but consideration may be delayed. According to a Senate Democratic staffer, the administration is attempting to hammer out the details of the new agreement by Sept. 1. If this happens, the committee would probably amend START to include these new deeper cuts instead of ratifying two separate treaties.

"From the optimistic point of view," this staffer said, "I think we'll end up wrapping these two [treaties] together."

—David Masci

2733) aimed at increasing federal oversight of government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs).

The bill would establish an Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight within the Department of Housing and Urban Development to oversee activities of the GSEs.

GSEs include Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which provide secondary markets for home mortgages.

Under the bill, the president would appoint a director, subject to Senate confirmation, of the new HUD office. The office would be responsible for ensuring that GSEs operate on a sound fiscal basis.

Senate action on the measure was held up last week when Republicans threatened to amend the bill with a balanced-budget constitutional amendment.

Russian Aid. The Senate is also expected to turn to legislation (S 2532) that would provide economic and technical assistance to Russia and 11 other former republics that made up the Soviet Union. The bill also would remove many Cold War prohibitions on helping the independent states.

Included in the measure is a \$12 billion increase in the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund.

• The House Agriculture Committee on Thursday will mark up similar legislation (HR 4547).

Major Committee Action

Arms Reduction. On Tuesday, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will begin a series of hearings on the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which makes deep cuts in U.S. and Russian long range nuclear forces. Secretary of State James A. Baker III will testify on at the first hearing, to be followed by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney on Friday. (*Details, see box on p. 2.*)

'Orphan' Drugs. The Senate Labor Committee on Wednesday is scheduled to mark up legislation (S 2060) that would amend the 1983 Orphan Drug Act. The bill would restrict the marketing monopoly a drug company is allowed under current law for developing an "orphan drug" — a drug used to cure rare diseases.

Abortion. Also scheduled for markup on Wednesday by the Labor panel is a measure (S 25) which would prohibit states from restricting the right of a woman to have an abortion in most cases. The bill was approved by a Judiciary subcommittee last week.

Long-Term Care. The Labor panel on Wednesday will also consider legislation (S 2141) that would establish federal standards for long-term care insurance.

Old Faithful. In an effort to preserve the Old Faithful geyser and other natural geothermal sites in Yellowstone Park, the Senate Energy Committee on

Wednesday will mark up a bill (HR 3359) that would block use of a geothermal well along the park's border. A religious sect is currently using the well, and bill supporters say it is sapping geothermal pressure from geysers in the park.

Solid Waste. The House Energy Committee will resume action on Tuesday on a scaled-back bill (HR 3865) to reauthorize the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), the nation's main solid and hazardous waste law.

In an attempt to make the bill less cumbersome, committee leaders have dumped sections of the subcommittee-approved bill that would have tightened regulation of hazardous wastes. The committee will have to wade through a host of amendments. One high-profile amendment would create a national bottle and can deposit program.

Securities Oversight. The House Ways and Means Committee on Wednesday will mark up a bill (HR 3927) designed to expand federal oversight of the \$2.3 trillion government securities market.

The bill would enable the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to require government bond dealers to exercise greater internal controls against fraud and to keep better records of trading.

Under the bill, the SEC could seek firms' data without issuing subpoenas, avoiding the risk of alerting dealers to an investigation.

China MFN. The Ways and Means panel on Wednesday also is scheduled to take up a bill (H J Res 502) that would disapprove, or block, the renewal of most-favored-nation (MFN) trading status with China.

The bill would block the president's decision on June 2 to continue normal trade ties with China for another year.

Many Democrats in Congress oppose MFN status for China until the Beijing government agrees to make sweeping human rights reforms.

The Trade Subcommittee will mark up the bill on Tuesday.

Rural Health Care. The House Agriculture Committee on Thursday marks up a bill (HR 5238) that would authorize \$30 million to help improve rural health-care services and \$20 million to improve educational services.

Under the bill, rural health-care providers would be able to consult more easily with specialists at large urban hospitals through interactive telecommunications equipment. The program would be administered by the Rural Electrification Administration.

Exotic Birds. The House Merchant Marine Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation on Thursday will mark up a bill (HR 5013) that would phase out the importation of exotic wild birds that are endangered or threatened.

The bill would exempt the import of exotic birds from countries with a good conservation record.

Rocky Mountain Arsenal. The Merchant Marine panel's Fisheries Subcommittee on Thursday also plans to mark up a measure (HR 1435) that would turn much of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Colorado over to the Interior Department for the purpose of creating a wildlife refuge.

The legislation would transfer the bulk of the 27-square-mile arsenal site to the Interior Department, which would oversee the establishment of the refuge.

The Army would continue to be responsible for the cleanup of the polluted areas of the arsenal, where deadly chemical weapons were manufactured.

Mining Claims. The House Interior Committee on Wednesday will take up a bill (HR 918) that would revamp the Mining Law of 1872.

Supporters of the bill say the law, originally enacted to encourage settlement of the West, is being used by the private sector to siphon away pristine public lands for as little as \$2.50 an acre.

The 1872 law allows miners and prospectors to purchase from the Interior Department a mining patent on federal lands for a nominal fee.

The legislation would eliminate the patenting system and replace it with a system whereby miners and mining companies would essentially rent from the government the surface of the land they are mining.

Pipeline Safety. The House Public Works Subcommittee on Surface Transportation on Wednesday will mark up a bill (HR 1489) to reauthorize pipeline safety laws.

The bill is also aimed at curbing potential environmental damage from natural gas and hazardous liquid pipelines.

HR 1489 would require the Transportation Department to consider potential harm to the environment when setting safety requirements for pipelines. Current rules emphasize the protection of life and property.

D.C. Criminal Code. The House District of Columbia panel's Judiciary and Education Subcommittee on Thursday will mark up a number of bills, including one (HR 4396) that would make scores of changes in the District's criminal code.

The measure calls for a public referendum on the death penalty. It also would increase current maximum penalties for firearm and drug-related offenses that occur near schools; provide mandatory life imprisonment without parole for first degree murder; reduce the age at which a juvenile can be tried as an adult for serious crimes from 16 to 14, and make it easier for courts to detain potentially dangerous criminals in pre-trial situations. ■

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The bill would cut funds for free mailings by House members from \$60 million currently to \$53 million.

The legislation includes no funds for Senate operations, which will be added when that chamber considers the measure.

Defense. The House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee approved a draft \$252 billion defense spending

measure for fiscal 1993 that would block the proposed sale of a U.S. company's missile division to a French corporation.

Opponents of the LTV Corp.'s sale of its missile program contend that U.S. military secrets would be divulged.

The panel agreed to continue funding of the B-2 stealth bomber program, adding four planes, for a total fleet of 20.

Interior. The House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee approved

a draft \$13.2 billion spending bill for the Interior Department and related agencies that would raise grazing fees for ranchers and fees that mining claim holders must pay to keep claims active.

Some agencies would receive modest spending increases under the bill. The Forest Service would get about \$2.5 billion, compared with \$2.3 billion for fiscal 1992, while the Bureau of Land Management would receive \$1 billion, compared with

Congressional Departures

Lost in Primary

Senate

Name, Party, State	Service Began	Defeated By
Alan J. Dixon, D-Ill.	1981	Carol Moseley Braun

House

Name, Party, State, District	Service Began	Defeated By
Bill Alexander, D-Ark. (1)	1969	Blanche Lambert
Beryl Anthony Jr., D-Ark. (4)	1979	Bill McCuen
Terry L. Bruce, D-Ill. (19)	1985	Rep. Glenn Poshard
Beverly B. Byron, D-Md. (6)	1979	Tom Hattery
Charles A. Hayes, D-Ill. (1)	1983	Bobby L. Rush
Carroll Hubbard Jr., D-Ky. (1)	1975	Tom Barlow
Joe Kolter, D-Pa. (4)	1983	Ron Klink
Robert J. Lagomarsino, R-Calif. (19)	1974	Michael Huffington
Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio (10)*	1967	Rep. Bob McEwen
Marty Russo, D-Ill. (3)	1975	Rep. William O. Lipinski
Gus Savage, D-Ill. (2)	1981	Mel Reynolds
Harley O. Staggers, D-W.Va. (1)	1983	Rep. Alan B. Mollohan

*Apparent loser in close race. Results not yet official.

Retirements

Senate

Name, Party, State	Service Began	Age ‡
Brock Adams, D-Wash.	1987	65
Kent Conrad, D-N.D.	1987	44
Alan Cranston, D-Calif.	1969	78
Jake Garn, R-Utah	1975	60
Warren B. Rudman, R-N.H.	1981	62
Steve Symms, R-Idaho	1981	54
Tim Wirth, D-Colo.	1987	53

House

Name, Party, State, District	Service Began	Age ‡
George F. Allen, R-Va. (7)	1991	40
Glenn M. Anderson, D-Calif. (32)	1969	79
Frank Annunzio, D-Ill. (11)	1965	77
Doug Barnard Jr., D-Ga. (10)	1977	70
Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla. (3)	1949	81
William S. Broomfield, R-Mich. (18)	1957	70
Lawrence Coughlin, R-Pa. (13)	1969	63
Robert W. Davis, R-Mich. (11)	1979	60
Bill Dickinson, R-Ala. (2)	1965	67
Brian Donnelly, D-Mass. (11)	1979	46
Bernard J. Dwyer, D-N.J. (6)	1981	71
Mervyn M. Dymally, D-Calif. (31)	1981	66
Dennis E. Eckart, D-Ohio (11)	1981	42

Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla. (19)	1955	75
Edward F. Feighan, D-Ohio (19)	1983	45
Joseph M. Gaydos, D-Pa. (20)	1969	66
Frank J. Guarini, D-N.J. (14)	1979	68
John Paul Hammerschmidt, R-Ark. (3)	1967	70
Claude Harris, D-Ala. (7)	1987	52
Dennis M. Hertel, D-Mich. (14)	1981	43
Larry J. Hopkins, R-Ky. (6)	1979	59
Frank Horton, R-N.Y. (29)	1963	72
Andy Ireland, R-Fla. (10)	1977	62
Craig T. James, R-Fla. (4)	1989	51
Ed Jenkins, D-Ga. (9)	1977	59
Walter B. Jones, D-N.C. (1)	1966	79
William Lehman, D-Fla. (17)	1973	79
Bill Lowery, R-Calif. (41)	1981	45
David O'B. Martin, R-N.Y. (26)	1981	48
Raymond J. McGrath, R-N.Y. (5)	1981	50
Matthew F. McHugh, D-N.Y. (28)	1975	53
John Miller, R-Wash. (1)	1985	54
Robert J. Mrazek, D-N.Y. (3)	1983	46
Henry J. Nowak, D-N.Y. (33)	1975	57
Jim Olin, D-Va. (6)	1983	72
Don J. Pease, D-Ohio (13)	1977	61
Carl C. Perkins, D-Ky. (7)	1984	38
Carl D. Pursell, R-Mich. (2)	1977	59
Robert A. Roe, D-N.J. (8)	1969	68
Edward R. Roybal, D-Calif. (25)	1963	76
Dick Schulze, R-Pa. (5)	1975	62
Lawrence J. Smith, D-Fla. (16)	1983	51
Lindsay Thomas, D-Ga. (1)	1983	48
Bob Traxler, D-Mich. (8)	1974	61
Vin Weber, R-Minn. (2)	1981	40
Howard Wolpe, D-Mich. (3)	1979	53
Chalmers P. Wylie, R-Ohio (15)	1967	71
Gus Yatron, D-Pa. (6)	1969	65

‡Age as of Nov. 3, 1992

Seeking Other Office

House

Name, Party, State, District	Service Began	Other Office
Les AuCoin, D-Ore. (1)	1975	Senate
Barbara Boxer, D-Calif. (6)	1983	Senate
Thomas R. Carper, D-Del. (AL)	1983	Governor
Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo. (3)	1987	Senate
Tom Campbell, R-Calif. (12)	1989	Senate†
Rod Chandler, R-Wash. (8)	1983	Senate
William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif. (39)	1979	Senate†
Byron L. Dorgan, D-N.D. (AL)	1981	Senate
Mel Levine, D-Calif. (27)	1983	Senate†
Jim Moody, D-Wis. (5)	1983	Senate
Sid Morrison, R-Wash. (4)	1981	Governor
Wayne Owens, D-Utah (2)	1987 *	Senate
Richard H. Stallings, D-Idaho (2)	1985	Senate

*Also served 1973-75.

†Lost in primary.

\$910.4 million in fiscal 1992.

Senate Allocations. The Senate Appropriations panel approved fiscal 1993 spending levels for its 13 subcommittees.

The overall level of \$506.1 billion in budget authority is \$20.3 billion lower than fiscal 1992. Spending for defense is the big loser. Its allocation was cut by nearly \$25 billion.

While House and Senate appropriators provided several subcommittees with nearly identical funding levels, they differed on some others. For example, the House provided \$430 million more than the Senate for veterans and housing programs. Senate appropriators allocated \$400 million more for transportation programs.

Senate Floor Action

Unemployment Benefits. On Friday, the Senate passed, by voice vote, its version of an unemployment benefits bill (HR 5260). It would provide 26 to 33 weeks of benefits to workers who have exhausted their regular allotment of coverage.

The benefits would be provided at least through March 6, 1993, and as long as the national unemployment rate remained at least 7 percent.

The Senate must now reconcile differences with the House, which passed the bill June 9.

Striker Replacement. Democratic sponsors of a measure (S 55) that would bar employers from permanently replacing striking workers dropped their efforts to pass the bill after failing to curtail a Republican filibuster.

Supporters of the measure say striking workers need job protection, but Republican critics contend it would tilt the balance toward workers in labor negotiations.

Backers of the bill could only muster 57 votes to shut off debate on the bill, three short of the number needed.

Bankruptcy Commission. A bill (S 1985) that would establish a commission to review the U.S. bankruptcy code passed the Senate 97-0.

The Bankruptcy Review Commission would study and recommend to Congress ways to modernize and improve the code to handle the recent surge in bankruptcy filings.

Digital Audio Tapes. The Senate passed legislation (S 1623) that would pave the way for the introduction of digital audio tapes into the U.S. market.

Consumers would be allowed to legally make copies of prerecordings for home use. Artists, songwriters and record companies would collect royalty fees on the sale of blank tapes and digital audio recorders.

House Floor Action

Congressional Review. The House passed, 412-4, a measure (H Con Res 192) that would establish a special joint committee to make recommenda-

tions on how to improve congressional operations and procedures.

The 28-member panel would have a mandate to review all facets of congressional work, including the committee system and the budget process.

The panel would submit a final report by the end of 1993 but could also offer interim suggestions in time for the organization of the 103rd Congress.

A similar measure (S Con Res 57) is stalled in the Senate Rules Committee.

California Water. The House passed a bill (HR 5099) that would make changes in the distribution of water from California's massive Central Valley Project.

The measure would allocate more of the water supplied by the federally managed project, which is the country's largest, to fish and wildlife preservation instead of for irrigation.

U.N. Peacekeeping. House members passed legislation (HR 4548) that would authorize \$350 million for fiscal 1992 and \$366.1 million for fiscal 1993 for U.N. peacekeeping operations.

The funding would be used for U.N. efforts in a half-dozen countries, but mostly in Yugoslavia, which has been torn apart by ethnic fighting.

Major Committee Action

Education Bill. With an eye toward middle-class voters, House and Senate conferees on a higher education bill (S 1150) agreed to ease maximum family income requirements on students applying for federally guaranteed college or trade school loans.

The measure would extend the 1965 Higher Education Act, which authorizes federal programs.

The change in student loan policy would mark a departure in congressional policy. Since 1981, Congress has restricted loans to those in families earning less than about \$30,000 a year. The bill would raise that amount for Pell grants and create a new loan program that would be available to anyone, regardless of family income levels.

Abortion. Legislation (HR 25) that would prohibit states from restricting the right of a woman to have an abortion in most cases won the approval, 5-3, of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.

Abortion-rights supporters are pushing the measure because of concern that the Supreme Court might overturn or scale back the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling that legalized abortion nationwide. Anti-abortion groups contend the measure would go beyond *Roe*, giving states less latitude to regulate abortion.

Expiring Tax Breaks. The Senate Finance Committee approved legislation (HR 3040) that would renew a number of tax provisions set to expire at the end of

the month. Members also included in the so-called extender package a repeal on the luxury tax on boats, airplanes, jewelry and furs.

The tax breaks, which include incentives for research and development and low-income housing, would be extended until Jan. 1, 1994. The luxury tax was included in the 1990 budget deal, but critics say it has hurt companies that sell those goods.

Energy Bill. The Senate Finance Committee weighed in on a national energy strategy bill (HR 776), approving a number of energy-related tax provisions included in the House version but not considered by the Senate when it passed its version of the bill (S 2166).

The panel also agreed, 10-8, to add a provision that would bail out health-care trust funds for retired coal miners and their families.

Housing Programs. The House and Senate Banking committees approved bills to reauthorize federal housing programs.

The House panel's bill (HR 5334) would authorize \$29.7 million for the programs for fiscal 1993.

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR

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The Senate version would authorize \$22 billion for housing programs for fiscal 1993 and \$22.8 billion for fiscal 1994.

Trade Bill. The House Ways and Means Committee approved a trade bill (HR 5100) that would force the executive branch to investigate Japan's trade practices for automobiles and rice.

The measure would reauthorize the so-called Super 301 section of U.S. trade law for five years. Super 301 provisions require the administration to identify countries that engage in unfair trade negotiations and to target them for negotiations and possible retaliation. But the measure goes a step further by specifically requiring an inquiry into Japan's trade record.

NASA. Fiscal 1993 funding of \$14.7 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) would be authorized under a bill (HR 4364) approved by the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee.

The measure includes \$2.1 billion for the space station *Freedom*.

Amtrak Funds. The Senate Commerce Committee approved a bill (S 2608) that would authorize federal subsidies for Amtrak, the nation's passenger service railroad, through fiscal 1995.

The measure would authorize \$331 million annually for operating expenses and \$300 million annually for capital expenditures.

Coast Guard. Authorized funding for the Coast Guard would be \$3.6 billion for fiscal 1993, about 6 percent over current appropriations, under legislation (S 2702) approved by the Senate Commerce panel.

The measure would phase out the Coast Guard fee assessed on recreational boat owners.

Cable Television. The House Energy and Commerce Committee approved a cable reregulation bill (HR 4850) that would allow local authorities to regulate basic cable television rates in areas where there is low competition. The bill would also require cable systems to carry more local channels.

The bill would also allow the Federal Communications Commission to mandate refunds to cable customers who filed complaints about the cost of cable service.

Local Development. A bill (S 1866) that would promote community-based economic development was approved by the Senate Commerce Committee.

The measure would create a National Commission on Economic Development and authorize \$75 million for its activities for fiscal 1993. The level would increase to \$100 million for fiscal 1994 and \$125 million for fiscal 1995.

Export-Import Bank. The Export-Import Bank would be reauthorized through fiscal 1997 under a bill (S 2864) approved by the Senate Banking panel.

The measure includes a \$500 million

authorization for the tied-aid war chest, which is a retaliatory program designed to pressure other countries not to place strings on foreign aid. Tied-aid credits are given to countries on the condition that the money is used to buy the products of the donor country.

Fair Credit. The House Banking Committee approved a bill (HR 3596) that would revise the nation's consumer credit reporting laws. It would strengthen provisions on consumer privacy and require credit agencies to quickly correct credit errors.

IMF Authorization. The House Banking Committee approved legislation (HR 3428) that would grant President Bush's request for a \$12 billion increase in the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

IMF-member countries agreed in 1990 to increase their contributions by 50 percent, but a reluctance to approve foreign aid has delayed congressional action on the U.S. contribution.

Spotted Owl. The House Agriculture Committee approved, 27-15, a bill (HR 4899) that would create an ancient forest preserve in the Pacific Northwest.

The measure aims to balance protection of the northern spotted owl, whose home is the old-growth forests, with the

preservation of timber jobs.

The bill would create a 6.8-million-acre preserve and allow timber harvests of 2.8 billion board feet in 1993.

Yew Tree. The House Agriculture panel approved legislation (HR 3836) that would require federal land agencies to ensure that the Pacific Yew tree is not destroyed.

Bark from the tree contains taxol, a cancer-fighting agent. The measure would require that the land agencies ensure that the tree is harvested before areas are opened to commercial logging.

Consumer Safety. The House Energy and Commerce Committee approved a bill (HR 4706) that would require new warning labels on products that might cause children to choke.

The provision was included in a measure, approved 32-10, that would reauthorize the Consumer Product Safety Commission through fiscal 1994.

Haitian Sanctions. The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved legislation (HR 4761) designed to pressure Haitian military rulers to allow the return of the democratically elected government.

The measure would freeze the U.S. assets of Haitians who assisted in the September coup that overthrew President Jean Bertrand Aristide.

Meetings & Events Today

House Committees

★ KIDNAPPING SUSPECTS ABROAD House Judiciary Committee

Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Edwards, D-Calif.) will hold an oversight hearing on the practice by the United States of kidnapping suspects abroad.

9:30am 2237 Rayburn Bldg. June 22

Witnesses scheduled: Abraham Sofaer - former legal advisor, Department of State; Michael Glennon - University of Calif.; Andreas Lowenfeld - New York University; Ralph Steinhardt - George Washington University

Note: This hearing will be carried live on C-SPAN

■ RULES FOR FLOOR DEBATE House Rules Committee

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

3pm H-313 Capitol Bldg. June 22

Agenda:

HR 5427 - Legislative Branch Appropriations

Field Hearings

■ INDIANAPOLIS DIVISION REVIEW House Post Office

Postal Services and Services Subcommittee (Chairman McCloskey, D-Ind.) will

★ New listing

hold a field hearing to discuss service problems in the Indianapolis division.

7pm Monroe County Courthouse, Bloomington, Indiana June 22

Note: This hearing has not been rescheduled.

REFORESTATION House Small Business Committee

Regulation, Business Opportunities and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Wyden, D-Ore.) 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

News Events

GROCERS CONFERENCE

The National Grocers Association holds its 1992 Washington Conference. Second of three days.

8am Hyatt Regency Capitol Hill Hotel, 400 New Jersey Ave. NW June 22

Contact: Larry Gibson, 703-437-5300, or the hotel, 202-737-1234

Highlights

8am to 8:45am: Panel discussion on "Employment Policies in the 1990s" with Rep. John Boehner, R-Ohio, Labor Assistant Secretary Frances McNaught, and United Food and Commercial Workers International Union Vice President Willie Baker.

8:45am to 9:30am: Remarks by Sen. Pete Domenici,

■ Revised listing

News Events continued...

R-N.M., and Rep. Charles Stenholm, D-Texas on "Balancing the Federal Budget."

10:15am to 11am: Remarks by Sens. Don Nickles, R-Okla., and Charles Robb, D-Va., on "Elections - 1992."

11am to 11:30am: Remarks by Labor Secretary Lynn Martin

BIOTECH PATENTS FORUM

The American Type Culture Collection and Bio/Technology magazine hold a one-day forum to discuss "Biotechnology Patents: Problems and Prospects." Experts in the fields of patents, law and medicine discuss such issues as the patent process, the impact of patents on medical progress, and patent litigation.

9am Willard Hotel, 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Pierce Room **June 22**

Contact: Chris Meyer, 202-371-0200, or the hotel, 202-628-9100

Highlight

12:30pm: Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, is the luncheon speaker

NATO CONFERENCE

The Eurogroup and the Atlantic Council of the United States hold a one-day conference on "Security Challenges in the 1990s: NATO's Contribution to an Undivided Europe," examining European and trans-Atlantic security issues.

9am J.W. Marriott Hotel, 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. **June 22**

Contact: Rian Smith, 202-347-9353, or the hotel, 202-393-2000

Congressional highlight:

10:45am to noon: Remarks by Norwegian Defense Minister Johan Holst and Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., on "NATO: A Transformed Alliance"

ENVIRONMENT NEWS CONFERENCE

The American Enterprise Institute holds a news conference to discuss the failure of Superfund and U.S. environmental policies. Participants include Michael Greve of the Center for Individual Rights, Fred Smith of the Competitive Enterprise Institute and Marc Landy of Boston College. They will argue that U.S. environmental policies have been compromised by the economic and political demands of special interest groups, legislators and regulators.

10am AEI, 1150 17th St. NW, 12th floor conference center **June 22**

Contact: Tom Fous, 202-862-5829

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.

★ *New listing*

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.

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 D.C. 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

Suite 510

Washington, D.C. 20005

BUDGET DEFICIT

NBC News economics correspondent Irving R. Levine discusses the budget deficit at a luncheon sponsored by the French-American Chamber of Commerce.

12:30am Willard Hotel, 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue N.W., Crystal Ballroom **June 22**

Contact: 202-775-0256, or the hotel, 202-628-9100

Note: Reservations required

Campaign: General**ELECTIONS UPDATE**

Syndicated columnist Mark Shields provides an "Update on the Election Front" at a Woman's National Democratic Club luncheon.

12:15pm Women's National Democratic Club 1526 New Hampshire Ave. NW **June 22**

Contact: 202-232-7363

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

224-7391

★ URBAN PROBLEMS

Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Riegle, D-Mich.) will hold a hearing on urban problems, especially the denial of credit to residents and businesses in the inner city.

10am SD-538 Dirksen Bldg. **June 23**

Witnesses scheduled: Robert Johnson - Black Entertainment Television; Ron Homer - Boston Bank of Commerce; Kimberly Levine - Adams National Bank; Carlton Jenkins - National Bank of Los Angeles; Serafin Mariel - New York National Bank

★ U.S. COMPETITIVENESS

Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Riegle, D-Mich.) will hold a hearing on U.S. economic competitiveness, focusing on a report by the Council on Competitiveness.

10:30am SD-538 Dirksen Bldg. **June 26**

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

■ NTIA REAUTHORIZATION

Communications Subcommittee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) of Senate Commerce, Sci-

■ *Revised listing*

Senate continued...

ence 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**

Witness scheduled: Gregory Chapados - National Telecommunications and Information Administration

AUTOMOBILE LABELING

Consumer Subcommittee (Chairman Bryan, D-Nev.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2232) to make available to consumers certain information regarding automobiles. 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**

Witnesses scheduled: Sen. Mikulski, D-Md.; representatives of the Commerce Department, United Auto Workers, Public Citizen, the Made in the USA Foundation, and automobile manufacturers and dealers

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 Ritajeon 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**

★ *New listing*

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 1890 - 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 684 - Historic preservation

S 1704 - to improve the availability of adequate, appropriate, affordable, and cost effective housing for employees needed to effectively manage the public lands

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

HR 479 - to include part of the Pony Express trail in California in the system of national historic trails

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**

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**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

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

Finance

224-4515

★ LONG-TERM CARE INSURANCE

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

2:30pm SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. **June 23**

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

■ *Revised listing*

Senate continued...**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 and 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

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

★ New listing

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

9:30am 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 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

Witnesses scheduled: Rick Nelson - R.K. Nelson; Harold Mercer - Mercer & Jenkins Limited Insurance Consultants; Garrick Butler - Houston, Texas; James Hunt - National Insurance Consumers Organization; Judy Faucett - American Academy of Actuaries; Geoff Rips - Office of Public Insurance, State of Texas

★ JUDICIARY BUSINESS

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

10am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. June 25

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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

● S 1569 - Implement the recommendations of the Federal Courts Study Committee (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)

● HR 2324 - Make an incarcerated person ineligible to receive witness fees or allowances (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)

● HR 2324 - Amend title 28, U.S. Code, with respect to witness fees (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)

● HR 2549 - Make technical corrections to chapter 5 of title 5, U.S. Code (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

- HR 3379 - Authorize the Administrative Conference of the United States to provide assistance in response to requests relating to the improvement of administrative procedure in foreign countries (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)
- S 2099 - Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to designate special inquiry officers as immigration judges and to provide for the compensation of such judges (Approved by Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee April 3, 1992.)
- S 1165 - Extend the patent term of certain products (Approved by Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee May 21, 1992.)
- S 1506 - Extend the terms of the olestra patents (Approved by Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee May 21, 1992.)
- S 526 - Extend for 10 years the patent for the drug Ethiofos (WR2721) and its oral analogue (Sent to full committee by Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee without recommendation May 21, 1992.)

Labor & Human Resources

224-5375

★ LEGAL SERVICES REAUTHORIZATION

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2870) to reauthorize the Legal Services Corporation.
10am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **June 23**

★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will mark up pending legislation.

9am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **June 24**

Agenda:

- S 2060 - Amend the 1983 Orphan Drug Act
 - S 2141 - Amend the Public Health Service Act to improve the quality of long-term care insurance through the establishment of federal standards
 - S 25 - Prohibit a state from restricting the right of a woman to have an abortion
- Nominations TBA

★ ABUSES BY HEALTH INSURERS

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on the human impact of abuses by health insurers.

10am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **June 24**

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.

★ New listing

POW/MIA Affairs

224-2742

■ ACCOUNTING FOR POWs/MIAs

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

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

Witnesses scheduled:

June 24:

PANEL: Overview of Wartime Casualty Accounting 1961-73:

Robert Sungenis - chief, Directorate of Information, Operations and Reports, Office of Secretary of Defense; Charles Trowbridge - deputy director, Defense Intelligence Agency, Special Office for POW/MIA Affairs; Michael Spinello - senior service casualty officer, U.S. Army; Michael McGinty - senior service casualty officer, U.S. Air Force; Peggy Deben - senior service casualty officer, U.S. Navy

PANEL: Accounting Efforts During Operation Homecoming, January - June 1973

Robert Sungenis - chief, Directorate of Information, Operations and Reports, Office of Secretary of Defense; Charles Trowbridge - deputy director, Defense Intelligence Agency, Special Office for POW/MIA Affairs; Thomas Moorner - former chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Eugene Tighe - former director, Defense Intelligence Agency and former chief of intelligence at CINCPAC; Roger Shields - former deputy assistant secretary of Defense for international economic and POW/MIA affairs

June 25:

PANEL: POW/MIA Accounting 1973-1992

Roger Shields - former deputy assistant secretary of Defense for international economic and POW/MIA affairs; Robert Sungenis - chief, Directorate of Information, Operations and Reports, Office of Secretary of Defense; Charles Trowbridge - deputy director, Defense Intelligence Agency, Special Office for POW/MIA Affairs; Frank Sieverts - former special assistant for POW/MIA matters to the deputy assistant secretary of State; Robert Kingston - former commander, Joint Casualty Resolution Center; William Clements - former deputy secretary of Defense; Michael Oksenberg - former staff, National Security Council

PANEL: Status of Current Efforts to Account for POW/MIAs

John Vessey - president's special emissary to Hanoi on POW/MIA affairs and former chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; George Christmas - director of operations, U.S. Pacific Command; Bob Sheetz - chief, Defense Intelligence Agency, Special Office for POW/MIA Affairs; Robert Sungenis - chief, Directorate of Information, Operations and Reports, Office of Secretary of Defense

June 30 & July 1: TBA

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 compensation for the survivors of certain disabled veterans
- S 2323 - Revise the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation payable to surviving spouses of certain service-disabled veterans, to provide supplemental service disabled veterans' insurance for totally disabled veterans
- S 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 — FY 1993 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**

■ Revised listing

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; Representative TBA 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

★ ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE

Field Hearing

Human Services Subcommittee (Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a field hearing on living with the effects of Alzheimer's disease.

9:30am Babylon Town Hall Annex, North Babylon, N.Y. July 25

Agriculture

225-2171

★ AGRICULTURE DEPT. REORGANIZATION

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman de la Garza, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on the reorganization of the Agriculture Department.

3pm 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 23

Witness scheduled: Edward Madigan - secretary of Agriculture

■ 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

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Waxman, D-Calif.; Downey, D-N.Y.; Sarah Shuptrine - Shuptrine and Associates; Richard Tellkamp - Greenville, S.C., Hospital System; representatives of the American Public Welfare Association; National Association of Counties; National Association of Eligibility Workers and the National Commission on Children

★ New listing

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

★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman de la Garza, D-Texas) will mark up pending legislation.

11am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

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

HR 5238 - to establish a grant program to improve the provision of health-care services and educational services in rural areas by enabling providers of such services to obtain access to modern interactive telecommunications systems

HR 4547 - to authorize supplemental assistance for the former Soviet republics

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

★ WHEAT DEFICIENCY PAYMENTS

Wheat, Soybeans and Feed Grains Subcommittee (Chairman Glickman, D-Kan.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing to review wheat deficiency payments.

9:30am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 30

★ LOAN GUARANTEES TO IRAQ

Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on Iraq's participation in agricultural guarantee programs.

9:30am Longworth Bldg. July 1

★ ANIMAL RIGHTS

Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on the use of animals in exhibitions.

9:30am Longworth Bldg. July 8

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

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE

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

● HR 3742 - Amend the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act to improve the safety of pesticides (Approved by Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture Subcommittee May 19, 1992.)

● HR 5237 - Amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 to improve the provision of electric and telephone service in rural areas (Approved by Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee June 3, 1992; scheduled for full committee action June 25.)

● HR 5238 - Establish a grant program to improve the provision of health-care services and educational services in rural areas by enabling providers of such services to obtain access to modern interactive telecommunications systems (Approved by Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee June 3, 1992; scheduled for full committee action June 25.)

Appropriations

225-2771

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 APPROPRIATIONS BILLS

House Appropriations Committee (Chairman Whitten, D-Miss.) will mark up fiscal 1993

Approved by Subcommittee

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

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

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

■ Revised listing

House continued. . .

appropriations for programs under its 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 GASOLIN

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

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Dorgan, D-N.D.; Durbin, D-Ill.; Victor Rezendes - General Accounting Office; Jeffrey Jones - director for energy policy, Office of the Secretary of Defense; Allan Beres - General Services Administration; Eric Vaughn - Renewable Fuels Association; and representatives of the National Corn Growers Association and the Illinois Farm Bureau

★ 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. open/may close June 25

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 2599 - Authorize the disposal of certain strategic and critical materials from the national defense stockpile during fiscal years 1992 and 1993 and to amend the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Pil-

★ New listing

ing Act to improve the management of the stockpile (Approved by Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials Subcommittee July 31, 1991.)

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs

225-4247

REGULATORY BURDENS

Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Annunzio, D-Ill.) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on efforts to reduce the regulatory burden on well-run financial institutions.

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

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

★ INTERSTATE BANKING

Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Annunzio, D-Ill.) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4170) to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 and the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to provide for interstate banking and branching.

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

Witnesses scheduled: Jerome Powell - acting undersecretary for Finance, Treasury department

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.

Witnesses scheduled: Sharon Pratt Kelly - mayor, Washington D.C.; Jay Stephens - U.S. attorney for Washington D.C.; John Wilson - chairman, D.C. City Council; John Payton - D.C. corporation counsel; Fred Ugast - Superior Court Chief Judge; Jane Nady Burnley - former director, Office for Victims of Crimes, Justice Department; Anita Boles - assistant executive director, National Victims Center; Gary Hankins - Fraternal Order of Policy

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.; Dr. Jennifer Harrison - Kensington, Calif.; Dawn Munday - Pasadena, Md.; Dr. 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 Educa-

■ Revised listing

House continued...

tion and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on state school-to-work transition.

Time & room TBA date TBA

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 1637 - Make improvements in the Black Lung Benefits Act (Approved by Labor Standards Subcommittee July 24, 1991.)
- HR 2434 - Amend the General Education Provisions Act to authorize the National Assessment of Educational Progress to conduct certain trial assessments in the fiscal year 1994 and to develop certain other trial assessments for administration in such fiscal year (Approved by Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education Subcommittee August 8, 1991.)
- HR 1602 - Amend title I of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide that such act does not preempt actions under state law against persons who engage in unfair insurance claims practices (Approved by Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee September 25, 1991.)

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 & add dates if needed

Agenda:

- HR 3865 - National Waste Reduction Recycling and Management Act
- HR 3642 - to enhance the enforcement authority of the Food and Drug Administration legislation, if ready, pertaining to impending rail strike

★ MEDICAID MANAGED CARE

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

9:45am room TBA June 29

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 19

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

NATURAL GAS

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 Com-

★ New listing

petitiveness 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.

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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 2558 - Authorize the appropriations for the National Telecommunications and Information Administration for fiscal years 1992 and 1993 (Approved by Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee July 25, 1991.)
- HR 2585 - Amend the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the program of assistance for family planning services (Approved by Health and the Environment Subcommittee July 30, 1991.)
- HR 2311 - Amend part B of title XIX of the Public Health Service Act to establish a program of formula grants to the states for improving the delivery of mental health services, to establish a program for providing comprehensive mental health services for children with serious emotional disturbances (Approved by Health and the Environment Subcommittee June 25, 1991.)
- HR 2829 - Strengthen the authority of the Federal Trade Commission regarding fraud and consumer abuse committed in connection with sales made with a telephone (Approved by Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee August 1, 1991.)
- HR 2840 - Amend the Public Health Service Act to reduce human exposure to lead in residences, schools for young children, and day care centers, including exposure to lead in drinking water (Approved by Health and the Environment Subcommit-

tee November 4, 1991.)

• HR 3865 - Amend the Solid Waste Disposal Act to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1993 through 1998 (Approved by Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee March 26, 1992; full committee action scheduled to continue June 23)

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

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

Witness scheduled: Thomas Niles - assistant secretary of State

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

11am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

Agenda:

- HR 5360 - Reaffirm the obligation of the United States to refrain from the involuntary return of refugees outside the United States
- H Con Res 179 - Supporting increased donations by Japan of agricultural commodities to aid in fighting hunger

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.

9am 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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

Witnesses scheduled: Sherwood Rowland - American Association for the Advancement of Science; Frank Press - National Academy of Sciences

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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 964 - Provide for the implementation of the foreign assistance provisions of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (Approved by Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee April 17, 1991; Approved by International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee April 18, 1991; Approved by Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee May 8, 1991.)
- HR 1608 - Promote the development of microenterprises in developing countries. (Approved by International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee April 18, 1991.)
- HR 3406 - Concerning democratic changes and violations of human rights in Zaïre (Approved by Africa Subcommittee October 30, 1991.)
- HR 4231 - Provide supplemental authorizations of appropriations for U.S. contributions to international peacekeeping activities (Approved by International Operations Subcommittee February 25, 1992.)
- HR 5036 - Establish a South African-American Enterprise Fund (Approved by Africa Subcommittee June 16, 1992.)
- HR 5360 - Reaffirm the obligation of the United States to refrain from the involuntary return of refugees outside the United States (Approved by International Operations Subcommittee June 17, 1992.)

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

Witnesses scheduled: Anthony Terracciano - First Fidelity Bancorporation of N.J.; Richard Kovacevich - Norwest Corp.; William Isaac - Secura Group; Joel Friedman - Anderson Consulting; Scott Jones - Goodhue County National Bank

★ VALUE ENGINEERING FOR FEDERAL CONTRACTS

Legislation and National Security Subcommittee (Chairman Conyers, D-Mich.) of

★ New listing

House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 281) to promote competitiveness and more efficient government operations by requiring a value engineering review for certain types of federal contracts.

10am 2154 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

★ FIGHTING CRIME IN U.S. COMMUNITIES

Government Information, Justice and Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Wise, D-W.Va.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on taking back the streets as a means to fight crime in U.S. communities.

10am 2203 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

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

House Administration

225-2061

★ ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE BUSINESS

House Committee on House Administration (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) will meet to discuss pending business.

2pm H328 Capitol Bldg. June 23

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 3281 - Establish the National Air and Space Museum Expansion Site Advisory Panel for the purpose of developing a national competition for the evaluation of possible expansion sites for the National Air and Space Museum, and to authorize the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to select, plan, and design such site (Approved by Library and Memorials Subcommittee October 23, 1991.)
- HR 1246 - Authorize the establishment of the National African-American Museum within the Smithsonian Institution (Approved by Libraries and Memorials Subcommittee June 3, 1992.)

Interior & Insular Affairs

225-2761

STERLING FOREST

Energy and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Kostmayer, D-Pa.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the future of the Sterling Forest on the border of New York and New Jersey.

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 MINING LAW

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

9:45am 1324 Longworth Bldg. June 24

Agenda:

HR 918 - to modify the requirements applicable to locatable minerals on public domain lands, consistent with the principles of self-initiation of mining claims

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

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 2274 - Better protect and manage certain redwood forests by adding lands to the Six Rivers National Forest and by designating the Headwaters Forest Wilderness (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee July 30, 1991, full committee markup began June 10, 1992.)
- HR 2808 - Direct the secretary of the

■ Revised listing

House continued...

Interior to convey certain lands in Livingston Parish, La. (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee November 26, 1991.)

● HR 4899 - Establish an Old-Growth Forest Reserve, and for other purposes. (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee May 7, 1992)

● H J Res 306 - Designate the Port Chicago Naval Magazine as a National Memorial (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee May 28, 1992. Full committee action scheduled for June 3)

● HR 4489 - Provide for a land exchange with the city of Tacoma, Wash. (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee May 28, 1992.)

● HR 4382 - Modify the boundaries of the New River Gorge National River, the Gauley River National Recreation Area, and the Bluestone National Scenic River in West Virginia (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee June 11, 1992.)

● HR 3898 - Provide for the addition of the Truman farm house to the Harry S. Truman National Historic Site in the state of Missouri (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee June 11, 1992.)

● HR 4085 - Amend the act of Aug. 7, 1961, establishing the Cape Cod National Seashore (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee June 11, 1992.)

● HR 4030 - Establish the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park in the state of Vermont (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee June 11, 1992.)

● S 1528 - Establish the Mimbres Culture National Monument and to establish an archeological protection system for Mimbres sites in the state of New Mexico (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee June 11, 1992.)

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

Witnesses scheduled: Frank DeGeorge - inspector general, Commerce Department; Frank Lemay - Office of Legislative Affairs, Department of State; Nicholas Rostow - National Security Council; C. Boyden Grey - counsel to the President

ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION IN MEDICAL MALPRACTICE

Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Frank, D-Mass.) of House Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on the use of alternative dispute resolution to resolve medical malpractice claims against the U.S. government.

10am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

★ New listing

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

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

Follows subcommittee hearing (above) 2226 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

Agenda:

HR 3407 - Allow claims against the United States under that chapter for damages arising from certain negligent medical care provided members of the armed forces

HR 3910 - Establish a specialized corps of judges necessary for certain federal proceedings required to be conducted

HR 4563 - Amend the False Claims Act to provide certain limitations on federal employees filing qui tam actions

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

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

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:**PROTECTING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Edwards, D-Calif.) of House Judiciary Committee will mark up legislation (HR 2797) to protect the free exercise of religion.

10am B352 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

★ USING ARBITRATION IN CONTRACT DISPUTES

Economic and Commercial Law Subcommittee (Chairman Brooks, D-Texas) of House Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on pending legislation.

10am 2141 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

Agenda:

HR 3122 - Permit each party to a sales and service contract to accept or reject arbitration as a means of settling disputes under the contract

HR 5322 - Extend the period during which the Family Farm Bankruptcy Act of the U.S. remains in effect

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

International Law, Immigration and Refugees Subcommittee (Chairman Mazzoli, D-Ky.) of House Judiciary Committee will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am 2227 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

Agenda:

HR 2357 - Relating to jurisdictional immunities of foreign states, to grant the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States in certain cases involving tortious conduct occurring in a foreign state

S 1216 - Modify the boundaries of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore

S 2201 - Authorize the admission to the United States of certain scientists of the Commonwealth of Independent States as employment based immigrants under the Immigration and Nationality Act

HR 5383 - Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to extend for three years the authorization of appropriations for domestic refugee assistance

★ REVOLVING DOOR RULES & FOREIGN ENTITIES

Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Frank, D-Mass.) of House Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 3966) to prohibit

certain officers and employees of the government from representing foreign entities after their government service terminates.

2pm 2226 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 17.

★ BATF GANG**INFORMATION NETWORK**

Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Edwards, D-Calif.) of House Judiciary Committee will hold an oversight hearing on the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms' proposal for a gang information network.

10am 2237 Rayburn Bldg. June 26

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

● HR 3381 - Amend section 202, title 18, U.S. Code, to allow the President to waive certain conflict of interest statutes with respect to certain individuals (Approved Administrative Law and Governmental Relations October 23, 1991.)

● HR 3597 - Strengthen the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee October 23, 1991.)

● HR 3748 - Amend the Civil Rights Act of 1991 with respect to the application of such act, in particular with respect to workers at the Wards Cove packing plant (Approved by Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee November 14, 1991.)

● HR 4551 - Amend the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 to increase the authorization for the trust fund under that act (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee April 1, 1992.)

● HR 4553 - Amend the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 to clarify that payments under that act shall not be includible as income for purposes of all laws administered by the secretary of Veterans Affairs (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee April 1, 1992.)

● HR 1241 - Impose a criminal penalty for flight to avoid payment of arrearages in child support (Approved by Crime and Criminal Justice Subcommittee April 9, 1992.)

● HR 4209 - Amend the act entitled "An Act conferring jurisdiction on certain courts of the United States to hear and render judgment in connection with certain claims of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma," approved December 23, 1982 (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee April 29, 1992.)

● HR 4841 - Granting the consent of the Congress to the New Hampshire-Maine Interstate School Compact (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee April 29, 1992.)

● HR 4542 - Prevent and deter auto theft (Approved by Crime and Criminal Justice Subcommittee May 21, 1992.)

● HR 4954 - Prohibit the receipt of advance fees by unregulated loan brokers (Approved by Crime and Criminal Justice Subcommittee May 21, 1992.)

● HR 5096 - Supersede the Modification of Final Judgment entered August 24, 1982, in the antitrust action styled United States versus Western Electric, civil action No. 82-0192, U.S. District Court for the District of

■ Revised listing

House continued. . .

Columbia (Approved by Economic and Commercial Law Subcommittee May 28, 1992.)

• H J Res 454 - Provide for the expeditious disclosure of records relevant to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. (Approved by Economic and Commercial Law Subcommittee May 28, 1992.)

• HR 5285 - Authorize appropriations to carry out the activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for fiscal year 1993 (Approved by Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee June 11, 1992.)

• HR 3795 - Establish three divisions in the Central Judicial District of California (Approved by Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee June 11, 1992.)

• HR 3206 - Prohibit the award of costs (including attorney's fees) against a judicial officer for acts or omissions occurring in a judicial capacity (Approved by Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee June 11, 1992.)

• HR 25 - Freedom of Choice Act (Approved by Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee June 18, 1992)

• HR 4511 - Amend title 17, U.S. Code, to revise the compulsory licensing system that applies to cable systems (Approved by Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee June 18, 1992)

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**

★ OCEANOGRAPHY SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

Oceanography, Great Lakes and Outer Continental Shelf Subcommittee (Chairman Hertel, D-Mich.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will mark up pending legislation.

2pm 1334 Longworth **June 24**

Agenda:

HR 5324 - Authorize the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Fleet Replacement and Modernization Program for fiscal years 1993 through 1997

HR 5352 - Coordinate and promote Great Lakes activities.

★ SEAMEN DOCUMENTATION

Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee (Chairman Tauzin, D-La.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will mark up a bill (HR 4394) to amend title 46, United States Code, to require merchant mariners' documents for certain seamen.

2pm 1334 Longworth Bldg. **June 25**

★ New listing

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

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

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

• HR 2082 - Conserve the diversity of fish, wildlife, and biological systems in the U.S. (Approved by Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation Subcommittee July 18, 1991; Approved by Oceanography, Great Lakes and the Outercontinental Shelf Subcommittee October 1, 1991.)

• HR 4693 - to prohibit the establishment and collection of any fee or charge for the issuance of any merchant mariners' document, license, or certificate of registry (Approved by Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee May 6, 1992)

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

• HR 5397 - Prohibit abandonment of barges (Approved by Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee June 18, 1992)

• HR 5257 - Amend the coastwise trade laws to clarify their application to certain passenger vessels (Approved by Merchant Marine Subcommittee June 18, 1992)

• HR 3158 - Amend the Alaska Natural Interest Lands Conservation Act to improve the management of Glacier Bay National Park (Approved by Merchant Marine Subcommittee June 18, 1992)

• HR 2832 - Amend Public Law 97-360, which deals with setting aside surplus vessels for use by private non-profit organizations in providing health and other humanitarian services to developing countries (Approved by Merchant Marine Subcommittee June 18, 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

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 - prof. 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

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. **August 11**

■ Revised listing

House continued...

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 1686 - Amend the Foreign Service Act of 1980 relating to grievance proceedings under the act. (Approved by Civil Service Subcommittee April 11, 1991.)
- HR 3613 - Amend title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 to improve the effectiveness of administrative review of employment discrimination claims made by federal employees (Approved by Civil Service Subcommittee May 27, 1992.)

Public Works & Transportation

225-4472

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.

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: PIPELINE SAFETY

Surface Transportation Subcommittee (Chairman Mineta, D-Calif.) of House Public Works and Transportation Committee will mark up legislation (HR 1489) to lessen potential damage to the environment from natural gas and hazardous liquid pipelines by requiring the Transportation Department to consider potential harm to the environment when setting safety requirements for pipelines.

9:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

Aviation Subcommittee (Chairman Oberstar, D-Minn.) of House Public Works and Transportation Committee will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

HR 3243 - Direct the administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration to publish routes on flight charts to safely guide pilots operating under visual flight rules through and in close proximity to terminal control areas and airport radar service areas.

HR— - Reauthorize aviation war risk insurance

HR— - to enhance airline competition

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.

3pm H-313 Capitol Bldg. June 22

1:30pm H-313 Capitol Bldg. June 23

Time TBA H-313 Capitol Bldg. addl dates

★ New listing

TBA

Agenda:

June 22:

HR 5427 - Legislative Branch Appropriations

June 23:

HR 5368 - Foreign Operations Appropriations

Date TBA:

HR 5428 - Military Construction Appropriations

HR 5095 - Intelligence Authorization

Science, Space & Technology

225-6371

★ OPPORTUNITIES IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Science Subcommittee (Chairman Boucher, D-Va.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4726), the Opportunities in Science and Technology Act of 1992.

10am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

Witnesses scheduled: David Mertes - California Community College System; Jeffrey Rudolph - California Museum of Science and Industry; Frank Rooker - Council for Community Enrichment; George Boggs - American Association of Community and Junior Colleges; other witnesses TBA

★ SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATION

Technology and Competitiveness Subcommittee (Chairman Valentine, D-N.C.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4400) which would provide the administrator of the Small Business Administration continued authority to administer the Small Business Innovation Research Program.

1:30pm 2318 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

■ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

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

10:30am 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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 3848 - Encourage the growth and development of commercial space activities in the United States (Approved by Space Subcommittee April 9, 1992.)

- HR 4447 - Provide for National Aeronautics and Space Administration negotiations with former Soviet republics regarding the acquisition by the United States of Soviet civil space hardware and technology for integration into U.S. civil space projects (Approved by Space Subcommittee April 9, 1992.)

Small Business

225-5821

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: VENTURE CAPITAL

House Small Business Committee (Chairman LaFalce, D-N.Y.) will mark up legislation (HR 5191) that would restructure the federal Small Business Investment Company program to increase the amount of venture capital available to small businesses.

2pm 2359 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

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

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

Ways & Means

225-3625

★ MONEY LAUNDERING

Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman, Pickle, D-Texas) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing to review the effectiveness of the Treasury Department's programs to address money laundering and related federal tax evasion.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. June 23 & 30

Agenda:

June 23:

Review of activities of the Internal Revenue Service to ensure that businesses comply with reporting requirements

IRS utilization of large-cash-transaction reports to identify and develop income tax evasion cases

June 30:

Review activities of Treasury Office of Financial Enforcement and IRS to ensure that financial institutions, including casinos and transmitters of funds, comply with reporting requirements of the Bank Secrecy Act

★ TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

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

1pm 1100 Longworth Bldg. June 23

Agenda:

H J Res 502 - Disapprove the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (most-favored-nation treatment) to the products of the People's Republic of China

HR 3562 - Relating to the use of unobligated moneys in the Customs Forfeiture Fund

★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Ways and Means Committee (Chairman Rostenkowski, D-Ill.) will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am 1100 Longworth Bldg. June 24

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. June 25 (if needed)

Agenda:

LEGISLATION

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

H J Res 502 - Disapprove the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (most-favored-nation treatment) to the products of the People's Republic of China

HR 3562 - Relating to the use of unobligated moneys in the Customs Forfeiture Fund

HR 4318 - Make certain miscellaneous and technical amendments to the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States

HR 5429 - Make Social Security Administration and independent agency

AMENDMENTS, DRAFT LEGISLATION AND REPORTS

Joint report by subcommittees on Social Security and Oversight on deceptive mailings

Enterprise zones and other related items

Modification of passive loss rules

Tax simplification

Extension of expiring tax provisions

Tax treatment of intangible assets

Taxpayer bill of rights

Repeal of tax on luxury items

Technical corrections

Miscellaneous amendments from the subcommittees on Social Security and Human Resources

Needed revenue offsets

★ CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

Human Resources Subcommittee (Acting Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on the Downey-Hyde child support enforcement and assurance proposal, which would revise welfare laws, promote parental responsibility to support children, reduce child poverty and welfare receipt and increase incentives and requirements for families to work and support children.

10am B-318 Rayburn Bldg. June 30 & July 1

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

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

● HR 1115 - Amend the Trade Act of 1974 to provide for the review of the extent to which foreign countries are in compliance with bilateral trade agreements with the United States (Approved by Trade Subcommittee June 25, 1991.)

● HR 1559 - Prohibit the importation of semiautomatic assault weapons, large capacity ammunition feeding devices, and certain accessories (Approved by Trade Subcommittee November 22, 1991.)

● HR 2751 - Establish the National Commission on American Labor Law (Approved by Trade Subcommittee September 24, 1991.)

● HR 3935 - A bill to modernize and simplify the administration of certain customs laws (Approved by Trade Subcommittee May 6, 1992.)

Note

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

Joint Committees Future Listings

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. This session will focus on hospital mergers and joint ventures.

10am 23359 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

Witnesses scheduled: Rep. Slattery, D-Kan.; David Kaplan - president, Capital Economics; Rita Ricardo-Campbell - Hoover Institution; D. Kirk Oglesby - chairman, Board of Trustees, American Hospital Association; Don Ammon - chairman, Board of Directors, Ukiah Valley Medical Center; Charles James - acting assistant attorney general; James Egan - director for litigation, Bureau of Competition, Federal Trade Commission; Robert Eaton - associate administrator, Health Care Financing Administration

Conference Committees

★ CALIF. WATER PROJECT

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 429) dealing with changes in the Central Valley water project in California.

Time & room TBA date TBA

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

■ Revised listing

★ New listing

Conference continued...

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: Fascell, Gejdenson, Wolpe, Johnston, Engel, Murphy, Orton, Broomfield, Roth, Bereuter, Miller, R-Wash.

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

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

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 Com-

mittee, 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 116-119 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Nowak, Hammerschmidt

As additional conferees from the Public Works Committee, for consideration of title IV of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Savage, Norton, Nowak, Borski, Hammerschmidt, Shuster, Inhofe

PRICE FIXING

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 429) to amend the Sherman Act to strengthen laws against vertical price-fixing

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees: Brooks, Edwards of Calif., Synar, Fish, Campbell of Calif.

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

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACT

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

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

House conferees: TBA

CFTC REAUTHORIZATION

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

Time and room TBA addl dates TBA

Note: Conference began November 6

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

House conferees:

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

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

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

Other Events Future Listings

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

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,

★ *New listing*

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

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, Belcore, 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

■ *Revised listing*

Campaign Events Future Listings

--from Reuters

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

Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown
Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 22
No campaign events are scheduled.

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

June 23
In New York City
7am to 8am: Appears on ABC's Good Morning America program. Clinton will participate in a conversation with a undetermined panel.

June 24
In Washington, D.C.
10am: Addresses a meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers. Capital Hilton, 16th and K streets NW. Contact Laura Brown, 202-637-3087, or Samantha Trautman, 202-637-3094

REPUBLICANS

Pat Buchanan
Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292
June 22 (indefinitely)
In Washington, D.C.
No campaign-related events are scheduled.

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

No announced scheule

INDEPENDENTS

Ross Perot
Contact: 214-716-6500

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

June 25
In Hartford, Conn.
11am: Addresses a rally of volunteers. Bushnell Park, Hartford. Contact Laura Donnelly or Sari Liebler, 203-762-3405

Status of Appropriations — Fiscal 1993

Week of June 22

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
House full cmte markup scheduled:	June 25

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
Passed House:	June 17

FOREIGN OPERATIONS

House: 225-2041; Senate: 224-7209

Bill No:	HR 5368
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
House full cmte markup scheduled:	June 25

VA, HUD & INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

House: 225-3241; Senate: 224-7211

House subcmte hearings completed:	April 30
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FY92 SUPPLEMENTAL

Bill No.:	HR 5132
House full cmte markup completed:	May 12
	H Rpt 102-518
Passed House:	May 14
Senate full cmte markup completed:	May 19
Passed Senate:	May 21
Conference completed:	June 17
	H Rpt 102-577
Conference report adopted by House:	June 18
Conference report adopted by Senate:	June 18

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

vide \$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**

Rule, H Res 481, waiving certain points of order during consideration of H Con Res 192,

House continued...

agreed to by voice vote

RULES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, agreed to by voice vote

H Con Res 192, as amended, agreed to in House by yeay-nay vote: 412-4

SConRes 113 **Concerning the 25th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem** agreed to by voice vote

S Con Res 113 has now cleared both chambers

HR 5132 **Make dire emergency supplemental appropriations for disaster assistance to meet urgent needs because of calamities such as those which occurred in Los Angeles and Chicago, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1992**

Rule, H Res 491, providing for consideration of HR 5132, agreed to by voice vote

Pursuant to H Res 491, motion by NATCHER, D-Ky., that the House: agree to the modified conference report on HR 5132; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 1, and concur with an amendment; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 2, and concur with an amendment; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 3, and concur with an amendment; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 5; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 7, and concur with an amendment; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 9, and concur with an amendment; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 11, and concur with an amendment; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 12, and concur with an amendment; recede from its disagreement of Senate amendment no. 13, and concur with an amendment; and agree to the motions printed in the Rules Committee report to accompany H Res 491 to dispose of disagreements reported from conference on Senate amendments no. 1 and no. 2, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 249-168

Conference Report on measure now cleared for Senate action

HJRes 509 **Extend through September 30, 1992, the period in which there remains available for obligation certain amounts appropriated for the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the school operations costs of Bureau-funded schools** passed in House by voice vote

HR 429 **Central Valley Project Improvement Act**

[Continued from June 17]

INTERIOR & INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, as amended, agreed to by voice vote

RHODES, R-Ariz., modified amendment, to the above INTERIOR & INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to shift the responsibility of costs and repair of six water siphons from the Central Arizona Project water users to the federal government, agreed to by voice vote

JONES, D-N.C., modified en bloc amendments, to the above INTERIOR & INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to direct the Department of the Interior to make additional water available from the Central Valley Project (CVP) for fish, wildlife and habitat restoration purposes upon the implementation of specific changes in project oper-

ations required in the bill; require the Department of Interior to make any other changes in CVP operations that are necessary to provide the in-stream water flows needed to protect anadromous fish; clarify that the Department of the Interior is to determine whether CVP water users who sell their water to others will pay a fee equal to 25 percent of the proceeds of a water sale, or provide a certain amount of water for fish and wildlife purposes; and require that the director of the Fish and Wildlife Service rather than the secretary of Interior serve as the federal representative on the advisory committee, agreed to by voice vote

THOMAS, R-Wyo., modified amendment, to the above INTERIOR & INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to authorize appropriations for the construction of the Buffalo Bill Dam and Reservoir and recreational facilities, agreed to by voice vote

PELOSI, D-Calif., amendment, to the above INTERIOR & INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to direct the secretary of the Interior to undertake a demonstration project in the city and county of San Francisco to examine the feasibility and effectiveness of using advanced ecologically engineered technology for water reclamation and reuse, agreed to by voice vote

GEJDENSON, D-Conn., amendment, to the above INTERIOR & INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require all CVP water service or repayment contracts for agricultural, municipal or industrial purposes to enter into a system to tiered water pricing, agreed to by voice vote

HERGER, R-Calif., amendment, to the above INTERIOR & INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to make recreation an authorized purpose of the CVP and require the Department of Interior to consider recreational uses in making decisions on CVP operations, agreed to by voice vote

HR 5099, as amended, passed in House by voice vote

Pursuant to the rule, H Res 486, MILLER, D-Calif., motion that the House agree to the Senate amendment to HR 429, to amend certain Federal reclamation laws to improve enforcement of acreage limitations, with an amendment consisting of the text of HR 429 and HR 5099, as passed by the House, agreed to by voice vote

Pursuant to the rule, MILLER motion that the House insist on its amendments and request a conference with the Senate, agreed to by voice vote

The Speaker will appoint conferees at a later time

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

House continued...

- 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 &**Balance of the Week:**

- 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 COM-

MITTEE 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 yeay-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 pro-

Senate continued...

posals 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 yeayay 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 yeayay 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 COM-

MITTEE substitute amendment, agreed to by voice vote.

S 1623, as amended, passed in Senate by voice vote.

Thursday, June 18:

HR 5132

CONFERENCE REPORT: Make dire emergency supplemental appropriations for disaster assistance to meet urgent needs because of calamities such as those which occurred in Los Angeles and Chicago, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1992

Conference report agreed to in Senate by voice vote.

BYRD, D-W.Va., unanimous consent that the Senate concur in the House amendments to the Senate amendments nos. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12 and 13, agreed to by unanimous consent.

WELLSTONE, D-Minn., amendment no. 2433, to the House amendment to the Senate amendment no. 1, to provide urgent disaster assistance funding for recent tornadoes in the Midwest of the United States, withdrawn

BYRD, D-W.Va., unanimous consent that the Senate concur in the House amendment to the Senate amendment no. 1, agreed to by unanimous consent

HR 5132 is now cleared for the president.

HR 5260

Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 1992

FINANCE COMMITTEE substitute amendment, pending at recess

GRAHAM, D-Fla., amendment no. 2433, to the above FINANCE COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to retain exemption for temporary foreign agricultural workers from unemployment tax, agreed to by yeayay vote: 84-3

MITCHELL, D-Maine, unanimous consent request providing for the consideration of certain amendments to HR 5260 on Friday, June 19, 1992, agreed to by unanimous consent

[Continued June 19]

HConRes 331

Authorize the use of the Capitol grounds for the Greater Washington Soap Box Derby agreed to by unanimous consent

H Con Res 331 has now cleared both chambers.

Friday, June 19:

HR 5260

Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 1992 passed by voice

Week of June 22

Monday, June 22:

Not in session

Tuesday, June 23:

S 2733

Improve the regulation of government-sponsored enterprises begin consideration

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--- Monday --- June 22, 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

YEAR WITHOUT A SANTA CLAUS?

Clinton unveils his economic plan -- but without the bane of primary season -- the middle-class tax cut. (#2)

MORE FROM THE "JESSE PRIMARY"

Jackson says he'll take his plan to Perot. (#1) Rollins says Jackson's support would be welcomed, but they're not "reaching out" for it nor do they expect it to happen. (#7)

ROSS PEROT, P.I.

W. POST reports on Perot probes of Bush. (#5) TIME cover piece compiles familiar stories to produce overall negative portrait. U.S. NEWS lets him speak for himself. (#6)

ORE-IDA! ENOUGH ALREADY!

Despite more Quayle talk on values, coverage lost under heap o' Veep Au Gratin. (#9)

SENATE WATCH

In IL, Braun takes hit on pot legalization stance. (#12) Lonsdale "leans" to OR write-in run. (#14) D'Amato's name raised in P.R. trial. (#13)

SPOTLIGHT

VEEP WATCH, DEM-STYLE

ROCKEFELLER: On most lists. HAMILTON: World view. GORE: Possible "outsider." CUOMO: "all-Machiavelli dream team." GEPHARDT: NEWSWEEK's arrow is up. WOFFORD: Maturity. LIEBERMAN: W. POST list. SIMON: "conventional" route? KERREY: But divorced. BRADLEY: Dream won't die. ATLANTA'S MAYNARD JACKSON: Only Jackson mentioned. RICHARDS: W. POST short list, pushed by DCers. HARKIN: W. POST list. BROWN: Kathleen, not Jerry or Willie or Ron. (#4)

FAVORABLE MENTIONS: John Lewis, Powell ("laughed out of town"), Flynn, Gray (not interested), Rudman: "under consideration"? (#4) Kerry? Perot must think so. (#7)

UNFAVORABLE MENTIONS: Jesse Jackson (see #1)

NO MENTIONS: Paul Tsongas

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

"It's what Democrats do instead of playing golf."

-- Joe Klein, on the Clinton/Jackson feud, CBS, 6/20. (#1)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Angry NWF president Hair calls for Deland's resignation, after Deland defends U.S. Rio effort.
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: IL public schools fail to meet certain standards, could be taken over by the state.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: GOPers in TX and WA approve strict pro-life language at weekend conventions.
FROM TODAY'S HEALTH LINE: Clinton's economic plan would require those making \$125K to pay more for hospital care.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

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CLINTON: Revised economic plan termed "Cautious." (#2)
CLINTON: Free TV "turning entire nation" into NH. (#3)
VEEP WATCH: Clinton short list emerging? (#4)
PEROT: Ross Perot, private investigator. (#5)
PEROT: Digging beneath surface reveals critics, converts. (#6)
PEROT: Reveiws from the road. (#7)
BUSH: Californians give Bush the cold shoulder? (#8)
QUAYLE: Out of the potatoe patch into the frying pan. (#9)
INTO THE HOUSE: How they should vote, how they would vote. (#10)
COVER TO COVER (#11)

SENATE WATCH

IL: Drug legalization becomes a salient issue. (#12)
NY: D'Amato's name surfaces in Puerto Rican trial. (#13)
OR: Lonsdale considers write-in candidacy. (#14)
TX: Another Lone Star businessman to seek top office? (#15)

TV MONITOR (#16)

? ? ? ? OVERLOOKED ? ? ? ?

TIME's last cover treatment of Perot came five weeks ago in the May 25th issue. Headline: "President Perot?"

===== WHITE HOUSE '92 =====

*1 CLINTON & JACKSON: SOUND AND FURY SIGNIFYING ... SOMETHING?
JESSE JACKSON: "As we reached out, Bill Clinton pushed off ... It seemed to me that it was unfair to come as a guest and have a concern of that magnitude and not bring it up. ... We worked on a plan to put America back to work. What we found was

a ploy to get a cheap headline. ... I join with him in condemning violence. I join with him in a sense of outrage. When I spoke before the DLC, the organization that he headed, I used the occasion to try to expand unity, to try to build, to try to heal. I did not use that moment to exploit difference and thereby create a schism." On whether he could endorse Perot: "Certainly we intend to take our plan to Perot, as we have taken it to Clinton, to try to force the debate this year" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 6/21). N.Y. NEWSDAY's Howell & Clifford report Jackson said this "latest tiff" is part of Clinton's 2-year effort to distance himself from the "multiracial" wing of the Dem Party. Jackson: "This was not aimed at me in a personal sense.

... This was a move by the right wing of the party to pull away from the DNC because the DNC was too multiracial for them and too democratic" (6/21).

BILL CLINTON: "I bragged on the Rainbow Coalition and its programs. I criticized divisive language by Sister Souljah. If Jesse Jackson wants to align himself with that now and claim that's the way he felt, then that's his business." Clinton "expressed surprise" at the way the Clinton-Jackson issue has heated up saying that "immediately following his speech" Jackson had been "cordial" and suggested he return to the conference to play the sax (Ifill, N.Y. TIMES, 6/20). Clinton: "Something has happened since the speech. This is not about the speech." Clinton suggested Jackson is using the controversy "for his own purposes." In a radio show which was broadcast on TV, Clinton said Jackson's continuing anger is "a mystery to me. ... Each day the temperature has been turned up." Clinton said he doesn't believe the controversy will cost him black votes: "I've got to stand for what I believe and say what I believe and voters either respond one way or the other" (Fulwood, L.A. TIMES, 6/20). Clinton, asked whether Jackson was being hypocritical: "I'm not characterizing it" (ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 6/20).

SISTER SOULJAH KEEPS RAPPING: "My understanding is he's saying that he's trying to contact me ... Bill Clinton, if you're listening and you want to call me -- call me at (215) 735-2800" ("Sunday Today," NBC, 6/21). "You get a guy like Clinton who will come and sit down and play the sax with you, pick up black babies ... and still go to work the next day and pass racist policies. Still be for capital punishment, still be for lobotomizing prisoners." Charlie Rose: "Wait, wait. Is he in favor of lobotomizing prisoners." Souljah: "Yes, absolutely" (WNET-NY, 6/18; The Learning Channel, 6/19). "What Clinton did was awaken a sleeping giant because I am very loved by African people in this country and they feel personally attacked by what Clinton did" ("Larry King Live," CNN, 6/19).

NETWORK NEWS: NBC's Kenley Jones: "What Clinton must decide, is whether he has more to gain by pleasing Jackson or standing up to him. Apparently he has chosen the latter." Mondale '84 manager Bob Beckel: "Jackson is nobody to be fooled with in these situations." Dukakis '88 manager Susan Estrich: "Jackson has gone for the jugular. He has gone for Clinton's weakness" (6/19). CBS' Richard Threlkeld: "The Democrats should be trying to get themselves together, instead, being Democrats, they've spent the past week tearing themselves apart." Joe Klein: "It's what Democrats do instead of playing golf" (6/20). DNC chair Ron Brown: "I'm not going to get in the middle of a conflict between Jesse Jackson and Bill Clinton. Jesse Jackson has been a strong supporters of Democratic presidential nominees ever since he's been voting, I except him to be strong supporter

of Bill Clinton in the fall." On Jackson "being very open to Ross Perot's candidacy": "I would doubt very much that Jesse Jackson, or for that matter any thinking people, are going to be in that position, I think Bill Clinton is going to be elected president" ("Today," NBC, 6/22).

MACNEIL/LEHRER: Analyst Eddie Williams: "Clinton [has] the right string but the wrong yo-yo. ... He made some very good points about race relations in America, but ... he did misjudge in terms of the platform and the audience." U.S. NEWS' David Gergen: "It has left a deep and I think perhaps a lasting wound with Jesse Jackson. ... Jackson is seething over this incident. ... Jackson feels that he was lied to. ... He is flirting seriously with Perot." Mark Shields: "What Bill Clinton did was right. I think he did it in the right way ... He has to do the same thing to insurance executives ... it just can't simply begin and end with Jesse Jackson" (PBS, 6/19).

BRINKLEY: George Will: "[Clinton] may be getting the kind of headlines he needs." ABC's Cokie Roberts: "The problem is when you're in a three-man race, if you start alienating your base, you could have a bit of a problem." ABC's Sam Donaldson: "Clinton probably picked the wrong issue ... To take this issue and say this now shows all the white people that I'm not going to knuckle under to Rev. Jackson, is simply not the way to go about it" (ABC, 6/21).

MEET THE PRESS: Sen. Sam Nunn: "Each campaign it appears that as we get close to the convention [Jackson] expects candidates to pay homage to him. ... While the black vote is very important, people sense that as an act of weakness on the part of the candidate. I hope Bill Clinton does not fall into that pattern, and I hope Jesse Jackson does not demand that" (NBC, 6/21).

NEWSMAKER SUNDAY: Sen. David Pryor (D-AR): "It's going to show and demonstrate to the American public, not just to [Dems] that [Clinton] is not going to be ... taken over" by Jackson. Ex-Rep./United Negro College Fund pres. Bill Gray: "Ultimately it will be beneficial to him, even though he will probably catch some static from [Dem] leadership and from some portions of the [Dem] Party. ... In the short run, though I think he has a serious problem that he's got to pay some attention to Jesse Jackson" (CNN, 6/21).

ANALYSIS: N.Y. TIMES' Gwen Ifill: "The Clinton camp has been happy with what they've heard all week. ... They obviously took a calculated risk; and in their mind, I think the calculated risk paid off" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 6/21). L.A. TIMES' Fulwood reports blacks in the Clinton campaign are complaining of lack of input in daily operations "raising questions about the racial dynamic" within the campaign. A black staffer is quoted as explaining that Clinton himself understands the problems of black people "better than most of the guys around him" (6/22). W. POST's Balz reports "there is now talk" Jackson allies at the convention might seek to use Brown delegates to nominate Jackson for VP (6/20). Rep. Louis Stokes (D-OH): "[Clinton] slapped the person he should have been forging a close relationship with. He needs someone like Jesse Jackson who can go across the nation and mobilize the black community." Dem strategist Donna Brazile: "I've worked on campaigns with the reverend and I've worked on campaigns without the reverend. Believe me, it's much easier to mobilize the black support when Jesse's there" (Frolik, Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 6/21). N.Y. POST's Kerrison writes Jackson going to Perot would be the "best thing to happen to the Democrats in

30 years" (6/22). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Caldwell writes, "suddenly, 1992 has begun to look as though it may turn out to be the year of the big break" of blacks from the Democratic Party (6/22). DETROIT NEWS' Willing writes, "Clinton's boldness and the cool response of some black elected officials to Jackson's complaints suggest a new political reality. Currying favor with Jackson may no longer be regarded as critical for a [Dem] candidate" (6/20). W. POST's Edsall writes the Clinton/Souljah dispute "is revealing conflicts" between black leaders such as House members who "are more inclined to align with [Dem] leaders in a non-adversarial posture." He cites Rep. John Lewis (D-GA) (6/21). Analyst Joe Scott writes, "By going into the lion's den to attack the reverse racism ... Clinton has offered voters the first clue that he's got the moral fiber to lead -- and won't pander to win" (6/19). Balto. SUN's Thompson writes, "If Jesse Jackson ... doesn't speak for all blacks, most blacks, or even 'most thinking blacks,' Bill Clinton never will" (6/20). ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH's Freeman writes, "Clinton deserves praise ... and Jesse Jackson is equally deserving of scorn" (6/19). TIME's Kramer writes Dems "truly interested in recapturing" the WH "have quite simply shut up" while Cuomo "sought to keep the flap alive" by suggesting a Sister Souljah summit where Clinton, Jackson and Souljah would "reconcile the situation" for "the sake of the country." The "slam-dunking Cuomo ... quickly feigned lack of heft for the moderator's job" (6/29 issue). Columnist Sandy Grady: "For once, Clinton spoke gutsily and plainly -- Perot-style. Clinton showed Democrats they're healthier battling racial cant head-on" (PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 6/22).

MCLAUGHLIN GROUP: Eleanor Clift: "[Jackson] wants to get even and he's going to spend the rest of this political season making sure he does." Jack Germond: "Clinton and his managers made a very wise calculation that they could not be perceived as being jerked around by Jesse Jackson." Germond also noted Jackson's sons, Jesse, Jr. and Yusef, had criticized Sister Souljah's remarks the day before Clinton (6/20).

INSIDE WASHINGTON: NEWSWEEK's Evan Thomas: "[Clinton] stepped in it. He runs the risk of turning the Democratic convention into a circus." Carl Rowan: "Clinton did exactly what he should have done, and whether it pays off or not, he's right ... Jackson cannot deliver the black vote to anyone but Jesse Jackson" (6/21).

*2 CLINTON: REVISED ECONOMIC PLAN TERMED "CAUTIOUS"

In a live TV Q&A on WSB-TV Atlanta, Clinton introduced his revised economic plan, a 22-page document called, "Putting America First." "Seeking to hone his campaign message," Clinton announced a plan that "called for sharp increases in taxes on the rich and on corporations, and major revisions and reallocations of government spending of all kinds." Clinton "did not propose any major new plans," and missing from his announcement was his "claim during the primaries that he would be able to balance the budget within four years." Instead he said he would do slightly better than halve it by then. The plan included "relief" for middle-class taxpayers, but "abandoned" the 10% cut he "emphasized in the primary campaign, proposing instead a system of tax credits based on family size." Details of the plan include \$200B in new revenue "through tax increases and budget cuts," a proposal to cut the deficit by \$150B, tougher regulation of lobbyists and the creation of a "Rebuild America Fund, with a \$20B federal investment each year." All totaled, Clinton

proposed \$300B in savings over the next four years, \$140B from cuts, \$90B from "tax increases on the wealthy," and \$30B from tax increase on corporations (Ayres, N.Y. TIMES, 6/22). W.S. JOURNAL's Murray writes Clinton is "downplaying" the middle class tax cut. "In part, it reflects the effectiveness of his defeated primary opponent Paul Tsongas," who "succeeded in taking a policy proposal and turning it into a character issue, which is where Clinton is most vulnerable." Clinton "insists" there was no concessions saying, "the press and my political opponents always made more of the middle-class tax cut than I did." Clinton advisor Robert Shapiro added the campaign "is firmly focused on what it believes to be the central issue: How do you restore prosperity." Murray concludes "the demise of the middle-class tax cut should allow the election-year debate to focus on the most pressing issues facing the future of the middle class" (6/22). W.S. JOURNAL's Birnbaum describes the plan as "cautious, traditional" (6/22). USA TODAY's Nagourney writes the plan "neatly encapsulates the case Clinton has been making against Republicans: That their economic policies help the rich while crippling the economy and hurting the middle class" (6/22). L.A. TIMES' Fulwood writes, "Clinton hopes to use the plan to gain advantage" over Perot, who has "promised to make the federal budget a cornerstone of his campaign" but provided no "specific economic proposals" (6/22). W. POST's Balz reports the plan "is a shift in emphasis from the proposals that helped him win" the nomination. It reflects changing economic and political conditions and a desire to avoid criticism that he was promising more than he could pay for" (6/22). "Today" hosted DNC Chair Ron Brown. Brown, asked if Clinton's tax proposal mirrors Mondale's tax plan: "Mondale was for a tax increase for everyone, Bill Clinton is saying we need middle-class tax relief." Clinton economic advisor Derek Shearer on changes in Clinton's budget reform: "We want to be realistic, we don't want to buy into the kind of false promises that were made last time about balancing the budget." NBC's Mike Jensen: "As an economic document I would give it about C or maybe even a C-. The reason is, there are no hard stands taken in this to really make a difference in the budget deficit" (6/22).

*3 CLINTON: FREE TV "TURNING ENTIRE NATION INTO NEW HAMPSHIRE"
"The free fall is over," according to Clinton aides. "Big doses" of free TV "may have halted" Clinton's "plunge in the polls" and opened up a new style of campaigning that one Clinton adviser says has the potential of "turning the entire nation into New Hampshire" (Behson, NEWHOUSE, 6/20). Free TV time is being cited as the reason Clinton "belatedly ... bailed out" of a 6/21 half-hour paid political program on NBC. Great American Media Inc.'s Beth Daley, who manages Clinton's TV buys: "Due to the campaign's successful free media strategy, it feels the half hour program is unnecessary at this time." Referring to the campaign's letter to NBC, Dem analyst Bob Beckel: "Normally when you read a letter like that, you think, 'P.S. We don't have the money this week anyway.'" The program was scheduled to run opposite CBS' "60 Minutes" and would have cost \$180,000. Clinton adviser Mandy Grunwald said the cancellation "doesn't necessarily mean [Clinton] is rethinking the importance of selling himself to voters via commercials": "I wouldn't leap to any gigantic conclusions, but in the short term we've been offered so many opportunities for free air time that we figured we'd save our money" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/20). RNC attys filed a complaint

with the FEC charging the use of DNC funds for a national Clinton TV broadcast was illegal since it solicited funds for the primary campaign via an 800#. The campaign agreed to return all funds from the show, calling the use of the number "a technical violation" (mult., 6/19-20). Communications dir. George Stephanopoulos: "If you gave me \$3 million today, I wouldn't spend a penny on TV. We can't get any more than we're getting" (N.Y. TIMES, 6/21).

H. CLINTON: Hillary Clinton spoke to the Int'l Ladies Garment Workers Union convention and held a roundtable discussion with 23 women delegates on issues ranging from child-care costs to Clinton's "national service trust fund" (Kidwell, MIAMI HERALD, 6/20).

PLATFORM: Cleveland PLAIN DEALER's Diemer writes Clinton "has yet to make peace with his major rival within the party and may be in for a fight over" the party platform. Although the current draft "lacks specifics on health care and deficit reduction and drops Clinton's offer of a middle-class tax cut, platform drafters "say they are nearing agreement." Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-CT): "We've got the platform back to where the mainstream is." Rep. Bill Richardson (D-NM): "It is not the usual litany of special interests." Cmte member Stuart Eizenstat: "Our debates are at the margins -- not the core." But marginal issues "could mean the difference between a unified convention and the kind of bloodletting" that has hurt Dems in the past. Eizenstat "thinks the final draft ... will be acceptable" to Jesse Jackson but "this certainly is not going to be apple of Jesse Jackson's eye. It is not a document focused on the poor." A "source close to" the platform cmte said Clinton "appeared to be adopting the strategy" of the DLC (NEWHOUSE NEWS, 6/21). Jerry Brown wrote to DNC chair Ron Brown that the Dem platform draft circulated last week "fundamentally departs from the core principles of the Democratic Party," citing "emphasis on business tax breaks and disciplining welfare mothers and the utter failure to confront the growing concentrations of wealth and power." Brown said he "he doesn't think much of Clinton's strategy of telling people what they don't want to hear": "I expect that his next speech will be to the Catholic bishops on birth control." Brown promised "additional proposals and observations in the coming days" (W. POST, 6/21). Under header "Tsongas Eyes Floor Fight," NEWSDAY's Kasindorf writes Tsongas, "seeking a big impact" at the convention, "threatened a divisive floor fight unless the party platform reflects his demands for government spending caps and business-oriented tax incentives." Tsongas: "Don't expect me to be a loyal soldier. I want something to believe in, something that isn't pandering" (6/19).

GEARING FOR A FAB CONFAB: N.Y. TIMES' Barron reports NYC "has embarked on the final phase of preparations" for the convention "from repaving city streets to assigning a deputy mayor" to work at Dem HQ. Consumer Affairs is issuing warnings to keep con artists from taking advantage of delegates, police are telling prostitutes they will be arrested near Madison Square Garden and union officials promised all labor disputes would be referred to binding arbitration (6/20). In a lengthy piece about the NYC sex industry's preparation for the Dems, N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Yglesias writes, "Many of the conventioners will be women, but selling sex, like making presidents, is still predominantly a boys' thing." Mayflower Madam Sidney Biddle Barrows: "The only reason these guys want to come to New York is because they think they're going to get laid." Transvestite WW II veteran Mistress

Carla: "It will give me pleasure to whip a Democrat. It would give me more pleasure to whip a Republican" (6/21).

*4 VEEP WATCH: CLINTON SHORT LIST EMERGING

BOSTON GLOBE's Oliphant reports Clinton's short list includes Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN), Sens. Harris Wofford (D-PA), Bob Kerrey (D-NE) and Jay Rockefeller (D-WV) and "room for one or two more" like Sen. Al Gore (D-TN). The "timetable point[s] to about 10 days hence" (6/21). While "only Clinton and perhaps his wife, Hillary, really know what he is thinking," W. POST's Dan Balz sees a "consensus" short list of Rockefeller, Bradley, Wofford, Kerrey, Lieberman and Harkin, Hamilton, Gephardt and Rep. John Lewis (D-GA), Gov. Ann Richards (D-TX), Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson and CA Treasurer Kathleen Brown (6/22). W.S. JOURNAL's Birnbaum writes the "conventional route" would be to pick Rockefeller, Hamilton or Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL). As for the "unconventional," get this: "One person under consideration, it's believed" is retiring Sen. Warren Rudman (R-NH) (6/22).

HAMILTON: Elkhart, IN, Mayor Jim Perron (D) took the opportunity to "push" Hamilton as veep when he met with Clinton, saying Hamilton would bring the ticket "an immediate nationwide boost of credibility." According to Perron, Clinton said each House leader he meets "mentions Hamilton as a running mate": "He's the consensus choice of members of Congress around the country" (INDIANA LEG. INSIGHT, 6/22). Hamilton may prefer to stay in the House where he is in line to be chair of the Foreign Affairs cmte (Balz, W. POST, 6/22). NEWSWEEK's CW gives Hamilton an up arrow: "This week's Jay Rockefeller: the generic Safe Choice. Has stature, straight arrow. Zzzzzz" (6/29 issue).

WOFFORD: Clinton likes him: "He's a close friend of mine. He's an incredibly gifted public servant who has only recently been an elected official. He spent most of his life as a committed, caring citizen doing other things. And he's the kind of person that we need in the forefront of America" (POST, 6/22).

CUOMO: Evans & Novak report Wofford and Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL) "are favored" for veep but "prominent" Dem insiders are urging Clinton to tap Cuomo because he "would far exceed anybody else in ability to generate excitement and harden" the base vote (N.Y. POST, 6/20). But N.Y. POST's Dicker reports Cuomo, who "insisted that neither Clinton nor any member" of Clinton's campaign has talked to him, "repeatedly" said he's not interested. NY insiders say Clinton "was seeking to boost his standing" with NY Dems (6/22). U.S. NEWS' "Washington Whispers" reports "key" Dems say Cuomo is Clinton's "top choice" as Cuomo "could do for the [Dems] this year what the pairing of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson" did in '60. A Cuomo spokesperson "insists there's no way ... even on a 'dream' ticket" (6/29 issue). CHICAGO TRIB's "INC." reports Cuomo told Veep-hunter Warren Christopher to take his name off the list (6/19). NEWSWEEK's CW gives Cuomo a down arrow: "All-Machiavelli dream team; but one stab in the back too many. Go straight to the Court" (6/29). Cuomo: "It is quite a ride to go from the U.S. Supreme Court to vice president in two days" (N.Y. POST, 6/22).

RICHARDS: HOUSTON POST's Kiley & Gravois report among DC insiders "there appears to be a boomlet in favor of making" her veep, although Richards "reiterated she's not interested" (6/18). Mondale '84 adviser John Reilly: "It would be a bold move. ... He needs a bold move." Dem strategist Ann Lewis said VP "might be a bit of a comedown for Richards": "This may be a situation where we need her more than she needs us" (6/19). NEWSWEEK's CW gives

a woman a down arrow: "Bill has lust in his heart to be the PC prez. But can't take the risk. Wait till next time" (6/29).

FLYNN: In a letter to all AFL-CIO presidents, Graphic Communications Int'l Union pres. James Norton endorsed Boston Mayor Ray Flynn for veep. Norton writes Flynn is "extremely popular" in the Northeast, "indefatigable," and cites his expertise in urban affairs (GCIU release, 6/19).

OTHERS: NEWSWEEK gives Bradley a sideways arrow: "Top choice has said no, but the dream will never die. Swish at the buzzer?" Jackson gets a down arrow: "Old CW: Egotistical party pooper. New CW: Egotistical party wrecker." The only other CW up arrow goes to House Maj. Leader Dick Gephardt: "Old CW: Congress-bashed. New CW: Good soldier, GOP-basher. Mr. Inside gets out" (6/29). JCS chief Gen. Colin Powell "has told friends he would be laughed out of town if he abandoned Bush for Clinton's ticket." One Dem working with Clinton's campaign "said advisers have talked about a final-night convention tableau that includes 'two husbands and two wives,' in an effort to deflect the character issue" -- which would eliminate Kerrey and Richards, both divorced. Wofford, seen with Hamilton "as neither unconventional nor exactly conventional" by some Dems "worked hard for Clinton during the primaries ... fits Clinton's criteria of having experience that complements his ... has spent most of his life outside elective politics and like Hamilton would bring maturity to the ticket" (Balz, W. POST, 6/22). Ex-Rep. Bill Gray, now head of the United Negro College Fund said he's not interested: "I don't see any possibility of changing directions at this time" (BOSTON HERALD, 6/21).

NEW MATH: GOP pollster Vince Breglio says surveys in past elections show a VP candidate can add 1.5% to 2% to the vote for a ticket: "While that doesn't sound like a great deal in a two-person race, in a three-way race, with the vote split up, it could be a big deal" (L.A. TIMES, 6/22).

*5 PEROT: ROSS PEROT, PRIVATE INVESTIGATOR

W. POST's Woodward & Mintz report Perot, having concluded in '86 that "Bush had let him down" on a plan of Perot's to gain information on POW/MIAs in Vietnam, "launched what would become a series of investigations, ongoing until recent months, in pursuit of information that might uncover improper conduct by Bush." Perot says he told Bush: "This world is full of lions and tigers and rabbits. And you're a rabbit." Perot probes included alleged Bush involvement in Iran-Contra and an '80 "October Surprise" Iran hostage deal. Also, in '87, Perot and atty Tom Luce paid a DC law firm \$10,000 to "look into a \$48 million tax deduction obtained by Pennzoil," which is chaired by Hugh Liedtke, Bush's oil partner in the '50s. Perot described the results of the probe as a "mini-Teapot Dome" scandal. Pennzoil purchased 500,00 acres in NM in '73, which Perot sought for national park use or for the Boy Scouts. Pennzoil sold it back to the Forest Service in '82 and received the \$48M deduction. W. POST reports in an '81 inter-office Pennzoil memo, "Liedtke said not to contact Bush about the donation and tax deduction." Also in '88, Bush aides denied any involvement by then-VP Bush in the deal, "a denial supported in interviews with dozens of Reagan [admin.] officials." In '87, Perot and Luce gathered information on a \$50K Houston real estate investment Bush made in the late-70s. An "extensive investigation" into Perot's inquiries "turned up no evidence of improprieties by Bush." While denying "any personal animosity toward Bush," in private conversations over

the last few years Perot "has provided a running critique of Bush as an indecisive leader ... [and] as lacking backbone, the product of Ivy League privilege." Perot recounts a story from the '70s when he was with Bush on his boat off ME. When the engine quit, Perot has said Bush "'almost cried in frustration'" (6/21). In a companion piece on the POW/MIA issue, Woodward & Mintz write, Perot believes there are still Americans held in Southeast Asia "although extraordinary efforts by U.S. intelligence agencies have failed to find any proof" (6/21).

FALLOUT: W.S. JOURNAL's Rogers writes the Pennzoil case "illustrates Mr. Perot's willingness to work behind the scenes with the media he openly criticizes. And while complaining today of news leaks by political opponents, the timing of his own dealings with the [POST] suggest that he sought to damage" Bush's '88 campaign. Perot spokesperson Jim Squires said the "information was provided to the [POST] on a 'background,' or anonymous basis, but that Mr. Perot isn't protesting the newspaper's decision to make the matter public" (6/22). Bush strategist Bob Teeter, citing the W. POST and a NEW REPUBLIC report that Perot had his own children shadowed, said they "painted a portrait of Perot as willing to work outside of established rules of conduct": "Here's a guy who it looks like was going outside the rules that everyone else has to follow. ... If true, he doesn't have the judgment or temperament or respect for or laws to be President." Squires: "Obviously there is no indication that Mr. Perot violated any laws" (Holmes, N.Y. TIMES, 6/22). Bush spokesperson Torie Clarke: "Whacko with a capital W. This is pretty bizarre -- you disagree with the guy and he has you investigated. ... What would the man do with the CIA and FBI?" (USA TODAY, 6/22). ABC's Cokie Roberts on Perot having his own children followed: "This will have children all over the country a little upset" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/21). NEWSWEEK's Joe Klein: "People are beginning to sense that this guy is a snoop and people don't like a snoop. He's kind of like the boss who gets itchy if you don't call him mister or pulls your record if you show up for work with a Twisted Sister T-shirt on" ("CBS This Morning," 6/22).

*6 PEROT: DIGGING BENEATH SURFACE REVEALS CRITICS, CONVERTS
IN HIS OWN WORDS: U.S. NEWS offers "Perot on Perot" -- an extended interview conducted by David Gergen, Harrison Rainie and Jerry Buckley -- as its cover story. Intro: "The sessions with Perot focused on issues that are sure to become the essence of his campaign -- and the critique of it by his opponents. ... whether Perot has a too simplistic and moralistic view of the world; his business acumen has any relevance to leading the nation and running the government; and whether his tough-minded, action-oriented style is sufficiently sensitive to civil liberties." The transcript has Perot on his life, from childhood through business experiences. On leadership: "Have a goal; have a vision; assemble a talented team; get it done; go on to the next one." On America: "What kills me is that when we apply ourselves, we can do much" (6/29 issue).

THE OTHER SIDE: In TIME's cover piece -- "Nobody's Perfect: The Doubts About Ross Perot" -- TIME's George Church notes press inquiry into Perot's "carefully tended story about his dramatic transformation from obscure computer salesman into proprietor of one of the nation's largest fortunes. Already some cracks are beginning to appear in the facade. Perot, like some of the mainstream politicians he derides, does have a credibility

problem." Under subhead "Self-Made Man -- And Myth," Church notes discrepancies between accounts of his childhood, Navy days and early business years, both with IBM and the founding of EDS. In a section on his experiences with EDS and GM, under subhead "Charisma or Tyranny -- Or Both?," Church cites one Houston oilman: "One of the scariest things about Ross is his tendency to exclude everybody who doesn't look or think like him." Church adds, "Perot thinks a leader's job is to set goals and drive his followers to reach them by any means necessary. ... That approach succeeded spectacularly at EDS, where goals could be simple and Perot could rely on well-understood rewards and punishment. It is questionable whether it would work in government, where goals could be complex or even contradictory ... and President Perot could not fire the leaders of Congress for failing to get desired legislation passed." Church also examines Perot's "abiding belief in paramilitary" and his "penchant for getting involved in secret activities." Concludes Church, "To date, there is no single misdeed, no terrible indiscretion, or any personal quirk that could be considered disqualifying. Rather ... Perot's strengths are mirror images of his weaknesses. Is he a decisive, can-do, fiercely driven man who would help solve the nations' problems. Or is he an overly ambitious, thin-skinned tyrant who would only make things worse?" (6/29 issue).

THE SPECIFICITY THING: DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Jackson reports, a review of recent speeches and statements show Perot "has been more specific, even though he has provided few details on how his initiatives would be implemented." Perot has hired Carter deputy budget dir. John White "to head his issues team -- but there has been no firm word on when these positions would be made public." Jackson outlines Perot stances on the deficit, world affairs, economic growth, abortion, crime and drugs (6/20).

FAN MAIL: Lee Iacocca, in an L.A. TIMES op-ed: "Whether you like him or not, agree with him or not or think he's a charlatan or a man on horseback, Ross Perot has infused this election with something completely new to American politics in my lifetime -- the real possibility of fundamental change in [DC]" (6/21). N.Y. TIMES' Stevenson reports on business support for Perot. Many CEOs "said Washington is in need of the shock-treatment approach that Mr. Perot's candidacy represents" (6/21). U.S. NEWS profiles five Perot backers, noting "what is striking ... is how varied their backgrounds and beliefs are. ... For now, however, he seems to have cornered the market on angry voters. They may not yet be a majority, but they certainly are no longer silent" (6/29 issue). NOW pres. Patricia Ireland on why more women don't support Perot: "Women are more skeptical of the man on the white horse coming to save the day, and especially when the words on his lips seem to be trust me." Emily's List pres. Ellen Malcolm on Perot closing gender gap by naming a woman VP: "It will begin to give some kind of signal that he does respect women and does follow up his words with actions" ("Fox Morning News," 6/22).

EVERYONE'S A CRITIC: George Will writes Perot "is what used to be called a blatherskite. There is an inverse relationship between the confidence he has in his opinions and the care he has taken in forming them. ... His thinking -- or, lacking evidence of such, his talking -- does suggest deep-seated impatience with the Constitution's purposeful patterns of indirectness" (NEWSWEEK, 6/29 issue). Asked by Tim Russert why stories on Perot don't "resonate," Elizabeth Drew: "I'm not sure it isn't beginning to register. It takes a while. And because his

candidacy is backed by an almost faith that this is a different kind of person and the first stories will be the media elite in the Beltway ... are trying to tear down this wonderful man. But bit by bit, as these stories accumulate, I think people are going to begin to pause. And there is some polling to suggest that that's beginning to happen." R.W. Apple, comparing Perot, who was heckled in Boston, to Hubert Humphrey in '68: "He's going to stay with us. He's not going to fade away. ... But he is going to be more and more subject to the rules of ordinary presidential campaigning, as we get into an ordinary presidential campaign" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 6/21). BOSTON GLOBE editorial states Perot is in "Phase Two": "Even his supporters are tiring of the terse, bullet-phrased messages he has relied on so far" (6/20). W. TIMES' Pruden writes the "drip, drip, drip of disclosure will make its impact, even on those who are most contemptuous of the forgers of print and frauds of the tube" (6/22).

SILBER LINING? BOSTON GLOBE's Wilkie and NEWHOUSE's Nesbitt both compare Perot to BU Pres. John Silber (D), the upstart who eventually lost the '90 MA Gov. race. Wilkie writes both "seized on anger and frustration and presented themselves as instruments of radical change. ... Silber was eventually undone by the perception that he was too hot, too provocative. It is still too early to determine how Perot, whose manner is a bit milder, will play out" (6/20). Dem consultant Ann Lewis: "There's an eerie echo." Paul Tsongas: "If Ross Perot does not become the next President of the United States, it will be because he trod the same path as John Silber. The question is -- can you listen? Do you respect other people's opinions? And can you deal with the role of the press?" (NEWHOUSE, 6/20).

*7 PEROT: REVIEWS FROM THE ROAD

"Citizen-politician Ross Perot turned pro last week. Moving his presidential quest from the confines of the [TV] studio to open-air rallies in [CA, CO, and MA], Perot looked and sounded every inch the seasoned campaign trouper." The rallies "bore all the hallmarks of the babies and bombast. And the sophisticated manipulation of patriotic symbolism that marked his appearances was reminiscent of Ronald Reagan at his peak. ... The Perot tableau was pure Norman Rockwell -- the self-made man confronting the Establishment and promising to return the government to the governed. It also was Huey Long" (Broder, L.A. TIMES, 6/21). Germond & Witcover: "It is ironic that just as Clinton and Bush are catching on to Perot's crafty use of television entertainment talk shows to bypass the critical press, he appears to have the capacity through his money and volunteer manpower to ... put politics back on Main Street" (Balto. EVENING SUN, 6/19).

CO: Supporters turned in almost 30 times the signatures needed for Perot to qualify. His 6/19 rally, which attracted 3,000 people, was a "virtual replay" of his appearances in CA -- "heavily spiced with patriotic and military themes" (Broder, L.A. TIMES, 6/19). Cameras filmed people marching toward the stage with boxes that supposedly contained some of the 139,000 signatures. But when a reporter later opened the box, he found the Denver yellow pages. A CO Perot organizer "described the boxes as 'simulated petitions,' even though [TV] viewers probably assumed they were seeing the product of Perot's volunteers" (Lambrecht, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 6/21). Retired Army Lt. Gen. Calvin Waller, second in command of Gulf war troops, introduced Perot. Waller, who is black, was asked after the rally whether Perot had approached him about the VP slot, but

"said he has not discussed the matter with Perot." But "with Waller's presence and with his words, Perot continued his efforts to draw more minorities into the fold" (L.A. TIMES, 6/19).

MA: Perot "drew his biggest crowd" in MA, but also "faced his nosiest protesters -- critics of his views on abortion and gay rights." Queer Nation attempted to "shout down" Perot, while MA Citizens for Life passed out leaflets stating, "Perot is on record for supporting the most extreme anti-life legislation" (Jackson, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/21). CBS' Scott Pelley about the protesters: "If Perot had been enjoying a political honeymoon, it's over. As the campaign moves forward, it is increasingly under fire" (CBS, 6/20). The recipe: "Using homespun homilies and quoting Winston Churchill and Lech Walesa," Perot even "invoked the motto of Alexandre Dumas' Three Musketeers -- 'One for all and all for one' -- while advocating a spirit of volunteerism" (Wilkie, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/21).

BOSTON STORIES: An analysis by HERALD's Wayne Woodlief, calling Perot "a self-proclaimed 'man of the people' who stays as distant as he can from the masses," ends with this reaction to protests by two gay groups, ACT-UP and Queer Nation: "'You're all faggots, you're all faggots,' shouted back a grey-haired Perot backer, waving an American flag, in a scene witnessed by a Herald photographer. 'Why don't you just call me a nigger?' shouted a black woman member of the group. 'OK, you're a nigger, nigger, nigger,' the Perot man yelled. Perot security marshals and Boston police staved off physical violence. Yet the angry affair may be an omen that the candidate who calls for unity of the people, could well see more division as his controlled campaign moved ironly on its way" (6/21).

MD: Perot appears in Annapolis on 6/24 where MD organizers will deliver their petitions by "flotilla" (mult., 6/20).

ROCKIN' ROLLINS: On CNN's "Evan & Novak," Perot co-manager Ed Rollins said, "We're not going to have a traditional convention. We're not going to do one city and have a four-day convention like the Republicans and Democrats, which are totally outdated and outmoded. ... we're going to have some events across the country. ... I would think certainly late August or early September." On Jesse Jackson: "I would certainly like to have many of the blacks that support Mr. Jackson in our coalition. ... Certainly if [Jackson] wants to endorse Mr. Pert and vote for him we'd welcome it, but we're not reaching out for that and we don't expect that to happen. ... It's a Perot and a movement campaign. It's not Jesse Jackson's campaign" (6/20).

POLITICS OF POPULISM: DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Stahl & Minutaglio report Perot's grass-roots volunteers are being "dictated by paid staffers from Dallas. And, in at least one instance, volunteers complain that longtime political party members are muscling in. Politics, like it or not, is beginning to seep into the populist effort." In CO, local volunteers say "they were victims of a fractious coup. After spending thousands of dollars of their own money uncorking the Perot drive, they say they have been replaced -- in a variety of organizational capacities -- by 'ruthless wannabees' and Perot staffers from Texas" (6/21). NEWSWEEK's Fineman writes, "He meets privately with melting pots of community leaders ... and hopscotches the nation to target key voters. He's even faxing his travel schedule to the press. Yes, that's Ross Perot -- the non-, un- and anti-candidate -- looking like a man they would call, in plain Texas talk, a 'politician.'" The Perot camp is looking at July 4th to air a "roadblock" of time on all nets for a live

appearance by Perot. His interviews are also being reviewed for a possible mass-distribution video (6/29 issue).

MIA HEARINGS: According to aides, Perot canceled his scheduled testimony before the Senate hearings on MIAs because "he suspects" subcmte chair Sen. John Kerry (D-MA), mentioned as a possible Clinton VP, "would try to embarrass him in order to further" Clinton's campaign. He "fears that Kerry has been collaborating with Clinton in planning the hearings." Kerry: "That's the most ridiculous fantasy charge I've ever heard" (Evans & Novak, N.Y. POST, 6/20). Kerry citing a 6/19 conversation he had with Perot: "He has agreed to submit to a sworn formal deposition which is good for the committee and it's good for him. ... We're going to do that as soon as possible, hopefully in the next days" (NBC, 6/21).

THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT: NEWSWEEK's Fineman reports S.F. adman Hal Riney is the "man in line to 'let Ross be Ross.'" Riney's "credits seem eerily appropriate": Reagan's '84 campaign, Bartles & Jaymes wine coolers and GM's Saturn. "Riney's camera crews, campaign officials confirm, are filming Perot rallies for ads that are likely to air in a few weeks. Perot aides are enamored of the Saturn analogy." Riney's Saturn slogan: "A whole new kind of car from a whole new kind of car company" (6/29 issue). W.S. JOURNAL notes Riney was part of Reagan's '84 "Morning in America" ad team (6/22).

*8 BUSH: CALIFORNIANS GIVE BUSH THE COLD SHOULDER?

Bush campaigned in Orange Co. CA, 6/19, where Perot had stumped a day earlier. But the difference between their "back-to-back appearances" was "striking" (Boyd, KNIGHT-RIDDER, 6/20). Perot attracted some 8,000 "cheering supporters," while Bush received a "warm but hardly ecstatic reception" (Gerstenzang/Ramos, L.A. TIMES, 6/20). And many in Bush's audience "said they haven't decided who they'll vote for. There was no such doubt" at Perot's event (KNIGHT-RIDDER, 6/20). BOSTON GLOBE's Kranish notes, "The result is striking because Orange County is one of the most Republican areas in the nation and is considered a must-win for Bush if he hopes to carry the state." He employed his "favorite technique of using his presidential power to dispense political gifts on a crucial region," by announcing "the repeal of a tax on defense contractors who sell their goods overseas" -- a measure "long sought" by Orange Co. companies (6/20). Before leaving, Bush met privately with about 100 GOP strategists who "warned" him "it's going to be tough" to carry CA (L.A. TIMES, 6/20). He had a similar meeting in Northern CA 6/18. COPLEY NEWS' Mark Barabak notes, "The Bush campaign depicted the meetings as a routine consultation, but one source prominent in state GOP circles depicted a mood verging on panic among many of the president's most important [CA] backers" (6/19).

TEXAS TWISTER: "With conservative delegates firmly in control," the 6/19 TX GOP state convention "passed a platform with a strict anti-abortion plank." The new platform calls for overturning Roe v. Wade, and "omits language" allowing "diverse opinions on abortion." Kathi Mosbacher, daughter of Bush campaign chair Robert Mosbacher "predicted the anti-abortion language may lead" some GOPers away from Bush. Kathi Mosbacher: "It's made a profound difference in how a lot of Republicans feel." When asked if she would support Perot or Clinton: "It's a possibility" (Ratcliffe, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 6/20). Operation Rescue announced they will plan rallies at the GOP convention that may include "putting on display a fetus that allegedly has

been aborted" (Cobb/Herrera, CHRONICLE, 6/20). Bush "unleashed his first attack" on Perot during a speech to the convention. Without mentioning his name, Bush "underscored Perot's lack of political experience," saying "there is too much at stake to buy a pig in a poke." He criticized Perot's proposed "town meetings" as "just plain irresponsible and out of touch with reality" (Gerstenzang, L.A. TIMES, 6/21). Bush, in a "thinly veiled challenge to Perot": "Let's get some of the people who are saying they are going to change things to talk some specifics and say how it's going to be done" (McAllister, W. POST, 6/21). Bush also targeted Clinton: "Unlike one of my opponents, I do not believe that the only way to ever balance the budget is -- quote -- a massive tax increase" (Attlesay, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/21). Bush's TX reception was considerably more favorable than he received in CA (W. POST, 6/21). Fred Barnes on when Bush and Clinton will start attacking Perot: "I thought Bush would have started by now, the way he started criticizing Mike Dukakis, but I think he's going to hold back at least until the Republican convention ... you're going to see increasing criticism by everyone associated with Bush. ... Clinton's going to pass for a while" ("CBS This Morning," 6/22).

OUCH, THAT HURTS! The Bush campaign "sustained another major loss" with the announcement that Sal Russo, a key GOP organizer who worked for Reagan and ex-CA Gov. George Deukmejian, will serve as Perot's "senior campaign adviser" (Gunnison, S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/20). NEWSWEEK's Joe Klein, in a "memo to candidate Bush" from Lee Atwater, writes, "You'll excuse me, sir, but this campaign's going to be considerably more difficult than [1988], and your recent performances have been, uh, less than compelling. Isn't it about time you got it on?" (6/29 issue).

NO COMMENT: Sec/State James Baker appeared on "Brinkley." ABC's Sam Donaldson asked him about Perot's comment that Bush is a "rabbit." Baker: "You're not going to get me into the domestic political debate. ... Notwithstanding the great temptation that I have to engage. ... I'm sorry I cannot engage with you in the domestic political campaign this morning." Baker in response to ABC's George Will's question of whether Perot has contempt for the constitution: "It is not the job of the secretary of state to do that, unless he's going to be removed from his duties as secretary of state and then engage in that sort of thing" (6/21).

URBAN AID: NYC Mayor David Dinkins (D) "led a chorus of mayors [6/20] in criticizing President Bush for aiding Russia at the expense of U.S. cities." The group gathered in Houston for the annual meeting of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, where they prepared a policy resolution to renew "the bipartisan conference's call for \$35 billion in immediate federal aid for cities" (AP/N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 6/21). "With the Senate poised to take up the Russian aid bill as early as this week," the mayors moved to add new language to the resolution that rejects new foreign aid if Congress "does not also include a program of domestic urban aid in amounts equal to or greater than that which we are willing to invest abroad." Congress approved \$1.3B in urban aid last week, which was half the amount originally passed by the Senate. "Bush had threatened to veto the larger amount." Boston Mayor Ray Flynn (D) accused Bush of "snubbing the cities by failing to address the gathering," though he was in Dallas for a political speech 6/20 (Welch, AP/PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/21). Clinton is scheduled to address the group today, as is HUD Sec. Jack Kemp (N.Y. TIMES, 6/21).

IRAQGATE: "In a compromise with Congress," the WH has

decided to allow State Dept. official Frank Lemay to testify before the House Judiciary Cmte regarding his 10/89 warning to his superiors that U.S. loan guarantees to Iraq "had been diverted to weapons, including 'nuclear related equipment.'" The WH denied requests last week to allow WH counsel C. Boyden Gray and National Security Council's Nicholas Rostow to testify. The Judiciary Cmte has scheduled a 6/23 hearing to determine whether to request an independent prosecutor to investigate the government's pre-Gulf war policy toward Iraq (Tolchin, N.Y. TIMES, 6/21). "Stung by disclosures after Operation Desert Storm about the magnitude and capabilities of Iraq's arsenal, President Bush signed a secret finding last year authorizing the CIA to develop plans, including covert action, to block proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, according to informed U.S. sources. The presidential finding required that the CIA and other U.S intelligence agencies make arms proliferation one of their priorities. It also opened the way, in principle, for covert operations." But sources said "the year-old intelligence effort has produced limited results in part because of limited funding" (L.A. TIMES, 6/20).

*9 QUAYLE: OUT OF THE POTATOE PATCH INTO THE FRYING PAN

Amid a torrent of satire and ribbing over misspelling "potato" in a Trenton spelling bee, VP Quayle clearly has struck raw nerves with his "family values" rhetoric of recent weeks. He kept it up 6/19, assaulting Time Warner for profiting off an "obscene record" by Ice-T that suggests "it's OK to kill cops": Quayle: "Where is the corporate responsibility here?" (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/20). On "MacNeil/Lehrer," he explained his campaign role: "There's a big distinction between what a President should and should not do and what a Vice-President can and will do, it's a big heartbeat" (PBS, 6/19). There's no question he has launched a full-scale debate: See pro-column by Emmett Tyrell (N.Y. POST, 6/20); see anti-editorial (ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 6/19); see W.S. JOURNAL editorial on Ice-T (6/22); see Suzanne Garment's analysis that suggests the message may "siphon off Perot's base" (L.A. TIMES, 6/21); ECONOMIST's "Lexington" sums up both sides: "After nearly four years in which poor Mr. Quayle has been the butt of a thousand jokes, he has struck a chord ... Dismissing Mr. Quayle's tales of family values as 'just politics' will not wash ... Call the nuclear family a 'highly idealized world' if you like; but it seems to do a better job of raising children at peace with themselves and the world than any other way ... There is no shortage of ideas to back up the chatter about values; but few of them have; so far, been endorsed or explored by Mr. Quayle" (6/20).

BUT PRINT JUNKIES AND TV COUCH POTATOES ALIKE ARE GETTING A STEADY DIET OF JOKES AT QUAYLE'S EXPENSE: TIME's Duffy writes Quayle's polls are so bad that "an innocent spelling mistake can undo two weeks of hard work in mere seconds" (6/29 issue). Even Quayle himself admits "it's too good of a story to pass up" ("MacNeil/Lehrer," PBS, 6/19). Few have. Cartoonist Mike Lane pictures the VP singing, "You spell potato, I spell potatoe, Potato, Potatoe!!" and getting hit with "Tomato, Tomatoe" with Uncle Sam chiming in: "Let's call the whole thing off" (Balto. EVENING SUN, 6/19). Cartoonist Jim Borgman introduces a child's game called "MR. VICEPRESIDENTHEAD" (CINCINNATI ENQUIRER). Subscriptions have increased for the Quayle Quarterly (N.Y. DAILY

NEWS, 6/21). PHILA. INQUIRER includes a smiling pic of the VP as he heard he had misspelled the word, with the caption: "Is this a spud-eating grin, or what?" (6/21). NEWSWEEK pictures Wm Figueroa, the 6th grader who Quayle "corrected" and later appeared on Letterman (6/29 issue). AP circulates a photo of Figueroa with a bowl of spuds in front of a sign that said "POTATO KING" (ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 6/19). At the Nat'l Assn of Radio Talk Show Hosts, AP was confronted with this: "Mr. Vice-president, the word is kumquat ..." (CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 6/21). A Philadelphia elementary school principal ended an 8th grade graduation ceremony spelling "P-O-T-A-T-O" to demonstrate expectations at this school (PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/21). In a column with no reference to the spelling bee or the cue card, Art Buchwald points out, "Quayle reads whatever his handlers stick in front of him" (N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/19). W. POST is having a field day: Saturday's POST shows a version of American Gothic with a Quayle head insert, featuring "Farmer Dan's Vegetable Garden" with items from "potatoe" to "lettuc" (6/20); on Sunday columnist Tony Kornheiser, writing on DC's driver's test, said Quayle passed but had difficulty with this question: "How do you spell potato? a) Potato. b) Potato. c) Potato. Quayle thought it was a trick question" (6/21); Chas. Paul Freund's "Viz., a Gloss for the Perplexed" features Quayle and family values, with the VP popping out of the TV, labeled as "Mr. Potatoe Head" (W. POST, 6/21); today's "Names & Faces" reports that Murphy Brown's baby has been nick-named "Danny Boy" (6/22). And even when the VP's office came up with a helpful Mark Twain quote ("I don't give a damn for a man who can spell a word only one way" -- found in "Dictionary of Humorous Quotations") there is a mini-flap over whether it was true. The Mark Twain project at UC-Berkeley's Bancroft Library convinced the S.F. EXAMINER's Lynn Ludlow to report, "There's no evidence that Twain ever said it" (6/20).

SCORECARD: He gets high marks from some conservatives and analysts: George Will -- "The more thoughtful half of the Bush-Quayle team" (NEWSWEEK, 6/29 issue); Mark Shields -- "He's been the only voice, the consistent voice, in the [admin.] for what is emerging as the strategy of just solidifying the base of the party" ("MacNeil/Lehrer," PBS, 6/19). He gets ridicule or pity from many in the press: Steve Daley -- "The dark secret of the Bush [admin.] is that millions of Republicans are embarrassed by Quayle's gaffes" (CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 6/21); David Gergen -- "He was doing pretty well ... until ..." ("M/L," PBS, 6/19); ABC's Sam Donaldson on the notion that Quayle hasn't alienated his base -- "Oh yeah, what about the potato farmers?" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/21); Eleanor Clift -- "Just when there's a danger of taking him seriously, he comes along and self-destructs" ("McLaughlin Group," 6/20). David Nyhan: "Spud Quayle always reads his cue cards just the way they're printed. Even when they're wrong. Or mean. Or nasty. He's into following orders" (BOSTON GLOBE 6/21). And he has become an available measuring stick for other politicians. EXAMPLE: A MO Democrat, who is black, commenting on the recent Clinton flap with Jesse Jackson over Sister Souljah: "I'd prefer Clinton and 'somebody' to Bush and someone who can't spell 'potato'" (ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 6/19). EXAMPLE: Ed Rollins, asked who Perot's VP pick would be, said, "I promise you whoever we name will be a heck of a lot more qualified than the present vice-president" (CNN, 6/20). EXAMPLE: Ross Perot was introduced 6/19 to his CO audience by a general who talked of Perot's loyalty, courage and integrity -- and "he can spell potato" (W. POST, 6/20). But it can work two ways: Jay

Leno -- "At least the guy tried. ... In L.A., they asked Ross Perot to spell potato and he said, 'I'm not going to spell it right now. I'm gonna form a committee. I'm gonna study it. When I have all the information, I'm gonna get right back to you" (NBC, 6/19).

***10 INTO THE HOUSE: HOW THEY SHOULD VOTE, HOW THEY WOULD VOTE**

Historian Hiller Zobel notes the winner in a House vote could be determined by as few as 58 Members -- those from the 26 smallest states with delegations of six or less (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/21). If it goes to the House, Dem analyst Mark Siegel implores House incumbents and challengers to vote for the popular vote winner, not their party's candidate: "If the popular vote winner ... was denied the presidency, the world's greatest democracy would be held up to mockery all over the world" (W. POST, 6/22). Retiring Rep. Vin Weber (R-MN) goes further: "If the House installs anyone but the man with the most popular votes, we will have a revolution" (Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 6/22).

STATE BY STATE: MD -- In a survey of all House incumbents and challengers, Rep. Connie Morella (R) is the only candidate with a stated preference: She will vote as her CD voted (Balto. SUN, 6/22). OH -- Frosh Rep. Charles Luken (D-OH) said he'd go with how his CD voted. Rep. Paul Gillmor (R-OH) is one of many supporting a constitutional amendment to create a 2-way runoff to take place 3 weeks after the election (Ruess, Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 6/22). VA -- RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH polls VA's House incumbents and challengers: Only 2 said they'd definitely vote with their CD; 3 GOPers say they would definitely vote Bush; 3 GOPers say they would vote either Bush or Perot, but not Clinton; Although many of the Dems said they would vote their conscience, none said they would definitely vote for Clinton (6/22). VT -- Debbie Bookchin, spokesperson for Rep. Bernie Sanders (I), said he would give "very great deference" to how VT voted. WY -- Sole Rep. Craig Thomas (R) said he would not vote Clinton were the gov. to win his state. As for Perot: "I think there is a little more flexibility there" (Balto. SUN, 6/22).

ELECTORAL COLLEGE BOWL: George Will warns against FL joining ME and NE as the only states which automatically assign electoral votes by congressional district. Although the chances are slim for such a bill to be passed for '92 in FL's special session, some FL GOPers favor it if it began in '96. "Today's winner-take-all system promotes moderation by punishing parties that are ideologically, racially or geographically narrow. But moderation may be passe in the age of Perotmania" (W. POST, 6/21). Carter WH counsel Lloyd Cutler writes, if electors voted their own judgment, not bound by state vote, it "would be a huge departure from recent practice, but it would be a return to the intent of the Framers" (W. POST, 6/22).

KEEP THINKING THREE-WAY: Analyst Stuart Rothenberg notes that although recent 3-way polls suggest Clinton "weakness," they belie certain evidence that this is "Still A Three-Way Race." Among them: 1) Black support for Bush, such as the 24% he gets in a recent Harris survey, is "exaggerated" as "Republicans usually draw better among blacks in polls than on Election Day"; 2) Perot currently pulls about even amounts from conservatives and liberals. As he spells out his positions, one of those numbers will go down; 3) Women give Bush a plurality in a 3-way, but Dem Senate nominees on the fall ballot of this "Year of the Woman" should bump up Clinton's votes from women; 4) Bush & Perot currently lead Clinton among voters 18-29, but more MTV-type

appeals by Clinton should cut into that (ROTHENBERG POLITICAL REPORT, 6/19 issue). UConn's Everett Carl Ladd notes how evenly matched the parties are in '92. Two years of Gallup polls show: 1) The country is split evenly along partisan lines -- 34% GOP, 33% Dem, 33% independent; 2) There is virtually no partisan difference between Catholics and Protestants -- a "split that loomed so large through most of U.S. history now has finally vanished"; 3) "Regional differences are now the smallest than they have ever been" (Balto. SUN, 6/21).

*11 COVER TO COVER

BUSINESS WEEK -- "Detroit's Big Chance: Will it keep winning back customers from Japanese rivals?" (6/29).

ECONOMIST -- "Save while you earn" (6/20-26).

NEWSWEEK -- Photo: Sister Souljah. "Rap Race: Beyond Sister Souljah -- The New Politics of Pop Music" (6/29).

TIME -- Photo: Perot with half head dark. "Nobody's Perfect: The Doubts About Ross Perot" (6/29).

U.S. NEWS -- "Ross Perot's America: His boyhood, his career, his values -- in his own words" (6/29).

NEW REPUBLIC -- "Springtime for Perot" (7/6).

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

*12 ILLINOIS: DRUG LEGALIZATION BECOMES A SALIENT ISSUE

Atty Rich Williamson (R) "introduced marijuana as an issue" by "criticizing" Cook Co. Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun (D) "as being soft on crime because she supports decriminalization" of the drug. CHICAGO TRIBUNE's Steve Johnson notes "both Braun and Williamson have lost a brother to drug addiction," Williamson's due to alcoholism and Braun's due to drug and alcohol abuse. Williamson's charges "continue his strategy of trying to portray himself as a defender of so-called family values. Meanwhile, he is attempting to paint Braun as a typical liberal" (6/19). CHICAGO TRIBUNE's "Inc." predicts Williamson will "continue trying to isolate Braun on the Far Left, focusing on hot-button issues like the death penalty, decriminalization of marijuana, and taxes. And look for Williamson to try to appeal to black voters with issues like tenant ownership" (6/19). CHICAGO SUN-TIMES' Watson & Briggs cite a "senior" WH official who "said Braun's candidacy 'has a lot of energy' and can be expected to produce an increased turnout on her behalf on Chicago's largely black South and West sides, as well as draw support from many women, both at the Republican ticket's expense." The official "said Braun's charm gives her an advantage that [Williamson] must counter on philosophical grounds and called on Williamson to continue his negative ad campaign to warn voters that if Braun is elected, she would rank with Sen. Paul Wellstone [D-MN] and Sen. Howard Metzenbaum [D-OH] as the Senate's most liberal members." The official "also appealed to conservatives disenchanted" with Williamson's switch from pro-life to pro-choice "to weigh the candidates' over-all records and vote for him anyway" (6/19).

***13 NEW YORK: D'AMATO'S NAME SURFACES IN PUERTO RICO TRIAL**

In the trial of Sen. Al D'Amato's (R) "chief" Puerto Rican fundraiser, Eduardo Lopez Ballori, prosecutors introduced "letters and documents that appear to link [D'Amato] and his top Senate aide to direct discussions about lobbying for federal housing contracts." D'Amato has "repeatedly said, at least once under oath, that he had no knowledge" that the housing subsidies for which he lobbied were going to political allies and contributors in Puerto Rico (Friedman, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/19). The trial "has become a clear window on the allegations of political favoritism and even influence peddling that have dogged [D'Amato] for years." Although D'Amato "has repeatedly acknowledged pushing for projects in Puerto Rico, in general, but denied pushing for particular projects," the new evidence suggests the distinction "may have become at the very least [a] somewhat fuzzy distinction in practice" (Josh Barbanell, N.Y. TIMES, 6/21).

DEMS: AG Robert Abrams (D) "has been struggling to persuade women that he is the best Democratic candidate to take on [D'Amato]. He began the race as the presumed favorite," but ex-Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (d) has "pulled ahead in polls," and NYC Comptroller Liz Holtzman is "nipping from behind, leaving him and the Rev. Al Sharpton the odd men out" (Purdum, N.Y. TIMES, 6/21). N.Y. POST's Dicker examines the possibility of Abrams running on November on the same Liberal Party line as Perot, should he lose the Dem primary to Ferraro. Abrams has repeatedly "refused to say he would pull out of talks with Perot representatives about a possible endorsement." The Liberal Party could be the "second-largest vote getter" in NY if it "jumps on board a strong Perot candidacy" (6/27).

***14 OREGON: LONSDALE CONSIDERS WRITE-IN CANDIDACY**

Businessman Harry Lonsdale (D) ended his Dem primary campaign "by refusing to endorse" winner Rep. Les AuCoin (D-01) and saying "he is leaning toward" a write-in candidacy and will probably decide in July. Lonsdale's participation in the Dem primary legally bars him from getting on the ballot as an independent or third-party candidate. Lonsdale, who lost to AuCoin by 330 votes, charged that "there's not a nickel's worth of difference" between AuCoin and Sen. Bob Packwood (R). Lonsdale said "nothing could be more hypocritical of me now" than to support AuCoin, who did not support him in his 1990 race against Sen. Mark Hatfield (R). Citing Packwood's fundraising lead and AuCoin's overdrafts at the House bank, Lonsdale: "I think AuCoin's going to lose whether I run a write-in campaign or not" (Jeff Mapes, Portland OREGONIAN, 6/19). An OREGONIAN editorial said the debate over major issues "would be diminished by the confusion created by a quixotic write-in campaign offering up a rehash from an already-rejected candidate. Lonsdale is not Oregon's Ross Perot" (6/18).

"CLEAN CAMPAIGN" PLEDGE: AuCoin challenged Packwood to a "strict" \$1 million limit on spending, with no more than \$500,000 on ads, and a series of debates. AuCoin has little left on hand while Packwood "reportedly has about" \$3.2 million in cash. The Packwood campaign was yet to respond (OREGONIAN, 6/21).

===== HOTSPOTS =====

*15 TEXAS: ANOTHER LONE STAR BUSINESSMAN TO SEEK TOP OFFICE?

At the TX GOP convention last weekend, businessman T. Boone Pickens (R), head of the Mesa, Inc. energy company, "acknowledged ... he might" challenge Gov. Ann Richards (D) in '94. Pickens: "I wanted to run in '90, and my business was really in bad shape and my business is still in bad shape. But it's still a while before '94, and if my business is in good shape, I'd sure like to look at it. I'm not going to tell you I will, but I've been serious about it" (Slater/Attlessey, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/21).

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

*16 THIS MORNING: NBC's "Today" hosted DNC chair Ron Brown and Clinton econ. advisor Derek Shearer. "CBS This Morning" hosted Fred Barnes and Joe Klein. "FOX Morning News" hosted NOW pres. Patricia Ireland and EMILY's List pres. Ellen Malcolm on Perot, Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-CO) and Human Rights Campaign Fund's Tim McFeeley on military ban on homosexuals (6/22).

THIS WEEKEND: 6/19 -- ABC, NBC and CBS led with the FDA advisory opinion on the birth control drug. "M/L" interviewed Quayle. "Larry King Live" hosted Sister Souljah. ABC's Person of the Week was Michael Jordan. 6/20 -- NBC led with South Africa. CBS led with L.A. truck driver Reginald Denny. 6/21 -- NBC led with South Africa. CBS led with Clinton.

WINNERS/LOSERS: CNN's Rick Allen on his winners: "Bush and his Russian counterpart signed seven treaties, count 'em seven." Loser: Jesse Jackson "for picking Sister Souljah over a tough talking Bill Clinton" ("Inside Politics," CNN, 6/19).

PREDICTIONS: Fred Barnes: "Expect George Bush to jump on the school choice issue ... by championing a G.I. Bill for grade school and high schools." Eleanor Clift: "Randall Terry of

Operation Rescue will run for Congress in [NY] against pro-choice [Dem] Louise Slaughter." Jack Germond: "Bush will drop at least 7-8 points ... in the next national poll" ("McLaughlin," 6/20).

LATENIGHT LIFE: Jay Leno on Quayle being like Hamburger Helper: "You know he's in the cabinet. You just hope you never have to use him." On Clinton having had to use an outhouse growing up: "I'll bet that's probably where he picked up the habit of not inhaling." On Father's Day: "Clinton's hoping he doesn't get any unexpected cards or gifts in the mail" ("Tonight," NBC, 6/19). David Letterman on Perot's new campaign slogan: "How much do you need?" On Yeltsin's trip to KS, where the Hormel Foods President gave him a can of Spam: "I think it was inevitable that Boris Yeltsin learn about the dark side of capitalism eventually."

TOP TEN WAYS TO MAKE PEROT REALLY ANGRY ("LATE NIGHT," 6/20):

10. Mention how you loved him as Mr. Haney on "Green Acres."
9. Send him a fake bank statement that says he only has two billion dollars.
8. Ask if you can call him "Hoss."
7. Put him on hold when he calls the Home Shopping Network.
6. Wonder why he doesn't use that "What, me worry?" slogan anymore.
5. Ask him if he still owns Southfork.
4. Shave the word "Bush" into the side of his head.
3. Call him Hog the Thighmaster.
2. Tell him you can't wait to see him as "The Penguin."
1. Ask him if the H stands for "Heather"

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

"Certainly if [Jackson] wants to endorse Mr. Perot and vote for him we'd welcome it, but we're not reaching out for that and we don't expect that to happen."

-- Ed Rollins, "Evans & Novak," CNN, 6/20.

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TULSA WORLD, SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1992

daily 6/22

Oklahomans for Perot File Plenty of Petitions

By Chuck Ervin
World Capital Bureau

OKLAHOMA CITY — Independent presidential candidate Ross Perot's supporters filed petitions bearing some 120,000 signatures at the state Capitol Friday, virtually clinching a spot on the Oklahoma ballot for the Texas billionaire.

Perot needs only 35,132 valid signatures to go on the Nov. 3 general election ballot. It would be next to impossible to invalidate enough signatures to keep him off the ballot, and no protest is expected.

The number of signatures was impressive, but those turning out for a Perot rally on the Capitol steps was less so. His supporters had received a rally permit for up to 2,000 people.

But only about 10 percent of that number actually showed up — slightly more than 200.

What they lacked in numbers, they made up for in enthusiasm, a hallmark of the Perot campaign so far.

His fans cheered every mention of his name. Some carried "Perot

for President" signs, and a few wore "It's for Boss" T-shirts.

A mule-drawn covered wagon with a "Perot for President" banner was parked in front of the Capitol.

"We come here today to bury the two-party presidential system, not to praise it," said Jamie Hurst, Oklahoma City, co-state coordinator for the Perot petition drive.

"We are here today to be a part of history," the Oklahoma City travel agent added.

Pat Clancy, Tulsa businessman and the other co-state coordinator, praised the efforts of volunteers who circulated the petitions statewide.

But, earlier, Clancy was not so complimentary of fellow Perot volunteers in Oklahoma City, or Perot staffers in Dallas.

A rift apparently has developed already in the embryonic Perot movement.

Clancy, a political novice like most of those working for Perot, said he has been declared "a security risk" by the Perot campaign. He said he was ordered by Perot staffer Dennis Kirvin, Dallas, to close the Tulsa headquarters Fri-

day, the same day the petition drive officially ended.

Clancy said he will take no further part in the campaign for Perot and doesn't even know if he will vote for him.

"I don't know what they're going to do in Tulsa," he said. "If they don't do something, they're going to lose a lot of good people."

"I'm disillusioned by what happened to me," he said. "They declared me a security risk."

"They said I was crazy and was going to burn the petitions. Well, I'm here turning them in."

About 57,600 signatures were on petitions presented by Clancy — some 27,000 from Tulsa.

Clancy said he has a letter, stating that Perot designated Tulsa as the official state headquarters for the petition drive.

However, Laura O'Leary, Oklahoma City, a spokesman for the Oklahoma volunteer organization, said the Oklahoma City office is the official state headquarters.

She said Perot supporters will meet there Monday and Tuesday to decide how to kick off the campaign. See Perot on A-12

From the desk of

George Bush

To

Ron K

from Ed ~~Lawson~~ Lawson
(fixed to me)

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implement a complicated con

... Perot

Continued from A 9
paign.

The apparent early rift in Oklahoma may be a signal that the future is not all rosy for Perot.

Democratic and Republican professionals have been predicting that the broad mixture of ideological views, partisan backgrounds and rank amateurs in the hastily assembled volunteer movement would spell trouble at some point.

"We're not going to take part in the campaign," Clancy said. "We've done what we wanted to do — got him on the ballot. That's it."

But the hard feelings weren't visible at the rally outside the Capitol.

GUN SHOW

JUNE 20 & 21

Over 200,000
gun stocks,
barrels and parts.
Nothing over \$5.00

TULSA FAIRGROUNDS

"Oklahoma is sending a message to those who don't represent us and who misrepresent us in the halls of Congress and in the White House," said Kathrynne Fanning, Oklahoma City. "Return our country to the people."

The Perot movement in Oklahoma and nationwide is being fueled by disgruntled, rank-and-file voters from both major parties.

Most of those who assembled at the Capitol Friday were unfamiliar to veteran reporters.

Among the few recognizable faces were former U.S. Rep. Wes Watkins, D-Ada, and his wife, Lou, a former member of the Democratic National Committee. Watkins, 14-year congressional veteran who lost a race two years ago for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, is a volunteer for Perot.

Also in the crowd was Walter Price, a former Republican member of the state Board of Affairs.

Tulsa Area Trivia

Women's fashion in early 1912 did away with rats, puffs, curls and other false hair.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

June 22, 1992

Presidential Determination
No. 92-34

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Determination Under Section 405(a) of the
Trade Act of 1974, as Amended -- Romania

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618, January 3, 1975; 88 Stat. 1978), as amended (the "Trade Act"), I determine, pursuant to section 405(a) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2435(a)), that the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Romania" will promote the purposes of the Trade Act and is in the national interest.

You are authorized and directed to transmit copies of this determination to the appropriate Members of Congress and to publish it in the Federal Register.

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the Risk Assessment and Management Commission:

BARBARA A. BANKOFF, of the District of Columbia. This is a new position. Since 1989, Ms. Bankoff has served as President of Bankoff Associates in Washington, D.C.

THORNE G. AUCHTER, of Florida. This is a new position. Currently, Mr. Auchter serves as Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Institute for Regulatory Policy in Washington, D.C.

ANTHONY J. THOMPSON, of Maryland. This is a new position. Since 1987, Mr. Thompson has served as a Partner with the firm of Perkin Coie in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

The President today recognized Leanne Rean of Dover, New Hampshire, as the 808th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Miss Rean brings joy and offers a sense of well-being to residents of the Riverside Rest Home.

Miss Rean, 13, has been volunteering for the Riverside Rest Home for three years. During the summer, she volunteers six hours a day, three days a week, transporting patients to and from physical therapy, making beds, assisting with group activities and visiting patients. She helps patients with arts and crafts projects, particularly ceramic pieces, which they enter in the local fair. Miss Rean even accompanies the residents on field trips, an activity normally reserved for adult staff.

Miss Rean has "adopted" two "grandparents" at the home, visiting them for 30 minutes each day. She also has become especially close to a psychiatric patient. During the school year and on holidays, she continues to visit Riverside to spend time with her special friend. They talk, take walks, and put puzzles together. She also makes and donates ceramic items for the Riverside Christmas Fair. The proceeds support the activities of the home.

Riverside staff and patients consider Miss Rean a unique volunteer for many reasons. She is exceptionally dependable, enthusiastic, and "lights up the room" as she enters. She has leadership qualities and is a model for other teenagers who volunteer during the summer. She has shown her peers that making a bed is an opportunity to visit with patients, and transporting patients to physical therapy is a chance to socialize with them.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

The President today announced his intention to designate Gary A. Glaser, of Ohio, to be Chairperson of the Credit Standards Advisory Committee. Mr. Glaser was appointed to to the Committee on January 1, 1991.

Since 1988, Mr. Glaser has served as President and Chief Executive Officer with BankOhio National Bank in Columbus, Ohio. He has served as Senior Vice President of the National Division at the National City Bank in Cleveland, Ohio, 1981-1984. Mr. Glaser has also been involved in many civic organizations and activities.

Mr. Glaser was graduated from Baldwin-Wallace College (B.A., 1966) and Chase Western Reserve University (M.B.A., 1971). He was born December 26, 1944 in Lakewood, Ohio. Mr. Glaser is married, has two children and resides in Lakewood, Ohio.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today I have signed into law H.R. 5132, an Act that provides supplemental appropriations for disaster assistance to meet urgent needs resulting from calamities such as those that occurred in Los Angeles and Chicago.

This Act provides emergency funding for disaster programs of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and the Small Business Administration (SBA). FEMA funds will be used to provide disaster-affected individuals and families with temporary housing assistance and to provide grants for the repair and replacement of property damaged as a result of major disasters. The SBA funds will be used to provide low-interest loans to individuals and businesses located in areas affected by recent disasters.

This funding will ensure that FEMA and SBA have sufficient resources to address the major disasters that have occurred this year, including the civil disturbance in Los Angeles and the flood in Chicago. I am pleased that the Congress provided these funds under terms and conditions that are acceptable to the Administration.

Funds provided by H.R. 5132 for the Department of Labor's summer youth jobs program represent a satisfactory compromise between the Congress and the Administration and will finance 414,000 summer jobs. I am particularly pleased that provisions of the Act give special weight to ensuring that this funding is targeted to the areas of greatest need, particularly the country's largest urban areas.

In accordance with the applicable provisions of the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990, I am designating the following funding as emergency requirements:

- o \$300 million for FEMA disaster assistance;
- o \$500 million for the summer youth jobs program; and
- o \$143.8 million for SBA disaster loans.

The Act also provides nonemergency supplemental funding for SBA's business loan program, the cost of which is fully offset. These funds will provide up to \$1.45 billion in loan guarantees for qualified small businesses. This additional funding will ensure that sufficient resources remain available for this program throughout the remainder of fiscal year 1992.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 22, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

June 22, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In accordance with section 407 of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618, January 3, 1975; 88 Stat. 1978), as amended (the "Trade Act"), I am transmitting a copy of a proclamation that extends nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of Romania. I also enclose the text of the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Romania," including exchanges of letters that form an integral part of the Agreement, which was signed on April 3, 1992, and which is included as an annex to the proclamation.

The Agreement will provide a nondiscriminatory framework for our bilateral trade relations and thus strengthen both economic and political relations between the United States and Romania. Conclusion of this Agreement is an important step we can take to provide greater economic benefits to both countries. It will also give further impetus to the progress we have made in our overall diplomatic relations since last year and help to reinforce political and economic reform in Romania. In that context, the United States is encouraging Romania to continue to strive for a democratic, pluralistic society, particularly through the conduct of early, free, and fair national elections.

I believe that the Agreement is consistent with both the letter and the spirit of the Trade Act. It provides for mutual extension of nondiscriminatory tariff treatment while seeking to ensure overall reciprocity of economic benefits. It includes safeguard arrangements to ensure that our trade with Romania will grow without causing disruption to the U.S. market and consequent injury to domestic firms or loss of jobs for American workers.

The Agreement also confirms and expands for American businesses certain basic rights in conducting commercial transactions both within Romania and with Romanian nationals and business entities. Other provisions include those dealing with settlement of commercial disputes, financial transactions, and government commercial offices. Through this Agreement, Romania also undertakes obligations to modernize and upgrade very substantially its protection of intellectual property rights. Once fully implemented, the Romanian intellectual property regime will be on a par with that of our principal industrialized trading partners. This Agreement will not alter U.S. law or practice with respect to the protection of intellectual property.

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objectives of section 402, and, pursuant to section 402(c)(2) of the Trade Act, notified the Congress that I have received assurances that the emigration practices of Romania will henceforth lead substantially to achievement of those objectives.

I urge that the Congress act as soon as possible to approve the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Romania" and the proclamation extending nondiscriminatory treatment to products of Romania by enactment of a joint resolution referred to in section 151 of the Trade Act.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

AGREEMENT ON TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND
THE REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

1. Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, as President of the United States of America, I, acting through duly empowered representatives, entered into negotiations with representatives of Romania to conclude an agreement on trade relations between the United States of America and Romania.

2. These negotiations were conducted in accordance with the requirements of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618, January 3, 1975; 88 Stat. 1978), as amended (the "Trade Act").

3. As a result of these negotiations, an "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Romania," including exchanges of letters which form an integral part of the Agreement, the foregoing in English and Romanian, was signed on April 3, 1992, by duly empowered representatives of the two Governments and is set forth as an annex to this proclamation.

4. This Agreement conforms to the requirements relating to bilateral commercial agreements set forth in section 405(b) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2435(b)).

5. Article XVI of the Agreement provides that the Agreement shall enter into force on the date of exchange of written notices of acceptance by the two Governments.

6. Section 405(c) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2435(c)) provides that a bilateral commercial agreement providing nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of a country heretofore denied such treatment, and a proclamation implementing such agreement, shall take effect only if approved by the Congress under the provisions of that Act.

7. Section 604 of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2483) authorizes the President to embody in the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States the substance of the provisions of that Act, of other acts affecting import treatment, and actions taken thereunder.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including but not limited to sections 404, 405, and 604 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended, do proclaim that:

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(1) This proclamation shall become effective, said Agreement shall enter into force, and nondiscriminatory treatment shall be extended to the products of Romania, in accordance with the terms of said Agreement, on the date of exchange of written notices of acceptance in accordance with Article XVI of said Agreement. The United States Trade Representative shall publish notice of the effective date in the Federal Register.

(2) Effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, into the customs territory of the United States on or after the date provided in paragraph (1) of this proclamation, general note 3(b) of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States, enumerating those countries whose products are subject to duty at the rates set forth in rate of duty column 2 of the tariff schedule, is modified by striking out "Romania".

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-second day of June, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and sixteenth.

GEORGE BUSH

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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

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL
SIGNING CEREMONY

The Rose Garden

2:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome to the Rose Garden. And I'm very pleased to welcome all of you on this short notice to the White House. But may I salute our Secretary of Labor, who's been very instrumental in all of this; Senator Seymour; Senator Hatch; Senator Stevens; Congressman Joe McDade. Welcome all. And to all of them, along with some others that weren't able to be with us today, have been extraordinarily helpful in this legislation.

May I salute Mayor Schmoke, Bob Neall. And it is a very special privilege to have some young Americans from right here in our Nation's Capital. And they're the reason -- kids like these are the reason why we produce this legislation. They're the reason we're fighting for far-reaching reforms to offer opportunity for a better future.

The Supplemental Appropriations Bill that I am signing here today provides emergency funding for the nationwide disaster programs of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, FEMA, and for the Small Business Administration, SBA. And this bill replenishes the resources of both agencies for expenditures they're making to help the victims of this lawless violence in Los Angeles and the flood in Chicago.

These funds are used to help shelter people that are affected by major disasters and to offer low-interest loans to individuals in businesses in the disaster areas. The bill also will help finance more than 400,000 summer jobs through a program of the Department of Labor with a special focus on helping young people in America's largest urban areas.

By providing for \$1.45 billion in SBA-guaranteed loans, the bill will help small business across the country literally create thousands of new jobs.

I turned aside efforts by some in the Congress to spend more for the sake of spending more when the urgent need is for fundamental change to provide hope and opportunity for people in the inner cities. And we've got to recognize these supplemental funds are a beginning, only a beginning; and that's the way it is.

It's imperative that we make a fundamental change, that we put in place the package of reforms that we call the New America Plan. There are several points to that plan: First, it enhances government's primary mission to ensure the personal safety of our people. Our neighborhoods, our streets must be free from crime.

To strike a blow for our people's right to live free from fear, I am asking Congress now to act on my Weed and Seed program to fight urban crime, as well as tough -- as well as enacting a tough new comprehensive crime bill. People in our cities need more freedom and opportunity to achieve, to excel.

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And the second part of this plan calls for enterprise zones, to offer incentives for innovation and job creation in the greatest American tradition. It is high time we put this great idea into action. And when I was in Los Angeles, support for enterprise zones were across the board -- across party label, across age group label. It was an amazing amount of support. So we've got to get this put into action.

The third part, our HOPE initiative, will help turn public housing tenants into homeowners. And there's no overestimating the dignity that that brings. And, fourth, our America 2000 education reforms will help extend to parents and kids right there in the inner cities the same choices that people in the suburbs already have. And, fifth, to give people new skills, we propose to reform job training. And, finally, the long-term well-being of neighborhoods that are now dangerous and depressed demands that we break with the culture of dependency.

My agenda for welfare reform aims to reward work and learning, to insist that fathers take responsibility for their children, and to make families whole. These are the keys to providing hope for this new generation. And these are the only reliable means for making our cities the safe and prosperous places they ought to be.

So, again, I am urging the Congress to put an end to the delays and to take action on this New America Plan.

I thank you all for coming. And now I will invite the senators and Congressman McDade to come up and be glad to sign this important legislation. (Applause.)

(The bill is signed.)

THE PRESIDENT: The deed is done. Thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

2:05 P.M. EDT

REVISED

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

June 22, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In accordance with section 407 of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618, January 3, 1975; 88 Stat. 1978), as amended (the "Trade Act"), I am transmitting a copy of a proclamation that extends nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of Romania. I also enclose the text of the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Romania," including exchanges of letters that form an integral part of the Agreement, which was signed on April 3, 1992, and which is included as an annex to the proclamation.

The Agreement will provide a nondiscriminatory framework for our bilateral trade relations and thus strengthen both economic and political relations between the United States and Romania. Conclusion of this Agreement is an important step we can take to provide greater economic benefits to both countries. It will also give further impetus to the progress we have made in our overall diplomatic relations since last year and help to reinforce political and economic reform in Romania. In that context, the United States is encouraging Romania to continue to strive for a democratic, pluralistic society, particularly through the conduct of early, free, and fair national elections.

I believe that the Agreement is consistent with both the letter and the spirit of the Trade Act. It provides for mutual extension of nondiscriminatory tariff treatment while seeking to ensure overall reciprocity of economic benefits. It includes safeguard arrangements to ensure that our trade with Romania will grow without causing disruption to the U.S. market and consequent injury to domestic firms or loss of jobs for American workers.

The Agreement also confirms and expands for American businesses certain basic rights in conducting commercial transactions both within Romania and with Romanian nationals and business entities. Other provisions include those dealing with settlement of commercial disputes, financial transactions, and government commercial offices. Through this Agreement, Romania also undertakes obligations to modernize and upgrade very substantially its protection of intellectual property rights. Once fully implemented, the Romanian intellectual property regime will be on a par with that of our principal industrialized trading partners. This Agreement will not alter U.S. law or practice with respect to the protection of intellectual property.

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On August 17, 1991, I waived application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Trade Act to Romania. I determined that this waiver will substantially promote the objectives of section 402, and, pursuant to section 402(c)(2) of the Trade Act, notified the Congress that I have received assurances that the emigration practices of Romania will henceforth lead substantially to achievement of those objectives.

I urge that the Congress act as soon as possible to approve the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Romania" and the proclamation extending nondiscriminatory treatment to products of Romania by enactment of a joint resolution referred to in section 151 of the Trade Act.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

June 22, 1992

INTERVIEW OF
THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH BY BARBARA WALTERS OF ABC'S 20/20

The Veranda

10:45 A.M. EDT

Q Mr. President, you've just come off of a terrific week. You have -- history was made in foreign policy and you have a bill that was passed to aid the cities. Yet, if one goes around the country, the word one hears the most is anxiety. Now, a year ago you were at your height of popularity -- here, around the world; now one year later you're criticized as indecisive and a weak leader. What went wrong in so short a time?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think one of the things that concern Americans is the economy. And I think any decline in these ever-living polls that we see is the correlation between the decline and the economy and the problems I have. But I am absolutely convinced it's going to turn around, and I'm absolutely convinced that things are going to be better in terms of the economy; and then we get in focus what we've got to do for this country.

Q By election time, are you sure the economy is going to be turned around enough so that the perception of you will be different?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. And while I'm convinced of that, also I'm convinced when you get into the election and you get it right in focus for the American people they look at the whole record.

You see, when I came into this job, the major concern was what -- nuclear war, the lack of peace. And what we've been able to do, through working with the Soviets and through Desert Storm is transform all of that. Now I want to take that same energy, that same leadership and affect change domestically. And we can do it. But it's out of focus right now.

Q One of the criticisms, Mr. President, is that you've waited too long before you attacked the economic problem, but it wasn't until January that you admitted there was a recession and talked about the country being in a free-fall. Why did you wait that long?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't waited that long because we've been trying, through incentive and investment opportunity, to get the country moving. I will concede, I have had difficulty with an old-thinking Congress, and that's the case we're going to make in the fall very loud and clear. But I have not waited, but I must confess to a certain frustration over the last few years in terms of moving this country forward on the economic front. And the answer is not to go out and spend and tax; and so I am fighting the battle there. We do have now caps on discretionary spending. In other words, there is some controls in place, coming out of a very bloody fight with Congress, that I think are going to benefit the American people in the long run.

Q Mr. President, again and again, what you hear people saying is, we don't know what the President's vision is. They

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tease sometimes and they call it that vision thing. Okay. Mr. President, what is your vision?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, my vision is paritally achieved, not totally. Because I would go back with you and cite where things were when we started. My passion is about a world at peace. And I think because of what we've been able to do with the Soviet Union and now Russia, and because of what we were able to do in Desert Storm, world peace is better enhanced -- better secured, you might say.

Now, my vision is to see an educated country -- a country that wins the battle against crime and drugs that is fighting every American family. The drug problem is infecting our country, and the result is this terrible decline in the family. And so what I want to do now, take the same energy that you might say -- I don't want to sound immodest -- but helped change the world and use that to change America. In these fields particularly. They're so big issues, there is a wide array of issues. But the ones I feel passionately about are education and winning the battle against drugs and crime. And that will mean better surroundings for the families.

Q Well, you know, you and I talked on the eve of your inauguration in 1989. And at that point you said a lot of people in this country are hurting; my vision is to see that they are hurting less and doing better. Well, the numbers say they're not doing better. Unemployment is up by 3 million people, food stamp recipients up by 7 million. Now, you blame Congress, but isn't your administration to blame as well?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure. Everybody in office is to blame, local, state, city, every place, because we've gone through a very long, drawn-out recession. And, yes, I'm not trying to shift the blame. I am saying that if I had had a different Congress, I could have gotten through investment incentives that would have moved this economy forward. It still would move faster if we could pass, for example, a first-time credit for homebuyers, \$5,000 credit for first-time homebuyers. I mean, this is big stuff; this is important.

And I've got a whole list of these things we're trying to do. I don't want to bore your listeners with lists; but, yes, everybody can take some share of the blame. But we've been through a long recession or anemic economic growth. And what I'm trying to do is hold the line on spending, hold the line on taxes and get this economy moving through investment incentive.

Q Okay. With all respect, though, President Reagan had a divided Congress, President Eisenhower had a divided Congress. Ross Perot has said, elect me and I'll break the gridlock. I can deal with the Congress where this President cannot. Isn't it a test of leadership to be able to work with a Congress of the other party?

THE PRESIDENT: President Eisenhower controlled both houses of the Congress when he started.

Q But then it changed.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but that's when he got his most done. President Reagan had control of the United States Senate, we did, as Republicans, for the first six years and that's where we got the most done. The problem is, we've never had a Republican President to have control both houses of Congress at the same time. Give me one and we would do better; give me two and you would really move this country forward. It hasn't been tried.

Q What if you don't? I mean, suppose someone wants to vote for a Democratic senator; does he have to make a choice between his senator and President Bush? Suppose, suppose it happens

that it is again a Democratic Congress. You don't want to be voted out of office because of that reason, do you?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, look, we've gotten certain things done. And I will have taken my case to the American people, I will be reelected, and then we will move fast to fulfill the promises and the pledges we all make in the campaign. We did it in the beginning of this administration. We got through the Clean Air Act; we got through the Disabilities Act, the most farsighted piece of civil rights legislation in modern times; we got through the Clean Air; Child Care Bill that gives parents a choice. And these things have been accomplished. You don't hear much about them.

So the time to move is when you're first elected; because even if you don't control the Congress, people still say the President was elected to do these things, and give him a shot at it.

So I'm not discouraged about that. But I do think when you see what's happening up on Capitol Hill, 70 members getting out, you know, the President's having problem but take a look at the Congress. There's a chance to really make a change, and that is to change the Congress. And so that's the case you'll be hearing a lot more about.

Q You know the expression "throw the bums out"?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q You know, there is that feeling of change, any change -- and it does spill over on you.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't think it's going to spill over on me come November. I can't wait for the campaign to start. In the meantime, without attacking these opponents -- once in a while a glancing blow -- without attacking them I'm trying to get certain things done. And you were generous enough to mention aid for the cities. We are finally getting something done to help the cities. The summer jobs program is good. We're still holding back on enterprise zones, incidentally, which I want to see passed. Congress is holding back.

Q What I'm trying to do is to bring up some of the questions that we hear all around in the public. And one of them is the feeling that you were taken by surprise with the Los Angeles riots; that you hadn't known how bad things were in the city until those riots.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think that's a fair charge, and I haven't heard anybody out front saying there's going to be riots in South Central L.A., if that's the question. I haven't even heard that.

Q You weren't surprised at the decay?

THE PRESIDENT: I've heard a lot of charges but not that one.

Q You weren't surprised at how terrible things were in the cities, you knew it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, yes. Everybody knows there are some big problems in the cities. There's big problems in rural America, too. And the question is, let's try to solve these problems.

Q Mr. President, you have been saying repeatedly that you will not say anything about Ross Perot, although earlier this week you did talk about a "pig in a poke," I assume the danger of

voting for somebody just for a change. "Pig in a poke," I assume was Ross Perot?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's your assumption.

Q All right. Let me go on, then.

THE PRESIDENT: That's your assumption.

Q The Washington Post has reported that in the late '80s, Ross Perot was trying to have you investigated to damage your reputation and your children as well. What is your view of that? Can you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me put it this way: If he was having my children investigated, that is beyond the pale. Leave my kids alone, I'd say. They're good, honest boys; and a daughter -- good, honest girl. And to have somebody investigating another -- the family of another American, I'm sorry, I don't like that and I don't think the American people do. Now, I'm just saying if that's true. I don't know if it's true. But that is beyond the pale. And I am sick about it if it's true. And I think the American people will reject that kind of tactic to go around investigating the family of the President of the United States or then-Vice President -- or any other American. That's how I feel about it.

Now, I'm not saying it's true. You asked the question, I'm just trying to tell you how strongly I feel about this.

Q What about investigating the Vice President to try to get something on him?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm not too happy about that. But I can take care of myself. And my record is known to the American people. And they may have problems about the economy, but nobody has raised questions about my integrity. And I've been in public life, and I've been in private life a long time. But when it comes to my children, that's too much for me.

These are honest boys, out making an honest living. And I don't need to have the feeling that they are being investigated.

Q At the time of the investigation, Mr. Perot is quoted as having said to you, "The world is full of --

THE PRESIDENT: I've got to have a drink of water. I'm getting a little hot when you bring this up.

Q Well, while you sip: Mr. Perot had said, "The world is full of lions and tigers and rabbits, and you are a rabbit." Do you remember his saying that?

THE PRESIDENT: Never.

Q Any comment?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q You're not going to say anything, you said, until after the convention. But I wonder why. I mean, we all know you're going to be the nominee. Why wait?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, because I think the thing to -- I think people are a little tired of the smearing of each other in politics. And I think I can stay off to the side a little bit and try to get something done for the country. I'm still trying to work with the Congress. And, indeed, we did get something passed for the cities.

We're still trying to get something done that has a big dimension to it, and that is the freedom support act that will help guarantee democracy and freedom in Russia -- and thus guarantee enormous markets for us here, for our workers here at home.

And so I've got some big things we're trying to get done. And I've got to keep my focus on that. But everyone knows, Barbara, that after August, things shift into a campaign mode. And then I will be ready.

Q And then what would you say? What would you say then?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't even want to give you a preview of coming attractions. But if I think the opponents are not properly defined, I will do my level best to define them. And I will be all-out. And I'm a tough fighter when it comes to a campaign. I don't relish it, particularly, but I'm certainly going to defend myself and advocate, get sure the American people know what my heartbeat is and why I should be elected for four more years.

Q Mr. President, why should you be elected for four more years?

THE PRESIDENT: Because we've already accomplished big things, and because I don't leave the job unfinished. And I don't quit and I don't pick up my marbles and go home when the going gets tough, nor should a President. And I believe in this country and I want to see it better educated -- and that means I'm going to drive right down to the finish four years from now to see that we have passed this America 2000 education program.

I want to see us win the battle against drugs. We've made a very good start. There's some heartening statistics about teenage use of cocaine being 60 percent down -- substantially down. But we still have to win it. We've got to win it by interdiction, and we've got to win it by reducing demand.

And there's an unfulfilled agenda that I feel very, very strongly about. And I believe I'm the person to do it.

Q You don't mind, though, when your Press Secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, calls Ross Perot destructive and a monster; and when your Vice President calls him a temperamental tycoon who has contempt for the Constitution. They wouldn't be saying these things without your knowledge.

THE PRESIDENT: Hey, listen, if you felt strongly about it, I wouldn't mind you saying it. I'd like to get some defense out there -- that suits me.

Q But you know -- but they're saying this with your knowledge and agreement, no?

THE PRESIDENT: Not necessarily. I don't censor what anybody says around here. But when I see somebody defend me, when my mode is to stay on trying to get things passed for the country, listen, I don't get upset by that; I'm pleased. We've got some fighters down there, including my son, and our campaign chairman in Texas and our leaders in Arkansas, who are defending me every single day. I like that. Do you think I'm going to turn my back on that? You're crazy.

Q You're not going to say don't do it, boys.

THE PRESIDENT: Heck no, I'm not.

Q Who do you consider your main competition? Ross Perot or Bill Clinton?

THE PRESIDENT: Let the American people sort that one out. I'm going to be President. I feel very confident about it. But I know we've got to overcome some of the image things that you're asking -- properly asking about. But I'm confident I can. I know what my heartbeat is. I think people know my record. I think they know me to be a person of integrity. And I hope they know that I finish what I start.

Q Why do you think that your image has been tarnished in this way? I mean, a year ago, the strongest leader; a year later, weak, indecisive?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, a year ago --

Q Is it just the economy?

THE PRESIDENT: You see the -- yes, I think it largely is the economy because the recession lingered on. Actually, it will prove that we -- nationally the recession is over. We're growing at 2 -- a modest 2 percent, or whatever it is, for the first quarter, and hopefully will do better the second. But I am convinced it's the economy.

Q I'm sorry, I have the end of a cold, which I caught from my daughter.

THE PRESIDENT: God, I've just gotten over a terrible one.

How old is your daughter?

Q Well, I always forget -- my daughter's 24.

THE PRESIDENT: Twenty-four?

Q She lives in Seattle, Washington, and she votes.

THE PRESIDENT: You okay?

Q I'm fine, thank you.

Mr. President, we've talked about some of your achievements. Looking back over your four years, what was your biggest mistake?

THE PRESIDENT: Barbara, I think that the -- I think that in reaching compromise with Congress in 1990 on the budget act, that that was a mistake, because it undermined to some degree my credibility with the American people. But let me go back on that one, if I could, and say, look, what we were trying to do at the time is to keep the government moving, keep supplying our forces we'd moved abroad. We have succeeded in getting spending caps on the discretionary spending -- that's the spending that a President can control and the Congress can control. So we got that done. But in the final analysis, I made one compromise on taxes, and it -- in itself it wasn't destructive to the economy. There was a five-cent gas tax and gas prices were down after that was passed. So it didn't have a deleterious effect on the economy. But I think it caused a credibility problem at the time. So I would have to rank that as not a howling success, put it that way.

Q Are you sorry that you ever said, "Read my lips, no new taxes"?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm sorry in that it -- that this one concession has kind of thrown that into a focus that has caused problems. But I'm not sorry in the sense of trying to hold the line on taxes. I had to veto a bill not so long ago because it contained yet another tax increase. And over and over again since I've been President, I have fought to keep the taxes down.

So the principle is all right. But as I say, that focus by that statement, contrasted with the budget agreement, has caused problems. But people recognize, and I think when you look again -- go to surveys -- well, presidents have to do this from time to time.

Q Could you say -- would you say today "Read my lips, no new --

THE PRESIDENT: No. (Laughter.)

Q You want to say it --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, only because it -- look at the problems --

Q -- okay. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: But look at the overall record of standing up against tax increases. Look at my program on the Hill right now that says how to get the deficit down without raising taxes -- and that's through controlling the growth of mandatory spending. And I don't have to raise taxes, and I will fight against tax increases. That's what I'd say.

But please don't ask me to reslogan it.

Q Should the wealthy carry a greater tax burden?

THE PRESIDENT: I think everybody is taxed plenty. And this concept that you hear out of the Democrats every four years -- in fact, every day -- on Capitol Hill: Well, let's just shift and make other people pay more taxes, is not the answer to prolonged economic growth in the country.

The American people are not taxed too little; we're spending too much. And it is there that I have a big difference with opponents in this presidential race and with the United States -- the liberals, the Democrats, that control the Congress.

Q You obviously --

THE PRESIDENT: A big difference.

Mr. President, we hear constantly about the breakdown of the family in America. It is a recurring theme in the Republican Party. Yet, family values have gone steadily downhill from the time President Reagan took office; a steady decline for 12 years of Republican presidents. Why?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think -- surely you're not trying to assign decline in the American family to the Reagan presidency.

Q I thought I might try.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Nice try, but it won't work.

Q But for 12 years of Republicans it has been going down.

THE PRESIDENT: I think it's been happening for a long time, the numbers of split families and all. What we're trying to do is to change that. We can do it legislatively to some degree -- reform in the welfare system. A little girl saved \$1,000, or a little over \$1,000 so she could go to college. Her mother was on welfare. And they were told, well, your mother will have to go off welfare if you're able to save money like this. Now, that's wrong. We've got to change these deterrents to keeping families together.

But there's been a decline. I'm not sure the media is totally free of it. Some of the filth you see out here in the media I think is awful -- just terrible.

Q What kind of filth that you see in the media?

THE PRESIDENT: Loud, vulgar language on some of these programs. I think -- and, you know, the media's --

Q You mean fictionalized programs or the --

THE PRESIDENT: No, I mean some of these stand-up comedians that kids listen to. I think we've gone too far. I don't want censorship, but I don't think this is a question of the party in power being blamed for. We advocate the strengthening of family values -- families staying together, families reading to their children. Barbara does that all the time. And it's very, very important. Staying off drugs, less permissive lifestyles. I don't approve of some of these programs that they have that just distribute condoms at random to people. I don't think that's the answer to it. Why don't we get in there and try to teach these kids that -- more understanding about what love is and how they ought to behave.

So there is a decline and it does worry me. When those mayors came to see me from the National League of Cities, Democrat and Republican alike, they said the major problems facing the city is the decline in the American family. And that's why we're pushing hard to get jobs into the inner cities through enterprise zones. That's why we're trying to say, hey, read to your children. That's why we're trying to say, have parents involved in education, have them stay off of drugs. It's a whole wide array of things that threaten family.

Q Mr. President, there is an impression that in the late '70s you were somewhat pro-choice; that you even considered leaving the question of abortion up to the states. Was there ever a time when you were moderate on the issue of abortion, leaning towards pro-choice?

THE PRESIDENT: I've always been for family planning. In other words, I think education in terms of population control is important. In fact, our administration, I believe, has higher funding for AID. But the abortion question, I don't believe, was really in focus back when I was in Congress working with -- heading the task force on earth resources; it included it.

Q You never changed your opinion? You never modified your opinion?

THE PRESIDENT: I think my opinion as the abortions have gone up and -- have some personal experience here of love for adopted children. My opposition to abortion has increased. I can't -- I just think it is too bad that we have so many abortions. And some people are using it as preventive -- you know, just because they don't want to have a child, they just go out and get rid of it. Some are saying that parents shouldn't even be consulted. And I'm sorry, Barbara, I opt on the side of life.

And so I've -- yes, I think it's clearer to me now, and I'm not going to change my position.

Q In almost every poll, the majority of people in the country are pro-choice. And some feel the question of abortion may be a definitive one in your election. How strong a factor do you think it will be?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I don't know, but this is a matter of principle for me. And I wasn't -- you know, I'm not in this majestic office to govern by polls or do what's easy or to say what's popular. And I respect people that have a difference of opinion from me. But this is my view. This is my view. I opt on the side of life.

And I know there's a difference on this issue. And I respect the people that differ, but I'm not going to change.

Q And if it's a question of a single parent or abortion? I mean, you know -- I'm going to skip that -- I'm not going to get into that whole thing, we'll go on further.

In the sense of fairness, I must ask you the same question that I asked Ross Perot which was, would you knowingly have a homosexual in your Cabinet or appoint a homosexual to your Cabinet?

THE PRESIDENT: We have no litmus tests on that question here and there aren't going to be any. And I would say, how do I know; and secondly, I say I do support our policy in the military, and I will continue to support it.

Q Banning homosexuals?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I will continue to support it. It's been that way through history, and I accept the recommendation of the professionals that make that recommendation to the President.

Q A lot of good people are getting thrown out.

THE PRESIDENT: I support our policy on that. And everyone knows my adherence to traditional family values. I might say that's the case. But there are no litmus tests on this question here.

Q A record number of women are running for Senate and Congress. And this year some are inspired by anger over the Clarence Thomas hearings and some are winning because of this issue. What effect do you think the Clarence Thomas hearings will have on the reelection of Republicans to Congress? You're shaking your head, what --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm shaking my head because we're getting into a little bit of a revision here. As I remember, a majority of women supported Clarence Thomas when he went to the bench and doubted the testimony of Anita Hill. The answer is, Clarence Thomas is going to prove to be a very good Justice on the Supreme Court. The answer is, I am delighted with some of the women that our Senate candidates are going to be taking on because they will be easier to beat. They're way over on the liberal spectrum and I don't think the American people want to go way off to the left. And that's where many of the candidates are proving to be.

So when I'm smiling, you're saying it's going to be so terrible. And I'm saying some of these guys are getting the best opponents possible.

Q And some of these guys are losing.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know about that.

Q I know the majority of the Senate voted for Clarence Thomas. Are you sure the majority of women were for --

THE PRESIDENT: Go back and look at the surveys on it. People did not trust Miss Hill's testimony. I didn't. I didn't have to vote on it. But I stand by my nominee. I stand by the Justice. And let's wait and see.

You know, it's interesting that you hear a lot about, we've got all these wonderful women candidates. Where were these women's groups in backing the good Republican women that were running for office two years ago? Bob Dole had a marvelous op-ed piece on this where he pointed out the number of women that were standing on the Republican side, and the women's groups were running for cover. Why? Because they're off on some special issue.

It's weird, but I don't think that -- I think we're going to pick up seats. So let's just see how it is after November.

Q Okay.

THE PRESIDENT: We've got strong candidates, men and women.

Q Your Vice President has criticized not just the media elite but also the so-called "cultural elite." I wonder who he's targeting? For example, your represent a family of six generations of fairly wealthy, university-educated people; you were, your sons and daughter was.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope he's not talking about me.

Q Well, I just wonder. Do you think his bullet --

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe he's talking about the --

Q You know, the bullet he's firing is hitting you by accident? --

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe he's talking about the same people I talked about in the 1988 campaign. You remember, I talked about the "Harvard boutique"?

Q Well, what about the "Yale boutique"?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. Not quite as offensive.

Q Awww. Of course.

THE PRESIDENT: But this was in context. This was in context of Michael Dukakis.

Q Are you part of the culturally elite?

THE PRESIDENT: You know, people ridicule me for taking exception to the Pledge of Allegiance. I still feel strong that you ought not to pass laws saying that you shouldn't say the Pledge of Allegiance. I mean, I think we should say the Pledge of Allegiance.

Q And you think people who are culturally elite are against the Pledge of Allegiance?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, quite a few of them. Sure. These symbols -- you know, I got ridiculed for standing up, saying, well, I really don't believe we ought to burn the American Flag. And everybody said, free speech --

Q That's cultural elite? Cultural elite are people who feel they should burn the American Flag?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, they're culturally out of it, I think. I mean, they're elitists of the strangest sense. But, Barbara, I can't define exactly what cultural elite means, but I know it when I see it.

Q And it isn't you?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. I don't think so.

Q Am I media elite?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm considered elite in some way because I was lucky at birth and had some privilege. But I've tried to put something back into the system. I've tried to serve. I served my nation in war, and stayed right with it. And I've served in politics; tried to do my part in business. And so I don't plead guilty to being out of step with the values that the Vice President is talking about.

Q Mr. President, am I or my colleagues media elite?

THE PRESIDENT: Barbara, you're certainly an elitist. How much money do you make a year? It's not in the --

Q Does that have to do with being elite?

THE PRESIDENT: Could be. Could be.

Q I see, everybody who makes a lot of money is elite?

THE PRESIDENT: Just as everybody that has had some advantage of a good education is elite in a certain way. But I think what we're talking about is celebrating values that are wrong. So you'd be innocent on that. You'd have clear sailing there.

Q You're only saying that because I have the questions.

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. I've got the answers, and I know you're fair in editing. (Laughter.)

Q Yes.

What do you think about the jokes about your Vice President; or, she said, is that too much of a hot potato?

THE PRESIDENT: Funny one. Dan Quayle is doing a first-class job. And people understand what he's getting at when he talks about family values, and he's got a tough skin. And he's been a good Vice President. And if he deflects fire from me, okay. All right. And he knows that. And he's a good man with a very good, decent family and he has my full support. And I'm glad -- giving me a spelling bee test everyday. Because surely they'd get me on one I should know what it is.

Q Would you --

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe he was thinking of the Chaucer version of potato.

Q Oh, uh-huh.

THE PRESIDENT: As one of the great Shakespearian scholars, I thought that back somewhere I saw that Falstaff spelled

potato with an "e". Maybe not. What do you -- fellow elitist. One of us should know --

Q I don't think that's -- one of us should know.
(Laughter.) But I don't think that's what the Vice President was referring to.

THE PRESIDENT: One of us should know the answer to it.

Q I don't think he said, oh, my, is this from Falstaff; one of us should. We'll both check it out.

THE PRESIDENT: Barbara, have you ever made a mistake in your life?

Q Oh, so many, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Have you? So have I.

Q Probably in this interview, leaving out questions I should have asked.

THE PRESIDENT: So have I. So have I. And that's the way I'd answer the question.

Q Any possibility of your making your Vice President Chief of Staff?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No chance.

Q You don't think that that works when he's a heartbeat from the President?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think it would work. That was first suggested by -- I think by President Ford. And I just don't think, given the responsibility that I'd like the Vice President to have. In this instance, he's running the the Space Council; he's running the Competitiveness Council; both very, very important that he could do that -- and be Chief of Staff at the same time.

You know, maybe somebody would want to try it, I wouldn't. I've been --

Q Ross Perot wants to try it.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh. Well, let him try it. I don't think he'll have an opportunity.

Q We read a great deal of disarray in the White House. Will there be any changes in the White House staff between now and election?

THE PRESIDENT: Not that I can predict. We may bring in some new people, but I have great confidence in the Chief of Staff. Do you know something? I just completed a swing around the country -- I do it quite a bit, as a matter of fact -- and not one single question was asked about the staff. I think people are focusing more on the big issues and the questions you've been asking about.

Q Well, while we're on it, though, what about the possibility of the Secretary of State James Baker or of your Defense Secretary Dick Cheney coming on to the White House staff?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think there's any chance of that at all. Not discussed it with anybody. I keep reading the gossip columns about it, but there's no -- that won't happen.

Q I'd like to ask one or two questions about foreign policy.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Israel. Will you continue to stand firm on linking aid to Israel with the freeze on the settlements?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, our policy is very, very clear. And people -- let me put that one in context: what has Israel always wanted? They wanted to sit down across the table from their ancient enemies. And the others have wanted that, too. And because of our foreign policy, and because of our achievements, they are talking to each other.

Secondly, the American foreign policy has always had as a covenant that these settlements -- a little disconcerting having Millie go through here in the middle of this answer. But American policy has been that 242 and should be implemented -- the U.N. resolution, withdraw the secure and occupied boundaries.

Now, we have felt that settlements are counterproductive to peace. And that is the policy, and I will not change that policy.

Q You are now in the fight of your political career and your nemesis, Saddam Hussein, is still in power and, some people say, getting stronger. Does it bother you that Saddam Hussein could remain even though you may not remain in power?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't agree that I won't remain in power, obviously. But, look, we have to go back again. The United Nations took concerted action in the Security Council. And that action was: kick Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. Do not let aggression stand. Our military succeeded with a pride that just reinforced the spirit of this country. So our objectives were met.

Now, do I like it that Saddam Hussein, this brutal dictator is still there? No. Do I like it that some revisionists who stood against me when I had to move force are now saying we should have done it? Listen, if I had listened to them, Saddam Hussein would be in downtown Riyadh and you and I would be paying \$10 a gallon for gasoline. Saddam, himself, said the other day said his biggest mistake was that he didn't move into Saudi Arabia. And the second one, he didn't kill more Americans on the way out.

So Saddam is an evil person. He is brutalizing his own people. But it was not our objective to go in to downtown Baghdad and put American lives at risk in the process, incidentally, in some guerrilla warfare to get Saddam Hussein.

Q No regrets?

THE PRESIDENT: No regrets. But I have to say, I regret that he's still in power. Yes, regret there because he's an evil person who's brutalizing his own people, and someday he won't be. But it wasn't our policy to go in and get Saddam Hussein. And some of the people who gave me the biggest grief when I had to make very tough decisions are now saying, well, I made a mistake not getting Saddam Hussein. And that is simply not right.

Q Last question. To the people out there, some who voted for you, some who didn't but who say, we need a change, we need some one who can work with Congress, we don't know what we're feeling, but we're just concerned. Why this man?

THE PRESIDENT: Because I believe that what we've done in changing the world -- on saying to a little, you don't have to worry as much about nuclear warfare as you did a decade before or the

last few years ago. That's important. And that is big. And I want to take that same energy and leadership and change things here at home, and I can do it.

But I'm going to take the case to the American people. The way to do it is, give me more people that think as you, the American people do, that want to stand up against crime and drugs, that want to strengthen the American family, that want to see us better educated, and that means new thinkers in the United States Congress. And that's going to be the test and that's going to be the way I'll form it when we get into this campaign that's going to start in -- sometime late in August.

Q And you think you're going to be President again?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes, I do.

Q How certain?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm positive I will. And the reason I say that, I hope it doesn't come off as arrogance, because I am in touch with the American people. And I think the values that I feel so strongly about are the values most Americans feel strongly about. I think the economy is going to move and that will restore some of that luster and some of that innate optimism that America has. We're not a declining nation; we're a rising nation. And, yet, those who want to tap into this bad economic condition are saying we're in decline, we can't make it. We can make it, and we will make it. And we can make our cities safe and we can make our families stronger and we can better educate our kids.

And I know I'm the person to do that. And I've been tested by fire, Barbara. And I hope I've met the test to the satisfaction of the American people in very difficult times.

Q I think this would be a very good time to bring in your number one asset.

THE PRESIDENT: Millie.

Q Millie. (Laughter.) Do you want -- Millie.
(Laughter.)

MRS. BUSH: He should have said Ranger. That's the love of his life. How are you?

Q I'm just fine.

MRS. BUSH: Glad to see you. How are you?

THE PRESIDENT: I'd kiss you, but your makeup might smear. Am I staying here?

Q For a little while.

THE PRESIDENT: All right.

Q For a little while.

MRS. BUSH: What do you mean, you'd kiss me but my makeup might smear?

Q He's always so charming, right?

MRS. BUSH: No, he is charming.

Q You know Mrs. Bush is your number one asset, don't you?

THE PRESIDENT: I certainly know that.

MRS. BUSH: I'm his number one fan.

THE PRESIDENT: Number one asset.

Q You know, one of the things I want to ask each of you because I see you both really looking so well -- you've both been through so much in terms of health in the past four years. How are you feeling? Are either of you on medication? And are all symptoms gone?

THE PRESIDENT: You want to go first?

MRS. BUSH: Both of us take thyroid because --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, both of us take thyroid.

MRS. BUSH: -- that's what we had was Graves disease. I'm glad you asked about George's health, because we have the most ridiculous questions about his health. Someone said the other day, I hear the minute the election's over he's going to have heart surgery.

THE PRESIDENT: Heart transplant.

MRS. BUSH: Heart transplant or something. George runs three times a week; besides that, he's up at 5:00 a.m every morning and he plays tennis. I mean --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm blessed with very, very good health, and so is Barbara.

Q So no symptoms now?

THE PRESIDENT: None.

Q Everything good?

MRS. BUSH: Everything great.

THE PRESIDENT: I guess I'm the only guy in America whose health records are as widely distributed. (Laughter.) If you don't believe it, read some guy in -- The New York Times doctor that writes this up. He knows everything there is to know.

Q Of course, Japan didn't help. You were wonderful in Japan. You were so composed and --

MRS. BUSH: Well, he had flu. I think he held his breath, too.

Q That was a battle --

THE PRESIDENT: It was a case of the flu and that went away.

MRS. BUSH: And you know, he rolled over and said, sort of, look, why don't you just push me under the table and continue with the dinner, which led me to believe, he was going to survive.

Q That Oval Office is such a pressure cooker. How do you help each other cope with stress?

MRS. BUSH: I laugh at him a lot.

THE PRESIDENT: Barbara comes over. Once in a while we'll have lunch here, here, over there. Grandchildren help. Got a

little swing back there. I look out in the middle of some serious business and I see Marshall or Sam or Ellie or Walker or the ones that live around here swinging there and yelling and giggling and pushing each other and chasing the dogs, and that helps. They come in, put their arms around me, give me a hug and tell me of some enormous problem that some toy got broken. (Laughter.) And that helps.

MRS. BUSH: Ranger certainly helps you. You love Ranger.

THE PRESIDENT: The boys check in. Our kids from around the country. Family is key to this. Family is absolutely key. And our sons have been magnificent, and so has Doro.

Q You mentioned Ranger. I understand that there was a presidential edict to ask people to stop feeding your dog because he was getting so fat?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we put out an order on it. We had several confess. For fear of their lives, they confessed that they had indeed been bringing biscuits right here into the White House.

Q Serious.

THE PRESIDENT: The Ranger trolls around. And he was standing at this door, not so many months ago, with a squirrel -- tail out of one end of his mouth; head drooping out of the other -- proudly showing that he is still a good hunter.

Q You must have been thrilled as he dragged in the --

MRS. BUSH: He was thrilled.

THE PRESIDENT: I was thrilled.

MRS. BUSH: He was thrilled.

THE PRESIDENT: They catch rats.

MRS. BUSH: We hated it, but he loved it.

Q Mrs. Bush, have you ever suggested that the President not run again? He was just --

MRS. BUSH: No.

Q Well, people seem to feel that there is -- they think, look -- yes. And they said that you have --

MRS. BUSH: I get credit for wonderful things I haven't done, and that's one of them. I'm absolutely convinced that George must be President again.

Q Even though you'd have -- he was just 68. You could have a wonderful life --

MRS. BUSH: I plan to have a wonderful life with him -- while he's 69, 70, 71 and all the way up.

Q But you want him to run?

MRS. BUSH: I think he has to. I'm happy anyplace with George Bush, as you well know. But I think he has to for the country's sake.

Q Is it very painful to you when he's criticized?

MRS. BUSH: Yes. I'm not going to lie to you.

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. You're used to it now.

MRS. BUSH: Oh, I am not. I just fake and let you think I like it. No, I don't like it at all, and I really don't like it when our children are brought into it all.

Q There's been -- your children have had to be under the glare of the spotlight for the past four years.

MRS. BUSH: They're fabulous children. And --

Q Is that what hurts in particular, when the sons --

MRS. BUSH: Well, because it's so unfair to them and that does kill you.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q What's the biggest misconception about George Bush?

MRS. BUSH: Well, first of all, I could think of 10 misconceptions. One is, he does work very well with the Congress. I mean, he's had 27 vetoes that have been carried. You can't do that unless you work well with the Congress. And they have gotten through wonderful bills -- transportation bill and all the ones you've heard this morning. And he is very healthy. He's considerably taller than people think he is. That's what people always say to us: "Oh, you're so much taller than we thought." And he's full of energy. And he's the most decent, honest person. I shouldn't say that in front of him, should I? And very funny -- not just funny looking. I mean, very funny.

Q Funny looking?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh. (Laughter.)

Q Mrs. Perot told me that she never gives her husband advice; he doesn't need it, she said. Do you ever give the President advice?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I don't know whether he needs it or not -- but maybe he doesn't take it. There may be a difference. George Bush listens to everybody. That's one of his best qualities. He doesn't always take my advice, but at least he listens.

THE PRESIDENT: She'll give good, sound advice.

MRS. BUSH: He listens to everybody. And that's a wonderful quality in all honesty.

Q What kind of advice does she give you, and in what areas?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I might get mad at something that I see or read, and she might calm me down on that and say, don't overreact. Or she'll come back from holding an AIDS baby, and saying it's really important that people know how strongly we feel about caring for these kids and showing compassion for those kids that are suffering this way; and you'll have to try to show that a little more. I mean, it can be substantive or it can be just family advice.

Q What about urging him to give more money to AIDS? Is that part of it?

MRS. BUSH: Well, we give \$4.3 billion to AIDS.

THE PRESIDENT: And it's up to \$4.9 billion next year; and it was \$2.9 billion when we started. And so we have a very good record in terms of what the federal government can do. We've got our best researchers on it.

NIH, under Dr. Fauci and others -- Dr. Broder -- out there doing a superb job. Dr. Sullivan's fighting hard on it. But it is something that I think -- I think if I need to do more it is to get people to understand the fundamentals of this disease and get them to understand that it calls for compassion, it calls for love, it calls for caring. But I think that government participation is pretty effective.

You know, we're spending 10 times as much per AIDS victim as we are on a cancer victim; and that's fairly impressive. But we've got to stop this. This disease can be halted to some degree through behavior, as we all know.

MRS. BUSH: Of course, money spent on cancer also is spent on AIDS. That's how the AIDS virus was isolated, through leukemia research. So we're spending a lot of money.

THE PRESIDENT: It's not -- it's strictly a question of funding.

Q Have either of you known anyone personally who died of AIDS?

MRS. BUSH: Lots.

Q You have?

MRS. BUSH: Who have it.

THE PRESIDENT: Sure.

Q Can you tell me how each of you has changed in the past four years? How has Mrs. Bush changed?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I think we've both changed. But I think she recognizes that being President is not totally a bed of roses and that the -- Truman was right, that the buck stops there. So I think she has a very realistic view of the presidency. And that has made her maybe more vocal in defense of her husband. She hadn't changed in terms of caring for family. She still finds plenty of time to call the kids to get them around, to be with them, to do things for them. You remember the birthdays. So that part hasn't changed. But I think both of us recognize the importance of that more just because we're in this job. And I don't know how else she's changed -- a little better golf swing.

MRS. BUSH: (Laughter.) I just took it up. That's why.

Q Are you beating him yet?

MRS. BUSH: I'd like -- I think -- no, I don't even come -- he doesn't even play with me and I wouldn't play with him.

THE PRESIDENT: Now, wait a minute.

MRS. BUSH: I wouldn't because it would put too much pressure on him. You all follow him. You don't follow me. Well, I've changed, I think, is that I look at this as a very small window in your life where you can really do a lot of good things. And you raise a lot of money for the private sector. I really don't fool around on the government side. But I really have thought of this as

a wonderful chance for me to have made my life worth something -- pretty big. I mean, when you raise a lot of money for illiteracy and AIDS and the hungry, that makes you feel very good. It's a once-in-a-lifetime chance. And I plan to take it.

Q How has George Bush changed in the past four years?

MRS. BUSH: I don't really think he's changed. But I'll tell you what I've noticed about him, which is that I am overawed by how stable and steady he's been. I mean, there's been a lot of things --

THE PRESIDENT: There they go. I can see them going out of the flight pattern --

MRS. BUSH: I can't believe we're freezing to death out here. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Barbara had a cold, too.

Q -- yes, I went to visit my daughter. I never have a cold. Stayed in her little house and came home with this. But you'll have to tell Mrs. Bush what happened when you sat down.

MRS. BUSH: I heard. You were live. (Laughter.)

Q I guess that'll keep us very alert.

Now we have to have Millie walk in again because she wasn't here. Can we move her out and have her walk in?

THE PRESIDENT: Susan, call Millie.

Q Call Millie and then have her come back in again. I don't want to --

Okay, now she can come in.

Your friend is here.

MRS. BUSH: My friend.

Q Mrs. Bush, how has the President changed in the past four years?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I don't think he's changed at all. But my opinion of him has changed a little bit. I always thought he hung the moon; everybody knows that. But -- I'm embarrassed to say this in front of you, but it's true. George has remained so extraordinarily stable and steady through some very difficult times. I don't think anybody suffered more than he did when we had 500,000 young men and women in Desert Storm or Desert Shield. And he never changed.

THE PRESIDENT: Remember up there at Camp David? Gosh.

MRS. BUSH: I mean, it was a terrible time. And, yet, George remained stable. Still called his mother every day or every other day. He still would, when Doro would call or somebody would call, he still had time for all of us. I think that's one of his best qualities is that he's not volatile. He doesn't go up and down. He stays absolutely steady. It's a wonderful quality.

THE PRESIDENT: You can't overreact in the face of criticism. You can't let it get you down. You can't let it get you tense. And you just have to go try to do your best. I keep saying this and it sounds so silly, but I go back to mother -- my mother, now 91. When we were little -- do you best, try your hardest,

George. I'm President, and that's probably the best advice you can get -- care about people, be kind. All of these fundamental little things you learn from your parents when you were five or ten just make as much sense now when you're President of the United States. And particularly if the going is not particularly smooth, don't quit. You never give up. Finish what you start. Do the job.

I mean, it's a wonderful -- you get a wonderful strength from this. Some guy come rushing -- have you seen this poll, or people don't feel this way or feel that way. Do your very, very best -- give it your all. And have a lot of faith. And that's what you get from a wonderful family.

Q Just because you mentioned it, you said, remember Camp David. Was there a particular incident in Camp David during the war?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, no, there were -- I mean, there were planning ahead of time when we had all the generals up there, including the now-famous Norm Schwarzkopf. But I was thinking of the -- just before we committed the forces to battle.

Q Terrible.

THE PRESIDENT: It was kind of emotional.

MRS. BUSH: Well, and telephone calls. You know, that coalition didn't just happen. It happened because George Bush stayed on the phone night and day. I mean, we'd awaken at 6:00 a.m. in the morning to "Bonjour Francois." And at night we'd go to bed to the other side of the world where George kept those 27 or 29 coalition --

THE PRESIDENT: I think the human part of it, when a President has to make a very tough decision to send somebody's sons and daughters into battle, that is not an easy moment. Nobody knew exactly how well it was going to go. It was there then, it was there to some degree in Panama.

But, again, I'm not asking for any sympathy about it. I was just saying it was a very moving time. I mean, a very moving time for us as husband and wife.

Q Mr. President, I know you have a few other things to do besides sit for this interview, and we appreciate the time you've given us. And we're going to talk to your absolutely better half.

THE PRESIDENT: Am I being thrown out?

Q Well, if you want to take it that way.

THE PRESIDENT: Am I being -- all right.

Q Thank you, sir, for being with us.

THE PRESIDENT: Good to see you. Good to see you, Barbara -- Barbaras -- Barbara squared. Barbara squared.

All right, I'll go around this way.

MRS. BUSH: He could have gone weeks without saying Barbara squared.

THE PRESIDENT: Say something nice, Bar.

MRS. BUSH: Well, I've said everything good I know about you.

Q Now, you can -- now we'll really talk.

MRS. BUSH: Now I'm going to tell her the real truth.

Q Mrs. Bush, we asked the President what he thought went wrong in just this past year. But the magazine, U.S. News and World Report, quotes friends of yours as saying that you realized far earlier than the President's advisers --

MRS. BUSH: Spare me my --

Q -- the public was dissatisfied with the status quo.

MRS. BUSH: I don't believe that's true at all, you know, when you have five people who do nothing but badger the President. I mean, we know all the Democrats -- more than five, maybe -- and the Republican doing nothing but talking day after day after day about how awful George Bush was, plus a little help from the media, plus George being the only one who had a full-time job. I think it's pretty hard to expect people not to begin to feel badly about George.

Q The Republicans? You think his own party's --

MRS. BUSH: Well, certainly he had an opponent, Barbara. His opponent -- speak well of him.

Q Mr. Buchanan, yes.

MRS. BUSH: And there were a lot of -- that kind of thing going on for a long, long time. I think the Democrats had at least five candidates, and we had two. So there were six against one.

Q So you think it was more than the economy?

MRS. BUSH: I think the economy had an enormous amount to do with it; I would never argue with that. But, you know, exports have gone up 70 percent now? I mean, all the things are coming back.

You ought to talk to Mrs. Yeltsin and people from foreign countries. They say, why are Americans wringing their hands? Things are coming back. You're so much better off than we are. Or, peace is expensive. And that's true. We've done these wonderful things, but we've brought home hundreds of thousands of soldiers that -- put back to work, men and women. We've closed down plants that have to -- because they were for military defense.

Peace is not cheap. But our economy is coming back. It's okay.

Q How do you know all of the statistics?

MRS. BUSH: Well, because I've been out on the campaign trail for George Bush. Contrary to what you read about me, I have been out on the campaign trail. And I don't know all the statistics, but I also listen, and I read.

Q How much will you be campaigning?

MRS. BUSH: As much as they ask me. I mean, I'm so proud to campaign for George that I would go anyplace, anytime for him. And I do a lot of campaigning for candidates -- men and women. And, you know, we have wonderful women running this year. I don't want anyone to discount the women we have running for state offices, and all the way up and down the line.

Q You know, it's interesting -- but last week, almost for the first time, you were criticized in two magazines.

MRS. BUSH: Imagine! Lucky me.

Q Home free.

MRS. BUSH: This is a campaign year.

Q New Republic writes that you are the most political of recent first ladies and the least criticized. And Newsweek Magazine said that you have influence when it comes to appointments.

MRS. BUSH: I love that. And I'm going to take credit for Louis Sullivan, although I didn't -- I shouldn't get it, but I'm more than willing. I think he's a superb Secretary of Health and Human Services.

But guess who introduced me to Louis Sullivan? George Bush.

Q And then you pushed to have him --

MRS. BUSH: No, I did not. But I want to take credit for it, anyway, because it's such a good appointment. But, no, I didn't. George knew Louis Sullivan long before I ever laid my eyes on him. Then I worked on his board and saw what a superb president he was of Morehouse School of Medicine. But I did that because George said Lou Sullivan's a great guy and this would be a board you'd be proud to be on. And then when it came time to look for a good Secretary of Health and Human Services, he never asked me a word.

Q Do you have influence on your husband when it comes to appointments?

MRS. BUSH: No.

Q Hiring or firing?

MRS. BUSH: No. And he's never fired a living human that I know of. But in any case, had he, it had nothing to do with me.

Q All right -- not firing, but hoping that they might resign?

MRS. BUSH: You're talking about John Sununu, who I adored, and still adore.

Q It was said that you wanted him out.

MRS. BUSH: I know what was said. I did not want him out. I love John Sununu and I love his wife, and they know it -- I guess that's what counts. But, no.

You know, George Bush doesn't need someone to tell him what to do. And that, maybe, is one of the things you ought to know about George. He makes up his own mind.

Q How do you explain the phenomenon of Ross Perot?

MRS. BUSH: I don't even think about him, to tell you the honest truth. I really don't. I have to confess that I maybe feel slightly stronger than George does about investigating. I'm not quite sure what I think, but --

Q Investigating your husband?

MRS. BUSH: Yes -- and my boys. I'm not sure if I feel outraged, or violated. I feel slightly violated. I don't feel like that should sort of happen in America. But in any case, I think it's bizarre -- you know, particularly for someone who did come and spend the day with us and for someone who, at one time not too long ago, offered George a big job. I think it a little strange.

Q As what?

MRS. BUSH: Well, you'll have to ask George, I don't know. But he did when he left government.

Q Well, you must know a little bit about it. What kind of a job did Ross Perot --

MRS. BUSH: Well, he didn't even consider it. I think it was to head his oil company or something.

Q Ross Perot asked George Bush to come and work for him?

MRS. BUSH: And what I'm wondering is, maybe people don't say no to Ross Perot, and maybe that's why he feels this way.

Q And George Bush said no, I will not take a job working for you?

MRS. BUSH: Well, he was offered a lot of jobs when he left government -- you remember in 1976, or '77.

Q And one of them was with Ross Perot? And he said no?

MRS. BUSH: He said no.

Q Why?

MRS. BUSH: Well, because he didn't want to do that. He had many other jobs that he did do. You remember, he went and worked for a bank and he did some other things. Served on some boards. I don't know why he turned down -- he turned down a lot of jobs. I'm not saying -- but he did turn down one. It seems very funny to me that someone who you were friends with would investigate you. I can't imagine. It's bizarre.

Q Mrs. Quayle has said that Ross Perot is trying to buy the presidency. Do you agree?

MRS. BUSH: Until Sunday I really hardly thought about him, because I think George is going to be the next president. He ought to be the next president.

Q You mean, until you've read about the investigation?

MRS. BUSH: Then I thought about him a little bit; I'll confess.

Q Mrs. Bush, there is a feeling that you don't totally agree with your husband when it comes to abortion. Where does that belief come from that you have a somewhat different view?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I don't know exactly. But I've never talked about that, and I'm not going to talk about it now. And, you know, I would like to say, I know there's a feeling that George changed his mind. He didn't change his mind. He has always, as he said, worked for family planning, and we worked for Planned

Parenthood until they got into the abortion thing. But he hadn't changed his mind. He'd love to, I guess, if you want to be political. But he can't because that's what he believes. It's like saying don't believe in God to George. He believes that. I don't doubt his beliefs. And I'm not going to talk about what I believe.

Q Why won't you -- I mean, why --

MRS. BUSH: -- I'm not running for President.

Q Yes, but he --

MRS. BUSH: I have backed George 100 percent.

Q Okay. So that's it then, isn't it?

MRS. BUSH: That means I back George 100 percent. Does that mean I agree with him? Of course, I don't agree with him on everything. But I'm not going to tell you what I do and what I don't because it's the differences that you would highlight, not the things I agree with him on. And I agree with him on all the basic things that count.

Q It's quite common for families to disagree. Is the disagreement within your family? Can you tell us that? I won't ask who, I won't ask names.

MRS. BUSH: I'm not -- I'm not going to answer that.

Q Okay.

MRS. BUSH: And we've got a great family. And all of them support George; that's what counts. Oh, Lord, do they. I mean, they are wonderful.

Q Do you think that there's too much emphasis these days on the private lives of politicians?

MRS. BUSH: Yes, I really do.

Q Where does one draw the line?

MRS. BUSH: Maybe at the truth.

Q Well, but it's sometimes hard to know the truth. And there's been so much of that. We certainly have seen it in Mr. Clinton's campaign.

MRS. BUSH: It was ugly. I don't think that's important. I think what's important is what he believes.

Q Vice President Quayle disapproves of one-parent families. But the --

MRS. BUSH: I don't think that was true. I don't think he really knew the story for starters.

Q Well, it's what he -- you know, it's how the whole Murphy Brown thing began. And then people said, but, look, if an unmarried woman is pregnant, her choice is to be a single parent or to have an abortion. And there's the paradox.

MRS. BUSH: Well, the Vice President, along with the President and I, have never seen Murphy Brown, or hadn't at that time. But I think what he was thinking is -- I do spend a lot of my time in the private sector doing teenage, young -- just this week I went to something that Elaine Bennett has started, called "Best Friends," which is fabulous, which is talking to teenage girls and

telling them to abstain and to get through school and we'll help you. And it's a lot of mentoring and arm-hugging.

Then I go to places where I see a lot of teenage mothers who are not finishing high school who have been into drugs and who have problems. I think those girls are just locking themselves into a life of welfare and poverty. So I think what he was thinking is, we should be helping these young women. We shouldn't be setting examples. Now, Murphy Brown, I modestly say, being a very famous TV commentator, probably makes a million dollars a year. She's going to have a nanny. She's going to -- she has all those things. And she probably has a lot of love in her heart -- who knows? But what we're saying --

Q -- in the fictional --

MRS. BUSH: In the fictional series. Well, maybe in real life, too. But what we're saying is, don't cut out grandparents and aunts and uncles and that support system. And certainly don't cut a man out of your life. If you can't help it, that's one thing. But don't just start out. We're saying to a 13- and 14- and 15-year-old little girls, don't start out saying I don't need, because the little kid does need a family. Whether it's the satellite, or whatever they call those new families, that's fine. But just make sure that you're not also saying to yourself, I can never grow up to be a TV commentator or announcer or whatever it is. You've got to finish school. You've got to learn to speak well. You've got to feel confident. You've got to stay off drugs. That's all I think the Vice President was talking about.

Q Don't make it seem glamorous to be a single parent.

MRS. BUSH: Right -- that's all. I think that's what he was talking about.

Q There's a lot of problems that -- that you think that's what it is.

MRS. BUSH: There are lot of problems that go with it. And a lot of good people, like Oprah, and a lot of good people are working hard, saying, stick with us, get through school. Let's get -- and then you'll have strong, healthy, well-taken care of children. That's all. Murphy Brown was not a great example, I guess, because none of us have ever seen her.

Q Have you since?

MRS. BUSH: No. But I've since read they replayed the scene, and she opted not to have an abortion. But she could afford all those lovely things.

Q Do you and the President watch television? If so, what -- besides news? We know you watch every news program.

MRS. BUSH: I don't, but George does watch quite a few. But we watch the top of the news at night. Yes, we do watch. We watch -- we watch a lot of sports. Since I've taken up golf now, I'm fantasizing on the golf course every Saturday and Sunday. And we watch Murder, She Wrote sometimes. But we're very rarely home for it. But we do watch that sometimes.

Q What were your feelings watching or reading the Clarence Thomas hearings?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I know Clarence Thomas. And I know people who worked with him for years. John Ashcroft, the Governor of Missouri, told me that he was in a tiny little office with him with three other -- he and three other men -- for two years. He said he

never heard him say a filthy word. He never heard him say anything suggestive. So I went into it, I confess, believing 100 percent in Clarence Thomas. And I came out of it believing 100 percent in Clarence Thomas. And I think what we did to him was absolutely outrageous. All of that should have been done quietly, not as a circus on public television. I'm a big Clarence Thomas and Virginia Thomas fan.

Q You do not believe Professor Hill.

MRS. BUSH: No, and I'm sad about that. But I don't think she should have been subjected to all of that, honestly.

Q Mrs. Bush, Hillary Clinton said -- she may be sorry, but she said: "I suppose I could have stayed home, baked cookies, and had tea, but I decided to fulfill my profession." Now you have gone the other route -- stayed home, cared for your children, your husband, and put your children and your husband first. What do you --

MRS. BUSH: Well, I have put my children and my husband first. But I also have raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for charitable things. I was lucky enough --

Q But you didn't get a -- you didn't go out and get a job --

MRS. BUSH: Well, I was lucky enough because I had a husband who could support me. But I didn't just sit home and bake cookies. I wrote a book that raised, as we all know, almost a million dollars for charity. In fact, I've written two books. I've spent my life being very lucky. I think I'm the elitist you're talking about, because I had a husband who made it possible for me to stay home and go to baseball games and take care of my children. But I also have spent a lot of my life doing -- helping others. That sounds so smug and horrible, but I feel a little put down when someone says you stayed home and just raised your children.

Q Is there anything wrong with staying home and raising your children and maybe even baking cookies?

MRS. BUSH: Not if you're -- all those things are good. But you've got to do for others, too. I think that's one of the big things George has done for this country is he's made us realize we can make a difference. I mean, I see programs daily where people give two hours a week -- Martha's Table, where Mrs. Yeltsin and I went. They have 70 volunteers a day. That's how they feed 900 people, tutor adults and take care of children. Those people give two hours a day. I think that's important. I don't mean they do every day, but maybe two hours a week. But they give. I think everybody has something to give and everybody should give something.

Q It interests me that you feel put down when --

MRS. BUSH: A little bit.

Q -- you just stay home and take care of children --

MRS. BUSH: Just is the word.

Q It's the just.

MRS. BUSH: It's the just.

Q Like there's something bad about that. Because a lot of women are just doing -- raising their children.

MRS. BUSH: And they should be. And that's great because that's their first priority. I believe if you have children, if you opt to have children, by darn, you ought to take care of them. They're the most valuable -- not only selfishly, but just for your country, for all of us. It's a real responsibility. Having said that, I also think because our country needs us now that we've got to help others. I really feel -- I've always felt that about it. I was brought up that way.

Q What do you think has been your greatest accomplishment? Your number one accomplishment, if you can point your finger on it, and the biggest disappointment?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I'm very practical. I don't ever spend time worrying about my biggest disappointment. I don't think I've had one. It's been painful. I mean, I'm not going to kid you about that. It's been an extraordinarily high, thrilling, exciting, wonderful time. But it has been painful. I mean, our children have been hurt. I know that.

Q Is that the toughest part --

MRS. BUSH: -- by far the toughest part. But, I mean, I have to confess I'm thinking I had a great father. And if I said to him one day, you know, I wrote a book that almost raised a million dollars and gave it away, he might have said, that's your greatest accomplishment. He might have. I mean, he'd never have bought it, I'll tell you that.

Q In an interview sometime back, you talked about having a severe depression when you --

MRS. BUSH: Not severe.

Q Well, depression --

MRS. BUSH: I had a depression when --

Q -- when you came back from China.

MRS. BUSH: Because I suddenly wasn't -- my children were all gone, and I had been such a part of George's life in China. I mean, we were together every single minute. I probably missed him. But then he took on a job that I couldn't share in as much because I can't keep a secret -- everybody knows that. If I know it, I'm going to tell it. And it was very brief, but I'm glad I had it. It's sort of like I'm glad I got into tear gas. I think it makes you more understanding of other people. I worked my way out of it. And I was lucky. But I now know I would say to people, for heaven's sake, go see your doctor. They know how to cope with those things. I didn't. But it took about six months. And now I'm -- as I say, I'm sort of glad I had it, because now it tells me that other people really suffer. I mean, not just partially -- and I think William Styron's book sort of tells you a little bit about that. And it's good for you to know that other people really need you.

Q Do you get depressed now?

MRS. BUSH: None. Absolutely not. I never had it again. I rather suspect it might have been my age, too, Barbara -- might have.

Q But physical problems you've had the past four years -- has that been very difficult?

MRS. BUSH: They've been so minor --

Q The eyes?

MRS. BUSH: -- I'm so used to it now. I am seeing single, looking at you now. But I see double quite a lot. But I feel great. You know, I ride my bike every morning and I did this morning.

Q Swim?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I didn't swim this morning because my wonderful people who helped me say you get a mask mark on your face -- please don't do that today -- television.

Q But you swim --

MRS. BUSH: A mile.

Q You swim every day in the pool, which is just behind us.

MRS. BUSH: Yes. I rode the bike an hour this morning -- with a book.

Q Put me to shame.

You keep a diary.

MRS. BUSH: Daily.

Q On the computer?

MRS. BUSH: Yes.

Q You know how to use a computer?

MRS. BUSH: Yes.

Q I am impressed.

MRS. BUSH: I love it. And I'm actually putting my old diaries on it, which is sort of fun because when you think things are bad this year, I'm now putting 1968 on my computer. That was a terrible year for America; I mean terrible year. We had assassinations.

Do you remember that year?

Q I do when you mention it.

MRS. BUSH: It was a terrible -- I mean, I'd forgotten what a year it was.

Q It was the worst -- well, the whole '60s. You remember schools closed --

MRS. BUSH: Well, but the -- '68 was -- Kent State happened. I mean, '68 was -- well, I don't know if you remember, but in 1968, we started the year with -- practically by the President announcing he was not going to run for reelection -- President Johnson.

Q Johnson.

MRS. BUSH: And we had the people's march on Washington. It rained for 40 days and 40 nights. And they got bogged down. And we had -- Martin Luther King was killed and we had riots in Washington. My car was rocked on a bridge one time. And, oh, I was so scared. I mean, feelings were terrible. People had very vulgar

words written on their shirts. And then Bobby Kennedy was killed. We had a terrible year. It was an election year.

I don't know if you remember, but I look at those years and say, look, always you're going to have problems. And just be prepared; you have a great man like George Bush to help you get out of them.

Q Looking back over these past years since your husband has been President, as I say this, what has been the happiest memory? What pops into your mind?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I think -- you know, we went through all those weeks of body bags -- 50,000 body bags and all those things. The 100-hour war had to be -- I mean, that was a very big high for me because like -- I mean, I've lived with George and watched how able and steady he was. But he hated having those American young men and women over there. So that was a great time. There's no question about that.

Q What was your husband's finest hour?

MRS. BUSH: I think pulling -- I think George Bush has changed the world. I think pulling all those other countries, making a U.N. coalition. This was not our war. This was a war by 27 or 29 countries and the United Nations backed. I think he's changed the world because now one aggressor will not dare go into another country because they know the United Nations will stand up for the country that's been invaded.

Q I have one last question -- I going to wait until this is done.

MRS. BUSH: These airplanes are coming --

Q I know it. I'm looking at this as though, what is this -- 12:00 p.m. shuttle.

Mrs. Bush, last week you were kind enough to invite me to a luncheon for Mrs. Yeltsin. And I said, what should I ask your husband? And you said, ask him why he wants to be President. Now I know I'm giving you such a nice softball, but why should George Bush be reelected --

MRS. BUSH: Should I wait until after the airplane --

Q Mrs. Bush, why should George Bush be reelected to another four years as President?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I'm tempted to say because the alternate choice is so bad, but I won't say that. I'm probably the person who knows George Bush best in the world. And I would say because he has those qualities of decency and honesty and he's wise, caring. He's stable. I put that as -- I can't tell you how much that's impressed me about him is that he stays absolutely the same. He's not volatile. He doesn't shoot from the hip. He doesn't do what's always the popular thing. He just does what's right. And I think that more than qualifies him. He's been a businessman. He's served his country in so many ways. But I think maybe the best part is the fact that his personality, his makeup is such that it makes him a perfect candidate for President. He's a proven candidate.

Q Well, I know who you're going to vote for.

MRS. BUSH: You're darned right.

Q Thank you for being with us.

- 30 -

MRS. BUSH: Thank you.

END

12:30 P.M. EDT

daily 6/22

336339

CO 44

cc: BS 7/28

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Walter Abendschein, M.D.
5530 Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 705
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

C O P Y
from ORM



THE PRESIDENT

6-22

Dear Bud -

Just a quickie to say
thanks for your 6-19 note.
Wouldn't that be something
if Sixto wins -
Warm Regards. Love to all
Cj



June 24, 1992

Brent:

Please share this letter with your Latin America people.

I have met Sixto a couple of times. He is a close friend to Bud Abbendshein, a leading doctor and former neighbor of ours.

Just FYI.

GB

4

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FROM THE PRESIDENT

WALTER ABENDSCHEIN, M.D.
ORTHOPEDIC SURGERY
TOTAL JOINT REPLACEMENT

June 19, 1992

George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

I do not even want to imagine the hectic nature of your life in these political times. As always, I (like so many other people) only wish to express our gratitude for your taking responsibility for the guidance of this great country.

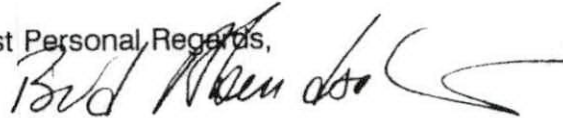
Of personal interest, our mutual friend Sixto Duran-Ballen seems to be on the verge of being elected president of Ecuador. The election is on July 5, 1992. I believe you met Sixto for the first time at our house on Palisade Lane several years ago when he was visiting us. At that time, in the late seventies, he was beginning his first presidential campaign. Now it appears that this attempt will be successful.

Through the years, he has always requested that I express his personal gratitude for your assistance in the care of his daughter Tita when I brought her to this country for treatment of her leukemia. The entire Duran-Ballen family greatly appreciate your courtesy and attention during that time.

It has now been eight years since I had the pleasure of accompanying you to Ecuador for the Presidential Inauguration and I hope the opportunity repeats itself.

Best wishes for your continued good health and the stamina it takes to continue with the ultimate responsibility that you carry for us.

Best Personal Regards,



W. Abendschein, M.D.

Daily



THE PRESIDENT

6-22-92

Dear Bob,

You gave young John
Bush the thrill of a life-
time. He is a great young
man. He wanted to drive
an ambulance in Desert Storm.

it quit college, enlisted,
went all through boot
camp but the war
ended before he was ready
to drive those ambulances.
He is a great kid, but
will be even greater now!
Thanku,
CJ

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David M. Reed, M.D.

Assistant Clinical Professor of Surgery

New York Medical College

Stamford, Connecticut

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

June 19, 1992

M. President

Mrs. Rose Zamari
Secretary to President George H.W. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Rose,

Just a note to acknowledge with thanks your assistance yesterday in arranging for a member of the Bush Family to accompany our next airlift to Moscow which leaves in approximately one hour. This will be our 28th flight since the breakup of the F.S.U. I'm delighted that John Bush will be accompanying this one.

We are planning to carry approximately 101,000 pounds of antibiotics, pharmaceutical supplies etc.; our people will spend approximately thirty-six hours on the ground in Moscow, and should be back at Bradley Field in Hartford by midnight, Sunday night.

Thanks so much for your help in arranging this.

Kind regards,

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert C. Macauley
Chairman

RCM:rw1

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Mrs.
Budge
Stuebing

Barbara
Walters
Interview





DATE:

June 22 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washington Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

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Candidate's Record

Bush Aide Assails Perot on Report of Snooping

By STEVEN A. HOLMES
Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, June 21 — A top official of President Bush's re-election campaign said today that if press reports saying Ross Perot hired private investigators to seek damaging information on Mr. Bush when he was Vice President and to shadow his own children were true, then the billionaire Texan lacked judgment and did not have respect for the country's laws.

Also today, a Senator looking into the

fate of American military personnel missing in Southeast Asia said Mr. Perot had changed his mind and agreed to provide information to a Senate committee.

The Bush campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, reacted strongly to articles in The Washington Post today and in the New Republic last week reporting that Mr. Perot has a penchant for hiring private detectives to look into the lives of people with whom he had disagreed and to make sure his children stay out of trouble. Mr. Teeter said in a telephone interview from Washington that the reports painted a portrait of Mr. Perot as willing to work outside of established rules of conduct.

'Outside the Rules'

"Here's a guy who it looks like was going outside the rules that everyone else has to follow," Mr. Teeter said. "He went out and had the Vice President of United States investigated and two of his own kids. If true, he doesn't have the judgment or temperament or respect for our laws to be President."

In a front-page article today, The Washington Post said Mr. Perot became angry at Mr. Bush in 1986 after the Vice President declined to support a plan to pay \$4.5 million to a British businessman with a questionable background for information on servicemen missing in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Perot, the article reported, told Vice President Bush, "The world is full of lions and tigers and rabbits, and you're a rabbit."

Mr. Perot has said he has evidence

Americans were held in Vietnam after the exchange in 1973. In recent weeks, the Senate Select Committee on P.O.W.-M.I.A. Affairs has been seeking his testimony on the subject at a hearing, but last week he told the panel that he had feared an appearance could become a political circus and that he would not appear. Senators said they were seeking ways to change Mr. Perot's mind, including as a last resort, issuing a subpoena.

Deposition Will Be Given

Tonight the committee chairman, John F. Kerry, Democrat of Massachusetts, said Mr. Perot had agreed to submit a deposition instead of testifying in person.

"I think we're satisfied that is an initial step that will help us," Mr. Kerry told NBC News. "We're going to do that as soon as possible, hopefully in the next days."

The Washington Post's article today said that after his clash with Mr. Bush, Mr. Perot had sought through investigations to find evidence that the Vice President was indecisive or corrupt.

Mr. Perot and his aides gave the investigators' documents to The Post in 1988, but after examining them, the newspaper did not write any articles.

Mr. Perot's aides do not deny that he turned over the material to the newspaper four years ago, but his campaign press secretary, James Squires, disputed Mr. Teeter's remarks today, terming them part of a concerted effort to distort Mr. Perot's past activities. "Obviously there is no indication that Mr. Perot violated any laws," he said.

Candidates On Television

The Presidential campaigners have scheduled these television appearances in coming days (all times Eastern daylight):

President Bush

No appearances scheduled.

Gov. Bill Clinton

TOMORROW: 7-8 A.M. ABC News, "Good Morning America;" panel discussion on education and other issues.

Ross Perot

No appearances scheduled.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

FAA Appointee Wins Over Skeptics

Harris Not Chosen for Top Job Despite Support From Key Officials

By Don Phillips
Washington Post Staff Writer

When Barry L. Harris arrived in Washington in 1989, his major claim to the number two spot at the Federal Aviation Administration was that he was a friend of President Bush and had helped finance his campaign.

Sen. Wendell H. Ford (D-Ky.), chairman of the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation aviation subcommittee, reportedly said Harris would never get past his panel. The aviation community collectively rolled its eyes and grudgingly accepted yet another presidential political appointee.

"He was really a lightweight," said one congressional staff member. "We didn't expect much from him."

But this spring, nearly three years later, a collective groan went up in Congress and the aviation community when the Bush administration decided *not* to nominate Harris, 53, to the top job, FAA administrator. Instead, Bush nominated retired Air Force Gen. Thomas C. Richards.

Ford publicly fussed and fumed, and gave Senate speeches praising Harris in unusually warm terms. The aviation community went into a temporary funk. The chairmen of all the major airlines, after all, had voted privately to inform Bush that Harris—who became deputy administrator in early 1990 and acting administrator late in 1991 (after James Busey became the deputy secretary of transportation)—was their choice.

Despite the fact that congressional leaders and career bureaucrats can turn up their noses at political appointees like Harris, what happened between Bush's 1988 presidential race and the appointment of the most recent FAA administrator could be called the education of a patronage politician.

"I was very surprised at the reaction," Harris said. "It was totally unexpected. The support came from places that I didn't really expect it to come from."

But those who know the transportation community well say the Harvard-educated Maine businessman won over his detractors at a personal level. More important, he



BARRY L. HARRIS

used his position to launch some major initiatives, including a change in the way that air traffic controllers are selected and trained. He placed new emphasis on promoting women and minorities, and launched an attack on sexual harassment within an agency that has a bad record in that area. And he had a key role in the effort to speed the FAA's lagging capital investment program intended to modernize the air traffic control system.

As acting administrator, he kept the agency intact and functioning during one of its worst periods—the months-long odyssey of Jerry Curry, who refused to withdraw his nomination for FAA administrator after it was held up in the Senate and Busey later asked him to withdraw.

"I think Barry comported himself well during that time," said one aviation attorney. "He built a loyalty, particularly with the staff."

Shaking Up Bureaucracy

Harris already had Bush's loyalty. They had met at a political fundraiser in Maine in 1986, and "hit it off," Harris said. He later became Maine co-chair of the 1988 Bush campaign finance committee and as a longtime pilot, he flew the Bush family around in his private plane.

In 1988, Harris was looking for something to do. He had sold his hotel business two years earlier, and gone into early "retirement."

Then came the call from Bush.

Harris, with a Republican businessman's zeal and a quick temper, came to Washington to shake up the bureaucracy. That didn't sit well in some quarters.

"Every time certain lobbyists would whisper in his ear, he'd come

in, in the morning, and call some guy and chew him out and say, 'We're going to change things around here,'" said one longtime aviation lobbyist. "Days would be spent putting things back together."

Harris, for example, was upset with the upkeep of the FAA's fleet of planes and is reported to have ordered one plane washed before he left Wichita, Kan., in it.

"I knew that some of them [the staff] thought that I was being too hard, and I got that impression from a number of sources, both within the agency and without," he said.

Harris had other burdens. Former transportation secretary Samuel K. Skinner reportedly disliked him from the beginning, and that likely was a major factor in the president's decision to appoint someone else to head the agency.

"Skinner always felt that Barry was pushed down his throat," said one lobbyist.

Decisions and Compromises

Congress, the aviation community and, increasingly, the FAA staff were going in the other direction, however. Harris became their white knight: a man who worked hard to understand his job, made decisions and knew how and when to compromise.

"Barry has never been captured by the system. . . . He has learned when the system is useful," said one aviation attorney.

Just winning over Ford was a feat. The crusty Kentuckian does not suffer fools.

"You have to like the fellow; he's one you can talk to," Ford said in a recent interview.

Some of the enthusiasm for Harris comes from a comparison with his competition. Many in the aviation community were upset with the Curry nomination to head the FAA, and later with the nomination of Richards, a military man.

But Richards is one of a series of career military people appointed to an agency that, by law, cannot be headed by a military person, active or retired. Separate legislation is pending to waive the prohibition.

Richards reportedly has asked Harris to stay on as deputy, and Harris said he has no intention of leaving now.

"Frankly, I'd rather be number two at this agency than number one at a lot of agencies," he said.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Havel Presses for Czechoslovak Plebiscite

President Insists People Should Vote on Nation's Breakup

By Michael Z. Wise
Special to The Washington Post

PRAGUE, June 21—President Vaclav Havel, apparently resigned to the eventual division of Czechoslovakia into separate Czech and Slovak states, reiterated his call today for a nationwide referendum on partition of the 74-year-old hybrid country.

"This is so far the only constitutional way such a transformation could be achieved. In addition to which, it is the only moral way, because the citizens truly have the right to express their opinions on

such a crucial matter," Havel said in his weekly radio address.

Havel is expected to consider the appointment of a new federal government later this week, but he noted that this body would exist only until separation of Slovak and Czech lands is achieved. "This government should continue promoting all the good that started in this country 2½ years ago . . . until the time when eventually this republic changes into two republics," he said.

Czech and Slovak political leaders agreed in Bratislava early Saturday that a caretaker government should be set up pending action by the country's two regional parliaments

on the future of the federation. Havel, who has declared many times that voters should have the last word, said that the Bratislava agreement did not surprise him.

"It might seem that after 2½ years of attempts to create a new form of our federation, a more just structure of our common state, that the current dramatic activity could astonish me in a certain way," he said. "I am accustomed to being confronted throughout my life by new and difficult situations demanding wise decisions. In this respect I have certain practice. So I am not astonished. I am only trying to act wisely."

Sharp Fighting Continues Around Sarajevo Airport

Associated Press

SARAJEVO, Bosnia, June 21—Machine-gun and small-arms fire rattled around Sarajevo's airport today, but the heavy fighting that has prevented U.N. relief flights from bringing food and medicine to civilians in the besieged Bosnian capital subsided in most other areas of the city.

The lull in the fighting allowed city residents to venture out in search of food, which is in critically short supply after a 2½-month siege by Serb militia forces. Markets also offered flowers, apparently for the frequent funerals in the battered city.

Near the airport, however, combatants on both sides were skeptical the calm would last, despite assurances from Serb militia leaders and Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led government that they would stop fighting to allow aid flights to land. U.N. officials said Saturday that they would not try to open the airport unless fighting in the area is halted for a full 48 hours.

In Washington, meanwhile, Secretary of State James A. Baker III said that additional international measures may be needed to force an end to the Bosnian war, but he said that U.N. sanctions imposed on Serbia for its aggressive role in the conflict should be given more time to work.

"The sanctions were just put in place," Baker said on the ABC News program "This Week with David Brinkley." "We should continue to press them forward." He added, however, that if the sanctions fail to have the desired effect, "we should not rule out the possibility that resort to some sort of multilateral pressure would be required." He did not specify what form such pressure might take, but he ruled out unilateral U.S. military action.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Clinton Revises Economic Plan

'Investment' Program Trims Tax Cuts, Stretches Deficit Reduction

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA, June 21—Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton today called for \$200 billion in new investment in cities, workers and infrastructure, financed by spending cuts and higher taxes on the rich and corporations. But he scaled back the value of his proposed middle-class tax cut and lengthened his timetable for balancing the federal budget.

Clinton said the Republican

policies of the 1980s produced "the worst economic record in 50 years" and said his plan for public and private investment would invigorate the economy, produce jobs and restore America's competitiveness.

"The economic plan I released today . . . would have the biggest flood of investment since World War II," Clinton said here tonight during a one-hour question-and-answer program on WSB-TV.

Clinton's new plan, the subject of a long internal debate among his economic and political advisers,

is a shift in emphasis from the proposals that helped him win the Democratic nomination. It reflects changing economic and political conditions and a desire to avoid criticism that he was promising more than he could pay for.

The 22-page document, called "Putting People First," also is a political challenge to Clinton's two political rivals—President Bush, who has come under fire as lacking a domestic program, and Ross Perot, who has promised to provide details of his own economic plan.

See CLINTON, A8, Col. 4

Clinton Revises His Economic Proposals

CLINTON, From A1

economic and budget plans soon.

Asked how he might defend himself against charges that he is another tax-and-spend Democrat, Clinton said, "All I have done is ask for fairness here so that every American can make a contribution to paying down the deficit, investing in the future and getting our economy to grow."

Clinton made middle-class tax cuts the centerpiece of his television advertising in New Hampshire and vigorously defended them against criticism by former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas that they were unsound economically.

Clinton said tonight he did not think the country could afford both his full middle-class tax cut and family tax credits but argued that middle-class Americans "will still be better off" under his revised plan. Aides conceded that the economy has begun to recover since Clinton first proposed the tax cut, but they added that it was still needed for reasons of fairness.

Under the revised plan, middle-class families with children likely would choose a family tax credit; those without children would pick the middle-class tax cut. Clinton advisers said the change would halve the value of the middle-class cuts, to between \$12 billion and \$14 billion annually.

The revised plan calls for roughly \$50 billion in public investment annually for four years to revitalize the economy. That includes \$20 billion annually for a "Rebuild America" program of spending on transportation, environmental technology, defense conversion and information technology.

The other money would be spent on cities, worker education and training, education, financing college costs and apprenticeship programs available to high school graduates who choose not to attend college. Clinton would spend additional money to expand the earned income tax credit to aid the working poor.

To help finance the new investments, Clinton calls for \$150 billion in new taxes over four years, including \$92 billion from higher taxes on the wealthy, generally those with incomes of more than \$200,000. The other \$58 billion would come from closing corporate tax loopholes, with about \$45 billion produced by ending certain practices of foreign firms.

"The only people who are going to be paying more taxes are the very wealthy, who saw their incomes go up and their taxes go down in the 1980s," said George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director.

Clinton's new plan retreats significantly from his earlier timetable for balancing the budget. In January, Clinton said on NBC's "Meet the

Press" he hoped to balance the budget in his first term. Today he said he would cut the deficit by slightly more than half over four years.

But many of the cuts Clinton listed are vague and may be difficult to achieve. For example, he lists \$3.8 billion in savings by using a line-item veto to eliminate congressional pork barrel projects, even though Congress has never approved a line-item veto. His aides, however, said an activist president could succeed in making the changes Clinton advocates.

In the health care area, Clinton refined his pledge to contain health care costs and provide health insurance to all Americans. He said he would phase in coverage only as he is able to save money by containing costs. And for the first time, he acknowledged that the savings would be used to finance the additional coverage. He previously has cited health care savings as a principal way to reduce the deficit.

Clinton restated his desire to shape up the government by losing 100,000 federal jobs through attrition, cutting administrative costs 3 percent annually, cracking down on lobbyists and cleaning up campaign financing. He would keep top executive branch officials from lobbying for five years after leaving and bar trade officials from working for foreign governments.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Jackson Won't Rule Out Backing Perot

Rainbow Coalition Leader Indicates Clinton Lost Points at Conference

By John Wagner
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jesse L. Jackson yesterday refused to rule out supporting independent presidential candidate Ross Perot over Democratic front-runner Bill Clinton, suggesting he would back whichever candidate put forward the best plan to rebuild the nation's cities.

Appearing on CBS's "Face the Nation," Jackson said he had "every intention" of supporting Clinton before the Arkansas governor's June 13 appearance at a conference of Jackson's National Rainbow Coalition here.

At the conference, Clinton denounced, as racially inflammatory, remarks made by rap singer Sister Souljah in a Washington Post article and criticized Jackson for allowing the controversial performer to take part in the conference.

"As we reached out, Bill Clinton pushed off," Jackson said yesterday. "And so we do not want to interfere with the campaign, nor do we want to be a foil for any tricks."

Jackson would not answer directly questions about whether he was planning to endorse Perot but said he held the undeclared candidate in "high regard" and would seek Perot's support for the Rainbow Coalition's economic plan.

"This is a very strange political year," Jackson said. "Certainly we intend to take our plan to Perot, as we've taken it to Clinton, to try to force the debate this year to be about a plan for economic rebuild-



JESSE L. JACKSON
... holds Perot in "high regard"

ing as opposed to rap singers and sitcom stars."

Jackson said he did not feel the economic plans offered thus far by Clinton addressed the "massiveness" of the nation's problems. "There's the assumption that Perot might," Jackson said.

There has been no indication that the Perot campaign would welcome Jackson with open arms. Perot campaign manager Edward J. Rollins, appearing on CNN's "Evans & Novak" over the weekend, said he thought Jackson was "playing games with Bill Clinton and others as he always does."

"If he wants to endorse Mr. Perot and vote for him, we'd welcome it, but we're not reaching out for that

and we don't expect that to happen," Rollins said. "I think anywhere Jesse goes he creates controversy and ... this campaign is a grassroots campaign, and we don't want the added controversy."

Meanwhile, Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press" said Jackson had made "great contributions" to the party but also said that in past campaigns Jackson has expected the Democratic candidates "to pay homage to him" as the convention neared. "While the black vote is very important, people sense that as a sense of weakness on the part of the candidates," Nunn said. "I hope Bill Clinton does not fall into that pattern, and I hope Jesse Jackson does not demand that."

Yesterday, Jackson said he admired Perot's "commitment to equal funding for public education—perhaps the key to desegregation—his support for women, [and] his obsession for bringing Americans home from foreign battlefields."

Jackson said Perot "projected a commitment to certain values that have broad-based appeal in this country." He also praised Perot for touring the riot-torn areas of Los Angeles and for "urging people to avoid hate politics" in a recent speech in Orange County, Calif.

Jackson said that although Clinton had done well with black voters during the Democratic primaries, he would need "a record-breaking urban" turnout to prevail in the general election this fall.



Perot holds supporter on his shoulder at Boston rally Saturday.

LETTER FROM THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Can-Do Optimism Is Core Of Perot's Stump Speech

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

DENVER, June 21—Anyone who reads the pundits or tunes in the Sunday savants knows Ross Perot is a candidate of the angry and the disaffected, the fed-up and the resentful. At times, Perot can seem a bit dyspeptic himself, when his flashing eyes narrow to squints and a nasty zing creeps into his down-home twang.

But on the road last week, stumping from coast-to-coast like an old-fashioned pol, he was as upbeat as a popsicle salesman in August. Far from a prophet of discontent, Perot was an apostle of good cheer, the always-

darkest-before-the-dawn, gray-skies-are-gonna-clear-up candidate.

People have been wondering what Perot might look like as a conventional candidate. Strip away the phosphorescence of his TV politics—the mediagenic campaign born of the Larry King show and weaned on "Today"—and what would remain?

In many ways, it was the same Perot—enigmatic, unconventional, cryptic and amusing. But a kind of clarity came over his speeches on the road, the clarity of Knute Rockne at halftime of the big game. Thousands of his angst-ridden acolytes turned out at rallies from California to Mas-

See PEROT, A8, Col. 1

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Uniquely American Can-Do Optimism Runs Through Perot's Stump Speech

PEROT, From A1

sachusetts; Perot chucked them under the chin and gave them a pep talk.

"To make a long story short, we got a lot of work to do, and the sooner we start, the sooner we'll finish. I know you'll agree with that," he said here on Friday. "So let's get to work! Can we agree on that?"

And a shout came back: "YES!"

He was as maddening as ever to those who want to pin him down on the political spectrum. Perot was a John Wayne conservative talking of wartime heroics, then in the next breath spoke of crack-addicted infants like a Michael Harrington liberal. The only tradition he unflinchingly embraced was that uniquely American can-do optimism that runs from Benjamin Franklin through Norman Vincent Peale to Ronald Reagan. And now to Ross Perot.

This was his stump speech, in a nutshell: America can do anything if we'll just set our minds to it.

Perot on drug abuse:

"We got 5 percent of the world's population and 50 percent of the world's cocaine use. Does anybody here think we can be a great nation while that's going on in our country? (Audience: NO!) Are you ready to quit talking about it? (YES!) All right, if you want to do it, we can do it. If you don't want to do it, we can't do it."

On the crisis of the cities:

"I know you all love that patriotic song that talks about 'alabaster cities that gleam undimmed by human tears.' Lotta places that you can go today where that's not true, right? We can't run away from our cities. We gotta rebuild them. Now, don't quit in the middle! Let's figure out what has to be done and just do it, do it, do it! Will you stay with me on rebuilding the cities? (YES!)"

On social programs:

"If you've got somebody down the street that needs help and you can help 'em, you don't need to call the government. Just go down the street and help 'em. If there's an elderly lady down the street and her plumbing doesn't work and her grass isn't cut and her house needs painting, we oughta all just go down there and do it."

On racism and ethnic division:

"Never forget the slogan of the Three Musketeers: One for all and all for one! Now, that'll work!"

It seems shallow to Perot's opponents. However, he appears to be tapping a rich vein among middle Americans, the people who made "Rocky" a cultural milestone and Peale's book, "The Power of Positive Thinking," one of history's best sellers. It has long been a core belief among the people Perot is reaching that human potential, unchained and righteously channeled, can overcome any obstacle.

Perot's America is a land where platoons of super-salesmen—like I.W. Stone, proponent of P.M.A. (Positive Mental Attitude) and Zig Ziglar, who encourages people to call traffic signals "go lights" rather than "stop lights"—have made millions preaching the can-do gospel to packed auditoriums.

Generation after generation has it right down in their bones. Older folks in Perot's audiences grew up dancing the jitterbug to a song that went: "You've got to accentuate the positive, eliminate the negative, no use for Mister In-Between." Middle-aged listeners may have been taught as youths to chant: "Whatever the mind can conceive, and the heart can believe, a man can achieve." The younger ones have gotten the philosophy straight from Nike: "Just do it."

That was Perot on the stump last week. Nothing seemed to matter so much as a positive attitude and a passion for action. Deeper discussion of social problems and complex solutions, the sort of activity urged on him by his critics, was dismissed by Perot as just so much talk.

"Words are plentiful, but deeds are precious," he said at every stop, quoting Lech Walesa, the Polish Solidarity leader and president of Poland. Perot loved repeating the parable of Walesa, which symbolized to him the power of one ordinary person with the right attitude and a little elbow grease. "What do you think Lech Walesa was in Poland when the Communists had an absolutely iron grip on him?" Perot asked his Denver audience. "He was a shipyard worker. He was a nobody."

"Thank God he didn't understand that."

The unspoken implication was, of course, that Perot is precisely that sort of person, a nobody from Texarkana who made a titan of himself. How? By skipping the talk and getting down to business. He was not just the messenger, he was the message itself.

Perot studiously avoided talking about himself. He never said "I'm leading in the polls" or even "We're leading." It was always, "You are leading in the polls." He wanted his audiences to feel the power of a dream with some gumption behind it. He seemed confident they could draw the right conclusions.

Ken Robison, a commercial artist who scratches out a living from Perot buttons and bumper stickers, had no trouble getting the point. "Get things done. Make things happen. That's the Great American Dream, right?" he said. "Well, that's what Ross Perot is all about."

Now and then there were signs that Perot's angry army might not be permanently satisfied with last week's mix of self-actualization, empowerment and the theme from "Chariots of Fire." Many were looking not for a coach or a cheerleader but for an avenger.

Anna, an unemployed mother of two who declined to give her last name, looked grim in the Colorado sun lugging a placard emblazoned with her favorite Perotism: Time To Clean Out The Barn. She gave her ferocious interpretation. "It means the time has come to kick out all the liars and the cheaters and the spenders, time to clean up the Congress, to wipe out the con men, time to shake up the country; the people are tired, we need some shaking up and he's the man to do it."

But they cheered the feel-good Perot, and as they roared their responses to his pep-rally challenges, his discontented followers seemed satisfied, for the time being, with a pep talk and a dream.

"We are dreamers," retired Lt. Gen. Calvin Waller said as he introduced Perot last Friday. A warm-up speaker in Sacramento completed the thought.

"Remember the song from 'Pinocchio'?" he asked. "When you wish upon a star, your dreams come true? Well, our star is Ross Perot. And we can make our dream come true."

ities' \$35 Billion Proposed Cure Finds Few Washington Allies

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Staff Writer

Thomas Cochran has a question: Why is \$35 billion too much to save America's cities?

According to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, where Cochran is executive director, that figure is the minimum amount necessary to create the jobs, overhaul the infrastructure and attract the business investments needed to turn around the nation's urban areas.

In the wake of the Los Angeles riots, President Bush and the nation's lawmakers set July 4 as a deadline to reach agreement on long-term urban aid. Last week, Congress approved \$1.1 billion in emergency urban aid, including funds for summer jobs, cleanup of riot damage in Los Angeles and flood damage in Chicago.

But a long-term urban aid package has yet to be settled.

Some lawmakers dismiss the mayors' estimate as excessive. Bush has declined to meet with the mayors to discuss it. Even Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, who is supported by many mayors, said after talking with them a week ago that \$35 billion is too high.

Frustrated by the reception, Cochran and 175 mayors from across the country are meeting at their annual conference this week in Houston to plot a new strategy to sell their agenda to lawmakers and the public.

Initially buoyed by the public concern after the Los Angeles rioting, the mayors' urban relief plan is competing with a handful of other packages proposed by members of Congress, lobbyists and the Bush administration.

But the mayors' biggest problem, made more complicated by the lingering recession and a spartan mood on Capitol Hill, is convincing lawmakers—and the administration—that \$35 billion is what it will take to revive the cities and that the federal government should be the source.

"What the mayors are asking for is so much more than the estimates for other plans," said one senior congressional aide who specializes in urban issues. "Many members find it hard to take them seriously."

The mayors have persisted since early May, after south-central Los Angeles went up in flames. They

have repeatedly pointed out that other cities could suffer similar fates unless more federal money is funneled into urban areas. As head of the conference's Washington office, Cochran has orchestrated the mayor's lobbying effort—blanketing Capitol Hill with information about urban squalor, rallying an estimated 100,000 people for a mass march on Washington, and coordinating highly publicized meetings with congressional leaders.

After the riots, Boston Mayor Raymond L. Flynn led a delegation to Los Angeles, where they warned that the city was only one urban center in crisis. On June 9, another group of mayors flew to Dallas for a meeting with undeclared presidential candidate Ross Perot, while another group met with Clinton in Washington.

"At every step," said Cochran, who has attended nearly all of the meetings, rallies and news brief-

FIXING AMERICA'S CITIES URBAN AID PROPOSALS

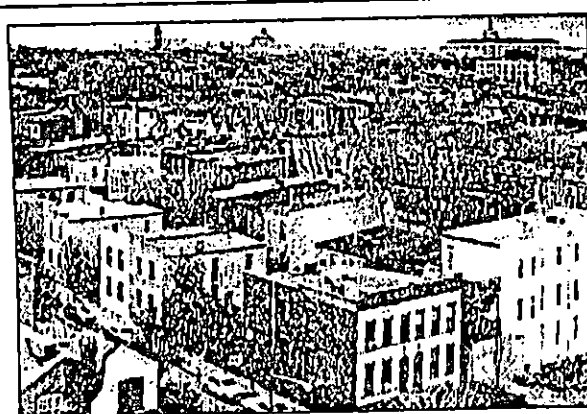
MAYORS' ECONOMIC STIMULUS PLAN:

- ✓ \$15 billion for direct assistance to the most depressed cities.
- ✓ \$5 billion for public works.
- ✓ \$6 billion for community development block grants to create jobs.
- ✓ \$4 billion for roads and other transportation infrastructure.
- ✓ \$2 billion in low-interest loans to the most depressed cities.
- ✓ \$2.8 billion for job training. Extension of waiver for home investment partnership agreement.

■ Total: \$34.8 billion

BUSH URBAN AID PACKAGE:

- ✓ Establishes enterprise zones in at least 50 economically depressed areas across the United States and offers businesses tax breaks as an incentive to open there.
- ✓ Calls on Congress to give states more flexibility



administering welfare programs in an effort to encourage recipients to find work.

- ✓ Calls on Congress to pass proposed Youth Apprenticeship Act and Job Training 2000 proposal.
- ✓ Proposes an "America 2000 program" to upgrade education. It would also give parents greater flexibility in deciding to

which schools to send their children.

- ✓ \$500 million for "weed and seed" crime prevention measures.
- ✓ Housing credits for inner-city families to buy homes in public housing projects.

■ Estimated cost: \$2 billion to \$4 billion

BY JOHN ANDERSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

ings, "our main message has been this: If we don't come up with a major program to save our cities now, they will die."

The mayors' \$34.8 billion program includes \$15 billion in targeted assistance to the most troubled cities, \$5 billion for public works, \$6 billion for community development block grants to generate new jobs, and \$2 billion in low-interest loans to small businesses.

Bush's program centers on proposals to provide low-interest loans to attract business investments in depressed areas, offers tax credits to allow low-income families to purchase housing and a \$500 million "weed and seed" program for crime control. The White House at first suggested introducing the plan in 50 inner-city areas but expanded the list to more than 100 urban and rural regions. The plan relies heavily on investment from the private

sector and is estimated to cost \$2 billion to \$4 billion.

The \$1.1 billion short-term urban aid bill was funded by an emergency measure that will add to the deficit. Funding for any long-range plan has yet to be determined.

Cochran, a veteran, high-profile Washington lobbyist who has pushed for urban aid since the days of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, has a ready response to critics of the mayors' concept. "Some people say it will take several hundred billion dollars to revive the cities," he said. "Others think it can be done with far less. We have done our homework. We commissioned studies, did polls, asked our members. Ours is not an off-the-wall figure. Everything says that \$35 billion is what it will take."

"We have nothing against the president's plan," Cochran added. "Our plan includes proposals for enterprise zones and housing cred-

its, too. But just doing that is not enough. If we really want to seriously address the problem, we've got to make a bigger investment than that."

The riots "sent a signal that the need to do something for our cities is urgent," said Cochran. "For the political structure in Washington, and across the country, they were a jolt to reality."

But not jolt enough.

Cochran and other urban advocates complain that they are having a tougher time getting Washington to focus on the social and economic problems of the cities: unemployment, homelessness, AIDS and crumbling infrastructure. "We call them the lonely issues," Cochran said, "because no one wants to deal with them."

The urban aid debate also has raised the question of priorities. As the White House defends a proposed \$12 billion contribution to the International Monetary Fund and Congress considers a \$417 million aid package to Russia, the mayors complain that urban issues have been relegated to a back burner.

"President Bush seems more concerned about foreign countries than he does about America," Flynn told the Associated Press after Bush signaled that he would not attend the Houston conference. "I wish he had time to talk about what is happening here."

Cochran said that lawmakers, particularly members of the House leadership, have met with the mayors in sessions he described as "difficult." "We don't have any close rapport with the House leadership. We have made an outreach to them but don't get much response," he said. "I cannot explain why."

Many lawmakers profess that they have sympathy for urban problems but prefer their own remedies to those of the mayors. For example, House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) and other congressional Democrats have discussed a \$9 billion package. Sen. David L. Boren (D-Okla.) is pushing a job training program that would be administered by the nation's governors. And Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) is drafting a plan for urban enterprises zones. "The mayors are right to point out the problems," said one congressional aide, "but they don't have a monopoly on finding solutions to them."

Mayors Fight Over Budget Amendment

Associated Press

HOUSTON, June 21—The nation's mayors, who are asking the federal government for billions of dollars in aid to their cities, today entangled themselves in divisive debate over a balanced-budget constitutional amendment.

Although the House has defeated a proposal for this year, the mayors launched headlong into the issue on a resolution that would have directed the U.S. Conference of Mayors' lobbying efforts to oppose an amendment.

That move failed on a 20 to 16 vote of a key committee of the conference. But when balanced-budget amendment supporters tried to push a resolution, the deeply divided group split in parliamentary disarray, leaving the issue undecided.

"I think that's a dumb vote," said Milwaukee Mayor John O. Norquist (D). "It's real dumb for us to go on record against a balanced-budget amendment. The public wants a balanced budget."

The dispute came as the mayors held their annual summer conference, where they routinely pass scores of resolutions, which have no effect beyond establishing the policy of the nation's urban leaders and focusing the considerable lobbying interests of the 60-year-old organization.

Because it's an election year, some resolutions drew more fire than usual, particularly from some mayors who are running for higher office.

Among mayors speaking against resolutions that would call for more federal spending were Republican Kirk Kempthorne of Boise, Idaho, a Senate candidate, and Democrat Pete Sierrazza of Reno, Nev., who is running for the House.

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Clinton Team Is Investigating Short List of Potential Running Mates

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., June 21—Advisers to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton are launching background investigations on a short list of potential vice presidential candidates, but aides say an announcement of Clinton's running mate is not likely to come until the eve of next month's Democratic National Convention in New York.

Compared to past Democratic presidential nominees, Clinton has conducted his search almost completely in private: no public courtships, no high-profile interviews, no public pressure from interest groups. So far, he has successfully avoided tipping his hand and thus has dampened speculation about his choice.

Clinton said Thursday on "Larry King Live" that he is down to a relatively small number of people, and Democrats familiar with the selection process say he has pared a long and diverse preliminary list to perhaps five or so finalists. There are informed Democrats who believe Clinton already knows whom he prefers, assuming the background checks do not turn up anything potentially disqualifying.

With Clinton running behind President Bush and Texan Ross Perot in most polls, the choice of a vice president is an extraordinarily important decision for his campaign that will help define him to voters. Because the choice is so personal, there is no reliable or fixed roster of finalists. Only Clinton and perhaps his wife, Hillary, really know what he is thinking.

But a consensus list of the like-

liest candidates, developed through conversations with Democrats who have been in contact with the campaign, includes Sens. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (W.Va.), Bill Bradley (N.J.) Harris Wofford (Pa.), Bob Kerrey (Neb.), Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.) and Tom Harkin (Iowa), Reps. Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.), Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.) and John Lewis (Ga.), Texas Gov. Ann Richards, Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson and California Treasurer Kathleen Brown.

Bradley, however, has publicly said he is not interested, and Clinton appears likely to take him at his word. There have been similar reports about Rockefeller, but when asked whether the West Virginian had told Clinton he does not want to be considered, Lane Bailey, Rockefeller's top aide, said, "He hasn't been asked."

Democrats praise Clinton's handling of the process, saying he has avoided mistakes of past candidates. Inside the campaign, only a handful of advisers are involved, and their discretion is typified by campaign chairman Mickey Kantor, who would not confirm that Clinton was working off a short list even after the candidate had said so publicly. "Only the client can waive lawyer-client privilege," Kantor said.

As for the timing of an announcement, Kantor said Clinton might wait until he is in New York at the convention to unveil the choice.

Clinton began the search process more than a month ago with the appointment of a three-member team, headed by Warren Christopher, a Los Angeles lawyer who was deputy secretary of state in the Carter administration.

The initial list, based on names



SEN. HARRIS WOFFORD
... experience complements Clinton's

developed by the campaign and recommended from outside, was nothing if not long and eclectic, from the usual cast of senators and governors to billionaire investor Warren E. Buffett to television journalist Bill Moyers to Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to Powell's predecessor, retired admiral William J. Crowe Jr.

For weeks, Christopher said he and his team, which includes Washington lawyer Vernon Jordan and former Vermont governor Madeleine Kunin, carried on "very intensive" research to provide Clinton with the widest possible choice. But the choice is Clinton's alone. "I see our charge simply to provide Governor Clinton with the best information possible," Kunin said.

John Reilly, a Washington lawyer who headed Walter F. Mondale's vice presidential team in 1984, said the selection of a running mate is



REP. LEE H. HAMILTON
... has foreign policy credentials

one of the most revealing decisions a candidate can make. "You can get a pretty good indication of his thought process by the kind of person he chooses," Reilly said.

Democrats who have spoken to Clinton in the past two weeks believe he is more likely to select an elected official as his running mate, despite the campaign's interest in considering an unconventional choice.

One reason is that some of those on the campaign's wish-list simply are not available. Powell, for example, has told friends he would be laughed out of town if he abandoned Bush for Clinton's ticket. Others may lack national standing, might not survive background checks or might not hold up in the campaign.

But Clinton has hinted that he wants his choice to be atypical. That could point to Richards, the popular Texas governor, but Texas

friends of hers say she is focused on her own 1994 reelection and is not eager to run for vice president. Brown could give Clinton the boost he badly needs in California, but because of her limited experience might not meet Clinton's threshold of being instantly presidential. The same could be said of Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), the subject of recent speculation on Capitol Hill.

Clinton admires Georgians Lewis, the veteran of the civil rights movement, and Jackson, and they appear the likeliest choices if Clinton decides to select a black running mate. It is unclear how the controversy with Jesse L. Jackson may affect that equation.

Of Clinton's rivals for the nomination, Kerrey and perhaps Harkin appear to have a better chance of being selected than former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas.

But one Democrat who is working with the campaign said advisers have talked about a final-night convention tableau that includes "two husbands and two wives," in an effort to deflect the character issue that plagued Clinton during the primaries. If true, that would eliminate Kerrey and Richards, who are divorced.

Lieberman, a first-term senator, has been a major Clinton supporter and shares Clinton's analysis of the problems facing the country. But, like Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), he is a prominent member of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council that Clinton also headed, and it is doubtful that Clinton will pick a vice president from the same wing of the party.

Public dissatisfaction with Congress makes the selection of Gephardt dubious, even though he

would complement Clinton in many ways, including helping with organized labor.

Other governors, such as Roy Romer of Colorado, Booth Gardner of Washington and Barbara Roberts of Oregon, might be attractive if Clinton wants a westerner or a woman. But they lack the diversity of experience Clinton says he wants.

Hamilton and Wofford remain two prominent wild cards—seen by some Democrats as neither unconventional nor exactly conventional. Hamilton is in line to become chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and may prefer to stay in the House. But he is friendly with Christopher, would give the Democratic ticket foreign policy credentials and has the maturity to complement Clinton's youth.

Wofford, the surprise winner of last year's special election in Pennsylvania, worked hard for Clinton in the primaries, and the two quickly became friends. Wofford, who fits Clinton's criteria of having experience that complements his and, in Clinton's words, "really, really understands" the economic plight of middle-class Americans, has spent most of his life outside elective politics and like Hamilton would bring maturity to the ticket.

Asked last Thursday whether his short list included Wofford, Clinton said: "He's a close friend of mine. He's an incredibly gifted public servant who has only recently been an elected official. He spent most of his life as a committed, caring citizen doing other things. And he's the kind of person that we need in the forefront of America."

Staff writer Lou Cannon contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sister Souljah says she was not *really* telling blacks to kill whites. But the rap singer's meaning was subject to wildly different interpretations, depending on who was listening and the color of their ears. Some people heard justifiable black anger; others heard unacceptable black racism. Some people heard words meant to inflame; others heard words of allegory and wisdom.

Iris Johnson of Syracuse, N.Y., heard part of the reason that racial discourse is so rocky. Her advice to Sister Souljah and anyone else: "Whatever you say, say what you mean," said Johnson, 49, who is black. "These are perilous times as it is."

Johnson spoke at Union Station where cultures collide, mix for a time, and separate. Black youth swaggering in low-riding jeans. A rainbow of tourists in sun visors and polyester. Professionals, black and white—briefcases in hand, looks of purpose on their faces. When asked, about a dozen of these travelers immediately had a piece of their minds to offer on the rhetoric of the rapper who became a race relations lightning rod June 13 when Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton used an appearance before the Rainbow Coalition to criticize comments she made in an earlier Washington Post interview.

Antwan Parker, 18, of Southeast Washington, said Souljah simply was trying to show that justice has a double standard. Parker, who is black, said Souljah's words were not meant to be taken literally. "You got to be black to understand it." Of whites, he said, "They think if you're white and a black person comes down the street, they're gonna kill you . . . They just don't understand."

Parker, who just graduated from Eastern High School, said he has listened to Souljah's music and understands what she says. "Some of her points, it really makes you think." What did he think when he heard that Souljah, in *The Post* interview, had said, "... why not have a week and kill white people?" (Souljah said last week she was simply describing the mindset of a gang member.)

"It made me take into consideration how it would be if blacks were killing whites," said Parker. What kind of consideration? "In terms of justice." Explain. "I think it would be a whole lot different." How? "No trying to be racist, but the laws would be stiffer." Why would that be a racist statement? "It seems like if you say something towards whites and you're black, it's racist."

But Bob Kenney, 64, a white northern New Jersey retiree, said he believes Souljah meant what it sounded like she meant: that blacks ought to kill whites. "Guys who were in the KKK are bad. I wouldn't have anything to do with them. I'd put her in the same category. The KKK is for terrorizing black people. She's doing the same thing on the other side. . . . If we wanna get the races together, we can't have that kind of action."

Is Souljah a racist? "Yeah, sure. Absolutely." He had heard her Wednesday on television, CBS's "This Morning," when, according to a transcript, she said: "I don't think black people have the power to be racist. I cannot order the National Guard to go to anybody's community. I cannot invade any country in Europe. I cannot discriminate white people from receiving a proper education. These are normal things that the white system in America does to black people every day."

Said Kenney: "I wouldn't agree with that."

Kenney described Souljah as "ridiculous," "inflammatory" and "ignorant." Before he and his wife Marion, 61, picked up their bags to board their train back home, he asked worriedly if blacks would be "insulted" by what he said.

Johnson, a charity administrator, said of Souljah's comment about power and racism going hand in hand: "I could relate to that." But Johnson also said she believes black people can be racist. Is there a difference between black racism and white racism? "Racism is racism," she said emphatically.

Then again, she said, "Well, it is different. Whites have the systemic power with theirs. We have it with nothing." She laughed bitterly.

Richard Cummings, 29, a white accountant headed back to Manhattan, figures Souljah says what she says to sell records and no one outside her musical market would have paid her any heed had Clinton not characterized her remarks as "filled with hatred."

Cummings is unfazed by Souljah's seeming call for white death. "I live in New York," he said.

What concerns him, though, is the "multiplier effect" caused by rehashing it, especially during economic hard times when people are angry. He suspects that Souljah gives voice to some of the sentiments of those who are angry and figures, "You're gonna hear a lot of this stuff. It's just a release mechanism."

Clarence Thompson, 42, who is black and a Metro station manager, agrees that Souljah was giving voice to an anger that is widespread. "It's

almost like you go through something so long, you get fed up." But not to the point of killing whites. He said he believes Souljah used exaggeration to make a point.

And if that upsets white people? "Who cares? I don't care," said Veronica Wilkins, 30, a black telecommunications worker heading home to Baltimore.

The danger, said Jean Woodruff of Reston, who is white, is that Souljah's rap adds fuel to the racial fire. "It gives a perfect example of

extremism for people to put their prejudices on top of," she said, referring to both blacks and whites.

Was Woodruff, 60, frightened by Souljah's rhetoric?

"If anyone answers 'yes' to that, boy! Then she's had more influence than is warranted. It didn't make me scared," Woodruff said.

As she and her husband, a former diplomat, scurried off to catch their train to New York, Woodruff implored, "Don't give her too much more publicity."

Souljah's Meaning, Refracted Through Racial Prism
Rapper's Post-Riot Words on Killing Whites Are Subject of Wildly Different Interpretations

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Independent Counsel Law Increasingly Beset

INDEPENDENT COUNSELS

Since enactment of the Ethics in Government Act in 1978, 11 independent counsels have been named to investigate government figures.

ARTHUR H. CHRISTY

Appointed: Nov. 29, 1979

Allegations: Cocaine use by President Jimmy Carter's chief of staff, Hamilton Jordan.

Result: Insufficient evidence.

GERALD J. GALLINGHOUSE

Appointed: Sept. 14, 1980

Allegations: Cocaine use by Tim Kraft, Carter's senior White House aide before Kraft became Carter's national campaign manager.

Result: Insufficient evidence.

LEON SILVERMAN

Appointed: Dec. 29, 1981

Allegations: Illegal payoffs to union officials by Raymond J. Donovan, labor secretary during the Reagan administration. Silverman also explored rumors of Donovan links to organized crime. In 1985, an additional charge involving an alleged kickback made in 1976 was investigated.

Result: In both cases, insufficient evidence.

JACOB A. STEIN

Appointed: April 2, 1984

Allegations: Financial and political improprieties by Edwin Meese III, attorney general during the Reagan administration.

Result: Insufficient evidence.

WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR JR.

Appointed: May 29, 1986

Allegations: Improper lobbying by former White House aide Michael K. Deaver. **Result:** Convicted on three counts of perjury. Deaver's three-year sentence was suspended and he was placed on probation, fined \$100,000, ordered to perform 1,500 hours of community service and barred from lobbying the government for three years.

ALEXIA MORRISON

Appointed: May 29, 1986

Allegations: False testimony given by former assistant attorney general Theodore B. Olson in



regard to Environmental Protection Agency documents withheld from Congress.

Result: Insufficient evidence.

LAWRENCE E. WALSH

Appointed: Dec. 12, 1986

Allegations: Illegals involving diversion of profits from arms sales to Iran to aid the Nicaraguan contras.

Result: Ten convictions, two of which were dismissed on appeal. One person was sentenced to prison.



JAMES C. MCKAY

Appointed: Feb. 2, 1987

Allegations: Illegal lobbying by Lyn Nofziger, former Reagan political adviser, and questionable business dealings by Meese on behalf of Wedtech Corp., a New York-based defense contractor. **Result:** Nofziger was indicted on conflict-of-interest charges and convicted on three counts of illegal lobbying. The verdict was overturned by an appeals court; the Supreme Court refused to rule on the case. McKay found insufficient evidence in the Meese case.

JAMES HARPER

Appointed: Aug. 17, 1987

Allegations: Illegals involving the finances of former assistant attorney general W. Lawrence Wallace, who failed to file personal income-tax returns for two years.

Result: Insufficient evidence.

ARLIN M. ADAMS

Appointed: March 2, 1990

Allegations: Illegal contributions of federal housing subsidies to political and business associates of Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) officials. **Result:** Eight have been charged; the investigation is ongoing.



—COMPILED BY LUCY SHACKELFORD

By Sharon LaFraniere

Washington Post Staff Writer

Last week's indictment of former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger comes at a troubled juncture for the independent counsel statute under which prosecutors are investigating the Iran-contra affair.

A consensus is growing among key House Democrats to let the much-debated 1978 statute lapse at the end of the year, then try to enact it again next year after political tensions subside and a new Congress takes office.

"Things have gotten so political and so angry this year, maybe it's best to let it lapse a few months," said Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), who helped shepherd the statute through two previous renewals. He said independent counsels who were already conducting investigations could continue their work but that no new ones could be appointed in the interim.

"There's been sort of a recognition that it is something that will probably have to be handled by the next Congress," said a key House leadership aide. "If that makes it more difficult [to renew], it makes it more difficult. At least it will be judged on the merits."

The statute is an outgrowth of the Watergate period when President Richard M. Nixon caused a sensation by firing special prosecutor Archibald Cox after Cox subpoenaed White House tape recordings. Congress subsequently enacted a complicated, step-by-step procedure that allows a special court to appoint an independent counsel to investigate and prosecute wrongdoing by high-ranking administration officials.

Since adoption of the law, 11 independent counsels have been appointed; seven concluded they had insufficient evidence to seek indictments. The Justice Department

wrapped up another 21 preliminary inquiries without seeking an independent counsel, according to a Senate Governmental Affairs subcommittee.

Former Reagan administration aide Michael K. Deaver pleaded guilty to perjury after one inquiry; after another, former Reagan adviser Lyn Nofziger was found guilty of illegal lobbying, but an appeals court overturned his conviction. An inquiry into a contract scandal at the Department of Housing and Urban Development has produced several indictments.

But no investigation has galvanized critics like that of Lawrence E. Walsh, who was appointed 5½ years ago to investigate Reagan administration efforts to sell arms to Iran for release of hostages in Lebanon and divert profits from those sales to aid contra rebels in Nicaragua.

Although Walsh's \$30 million inquiry has resulted in 10 successful prosecutions, appeals courts have overturned his biggest convictions—against former White House national security adviser John M. Poindexter and former National Security Council aide Lt. Col. Oliver L. North. Appellate judges found the cases were tainted by North's and Poindexter's immunized testimony before Congress.

Republicans in the administration and on Capitol Hill now characterize Walsh as the embodiment of everything that is wrong with the statute: no limits on how long an independent counsel can investigate or how much one can spend, no oversight, no assurance the prosecutor meets the Justice Department's threshold for seeking indictments.

They found fresh fodder in last week's charges of perjury and obstruction of justice against Weinberger, one of the few senior Reagan

See COUNSEL, A5, Col. 1

COUNSEL, From A4

gan administration officials who opposed the arms sales. "I think the Iran-contra investigation has gotten out of hand," said Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.). "I think there should have been a judgment made a long time ago about whether it was worth proceeding with this."

The Wall Street Journal, in a Thursday editorial, said: "We suspect Mr. Walsh has finally gone too far."

One Justice Department official said of the indictment: "This will make people really mad."

While Attorney General William P. Barr has not commented on Walsh's investigation, Barr has stepped up his criticism of the statute on independent counsels in the past several months. At his Senate confirmation hearing last November, Barr said he would support renewing the act if "certain practical concerns" were resolved. In April,

Barr said the statute has led to injustices and that he would recommend that President Bush veto extending it unless it is substantially changed.

Barr cited "real problems" with the selection of independent counsels, their accountability and their adherence to Justice Department standards. He also said the act should be broadened to cover members of Congress, an uncomfortable issue for many lawmakers.

As the independent counsel procedure now works, the attorney general first conducts a 15-day inquiry, on his initiative or at the request of the majority of Democrats or Republicans on the House or Senate Judiciary committee. If the inquiry shows the evidence is specific and from a credible source, the attorney general must then conduct a preliminary 90-day investigation.

If further investigation is warranted, the attorney general seeks appointment of an independent

counsel by a special division of the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Fred Wertheimer, president of Common Cause, said he suspects Barr wants to "kill the statute" by making independent counsels subordinate to the attorney general, much like special prosecutors. Special prosecutors are typically appointed by the attorney general to investigate highly sensitive or politically charged allegations, such as misconduct at the House Bank.

Wertheimer said his organization will fight to remind lawmakers why the independent counsel statute was first adopted—to create "a way of investigating and prosecuting the highest-level executive branch officers by someone who is not under the control of the attorney general."

"The statute is just as important today as it was the day it was enacted," he said. "If it is not reenacted and goes out of existence by the end of this year, it would be a tremendous loss to our country."

SOURCES: Facts on File, Congressional Quarterly, The Washington Post

BY JOHN ANDERSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Iran-Contra Foe's Notes Are Turned Against Him

Coverup Role by Weinberger Is Alleged

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Caspar W. Weinberger warned national security adviser Robert C. McFarlane in November 1985 that he believed the imminent, secret shipment by Israel of U.S.-made Hawk anti-aircraft missiles to Iran to gain release of American hostages was illegal and should not occur, according to Weinberger's handwritten notes.

"Thanks for the advice," McFarlane responded in a quote Weinberger recorded verbatim on Nov. 19, 1985, in his summary of that key phone conversation. McFarlane backed the operation and later pleaded guilty to four misdemeanor charges—none related to the Hawk shipment—for withholding other Iran-contra data from Congress.

According to sources familiar with Weinberger's daily writing practice, the former defense secretary usually summarized conversations in his daily jottings. This time he put McFarlane's reply in quotes because he looked on it as a sarcastic reproach for his last-minute attempt to try to stop the shipment, one source said.

The McFarlane phone entry, which covers less than one page among the 1,700 pages of Weinberger's daily notes, illustrates the irony of the 74-year-old former Cabinet member's indictment last week.

The same collection of notes that record his wise but unaccepted advice in what became the Reagan administration's worst political scandal is the instrument that has led to him being highest-ranking Reagan official to be indicted because of the Iran-contra affair.

Weinberger faces charges of perjury, making false statements and obstruction of an investigation by Congress. The prime evidence in the indictment is the collection of notes that Weinberger regularly jotted down each day on a pad on his Pentagon desk. The notes were not provided to congressional committees in 1987 at the time of their investigations.

The note collection was discovered late last fall by prosecutors working for independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh. The notes were among 377,000 documents Weinberger had placed in the Library of Congress in 1988. As late as Oct. 10, 1990, according to the indictment, Weinberger denied to prosecutors that he had such notes or even a habit of taking notes. He also said in that same interview that all of his relevant Iran-contra notes had been turned over to investigators.

The prosecutors believe the former defense secretary intentionally withheld his notes as part of a broad conspiracy to cover up President Ronald Reagan's role in what may have been illegal 1985 arms shipments, according to sources. They plan to use the Weinberger trial to lay out their coverup theory.

Weinberger has denied the charges against him, and sources said he will assert he forgot that his daily jottings contained Iran-contra material that was relevant to investigations.

Weinberger may not be the only person to have withheld relevant materials, according to sources. Another new element expected to be disclosed at the trial, which is to start Nov. 2, is a complete set of State Department notes, including summaries of meetings attended by then-Secretary of State George P. Shultz and other department officials, according to sources.

The prosecutors only recently obtained all those notes, most of which were not made available to the 1987 congressional investigators despite requests for them. Shultz, sources said, took notes but then dictated from them to an aide who kept a permanent file while Shultz regularly destroyed his own handwritten original copies.

Weinberger's notes, according to sources who have reviewed them, strongly support Weinberger's contention that he was the most vehement and persistent voice within Reagan's top circle of advisers to oppose the ill-fated arms-for-hostages dealings and particularly the November 1985 Hawk shipment. The notes indicate he discussed that shipment and its illegality with his own top aides, including his military assistant, Gen. Colin L. Powell, now chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Powell has reviewed some of Weinberger's diary notes at the request of the prosecutors and Weinberger's lawyer, Robert S. Bennett. In an affidavit last April that was supplied to Bennett, Powell said, "The notes I have seen show a person committed to trying to stop the administration from transferring arms to Iran but who was frustrated in his efforts."

Those same Weinberger notes would have been enormously damaging to the Reagan administration if they had been made available to the House-Senate Iran-contra investigating committees, which sought all relevant documents from Weinberger in 1987.

But the contents of the notes may make it more difficult for a jury

to believe that little more than one year after he was so vociferous in objecting to the shipment, Weinberger would forget such an event took place when questioned by congressional investigators and later Iran-contra prosecutors, sources said.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) yesterday voiced mixed feelings over the former defense secretary's indictment. He called Weinberger "a dedicated public servant for a long time," during an appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press."

"I'm hopeful that the evidence will not indicate, when this matter goes to trial, that Cap Weinberger intentionally misled the committees or the Justice Department or the FBI," Nunn said.

But Nunn showed that as a member of the 1987 Iran-contra panel, he understood the implications to Congress's investigation if the prosecutors are able to make their case that Weinberger intentionally withheld his notes from Congress and lied during congressional questioning.

"Our committee, the Iran-contra committee, asked for that information . . . any information relating to those November meetings," Nunn said. "We did not get that information."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Shared Suffering Breeds Solidarity, Defiance in

Sarajevo

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia—On the outside shooting in, there is a ring of Serb artillery batteries. Shells have been whistling into the city for the better part of three months, shattering buildings and dismembering people.

On the inside shooting out, there is a ring of defenders, primarily Slavic Muslims, who form a majority of the city's population. They are helpless against the shells, but they have managed so far to keep the Serb militia forces out of most of the city.

Inside these two warring rings, as an odd symbol of tolerance amid barbarity, a priest of the Serbian Orthodox rite celebrates Mass at 9 o'clock each morning. After the service, the priest, a 39-year-old Bosnian Serb named Dragomir Ubiparipovic, searches for shell damage on the grounds of the church of St. Michael the Archangel. Five shells have hit the grounds of the 12th-century church, which the priest calls the "soul of Serbs in the city." The sanctuary has taken a direct hit.

In the evening, Ubiparipovic walks across a narrow street to spend the night in the church chancery, a relatively secure building that he has opened to Muslim neighbors who need a safe place to sleep. "Six hundred years have shown that we can manage to live together," said Ubiparipovic. "Until now, nobody has come here and told me not to hold church services and not to ring the bells."

Under the leadership of militant Serb nationalist Radovan Karadzic, Bosnian Serbs in the outer ring are insisting that Sarajevo be partitioned among the city's Serbs, Muslims and Croats—with the Serbs retaining the largest share. The Serb priest who is content to stay on in the primarily Muslim city center is exactly the sort of problem that Karadzic's men are trying to correct with artillery.

The shelling strategy is designed to terrorize the diverse peoples of the capital, heighten communal differences, breed communal resentments and, thereby, induce Sarajevo's Serbs to cast their lot with the outer ring. A fax message sent Friday by Karadzic's office invited the Muslim-led Bosnian government to expel Serb women, children and old men who live within a largely Muslim quarter of the city. In exchange, the message said, Serb militiamen would

trade Muslims and Croats "on a head-for-head" basis. The Bosnian government rejected the swap.

Outside the capital, however, the Serb forces' campaign of terror-driven "ethnic purification" has succeeded quickly. Backed by the hard-line nationalist government of neighboring Serbia and the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army, Serb militia forces were able to seize control of two-thirds of Bosnia just weeks after full-scale fighting broke out in early April.

Using brute force and intimidation to create the largest refugee population in Europe since World War II, the Serb forces succeeded in "purifying" many rural areas—in effect, driving more than a million people from their homes in a well-coordinated offensive that left more than 7,000 dead and at least 25,000 wounded. Most of the dead, wounded and homeless have been Slavic Muslims, Bosnia's largest communal group.

Scores of previously mixed-population towns and villages along the Drina River in eastern Bosnia have been incorporated into what are now called Serb Autonomous Zones, and Serbs from other parts of Bosnia have been encouraged to settle in these areas in homes from which Muslim owners have been evicted.

But the troublesome fly in Karadzic's cleansing ointment is Sarajevo, where Serbs make up 28 percent of

the population, Croats 16 percent and Muslims 51 percent. The Serb priest who refuses to abandon the city is just one of many indicators that the encircling artillery batteries may be succeeding in blasting the capital to pieces but are failing to fulfill their purifying purpose.

Last week, the Bosnian government announced a new cabinet in which Serbs hold six of 20 ministries. One of them is a deputy prime minister in charge of defense, police and the courts. The minister in charge of rebuilding Bosnia is a Serb, and so is the second-highest-ranking officer of the Bosnian defense force.

"What we are trying to tell the Serbs of Bosnia is that although Karadzic controls so much territory, this is still a multi-ethnic government, this is still a multi-ethnic capital," said Ejup Ganic, a Muslim member of Bosnia's seven-man collective presidency. Two of the members are Serbs.

To be sure, these leaders have not succeeded in persuading all of Sarajevo's Muslims and Croats to tolerate the group whose brethren in the outer ring are pulverizing the city. Many Serb civilians here have been harassed and robbed by Muslim militiamen; last week a Muslim who jokingly flashed the three-fingered salute of Serb nationalism to some armed residents was shot in the hand.

Political leaders here say that roughly a third of Sarajevo's 150,000

Serbs have given up on tolerance and joined the outer ring, about a third have decided to stay, and the rest are not sure what to do. Many Serbs who have chosen to stick with the city are young professionals who, before Karadzic began preaching his nationalist gospel two years ago, thought of themselves as Yugoslavs or Bosnians rather than Serbs.

Vuk Jetic, 34, an executive with a chain of Bosnian ski-resort hotels, lived until last month in a hillside Sarajevo neighborhood called Grbavica. When Serb militiamen seized it, Jetic says, they told him they had come to liberate him and all the city's Serbs, and they asked him to join them in fighting to partition the neighborhood. "There is no logic for these people to come to my house and to try to free me," Jetic said.

Leaving behind his house and nearly all his possessions, Jetic escaped Grbavica and now lives with Muslim friends. The Serbs who came to "free" him, he said, have since imposed a death sentence on him and on all Sarajevo Serbs who "deserted."

Ubiparipovic, the Serb priest, need not be hiding from artillery fire in Sarajevo. In fact, he and his wife and their 10-day-old baby were evacuated by the church to Serbia last month. But Ubiparipovic chose to come back alone in late May, walking cautiously and ducking sniper fire over the last few miles through the outer ring of Serb militiamen.

"I didn't have to come back," he said. "I have my ethical and historical reasons. I am the shepherd of the Orthodox people in Sarajevo. As long as they stay here, my duty is to serve them. The church cannot go along with each different government that comes along; it is 2,000 years old, and governments come and go." Asked about the wisdom of trying to partition Sarajevo, the priest smiled, shook his head and said: "It is not possible."

The Washington Post

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Names & Faces

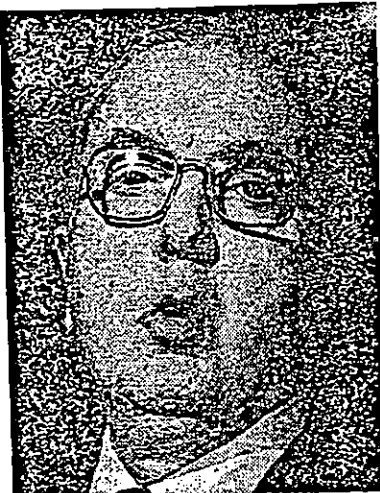
Murphy's Baby Surprise

■ Are you sitting down, Dan Quayle? First the vice president got hot when Murphy Brown gave birth out of wedlock. But he may have to take to his bed when he reads that the little actress who played Murphy's baby was the result of in-vitro fertilization, and has a surrogate mother.

Danica Fascella was conceived, along with her twin, Cynthia, with the sperm and egg of parents Alice and Brian Fascella. A cousin of Alice Fascella served as the surrogate mother.

The Fascellas nicknamed Danica "Danny Boy" after Quayle took issue with the morality of the Brown character, played by Candice Bergen.

Little Danica can't count on "Murphy Brown" for more all-important exposure, though. Inconveniently enough for the tiny star, Murphy's baby is a boy.



Sens. Barbara Mikulski and Jesse Helms, feeling the wrath of staffers in Washingtonian.

Guardian Angel's Recovery

■ Guardian Angel founder Curtis Sliwa, who was shot and seriously wounded early Friday when he was ambushed in a New York taxi, remains in Bellevue Hospital in stable condition. Sliwa is able to talk and has been visited by his wife, Lisa, and his mother, according to an Angels patrol leader. Guardian Angels have been posted outside Sliwa's hospital room since he was admitted. The patrol leader added that Sliwa's doctors say he is recovering quickly and doing unusually well for someone who had been hit by five bullets.

Demerits on the Hill

■ Members of Congress surely are used to being bashed from the outside, but some

are about to feel the wrath of their staffs. In the July Washingtonian are results of the magazine's poll of 535 Capitol Hill staffers. Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.) shared the designation of "Hottest Temper" with Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), while Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) and Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) were both accorded the title of the "Senate's Biggest Windbag." Hill employees gave Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.) the "Fashion Victim" award and Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) and his buddy Chris Dodd (D-Conn.) snagged the "No Altar Boy" category.

End Notes

■ Looks like the Caped Crusader has outdone himself. The opening weekend for "Batman Returns" was the biggest in box office history, taking in an estimated \$46.6 million and smashing the record set in 1989 by the prequel "Batman." It

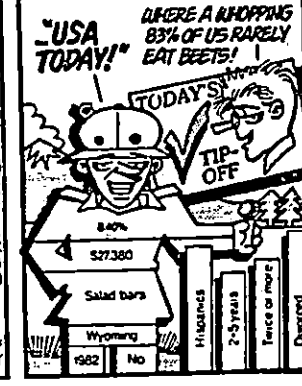
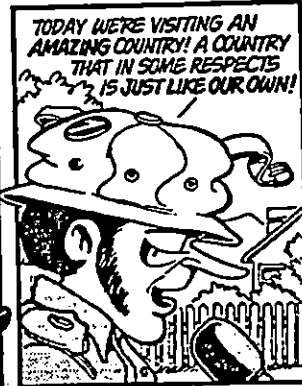
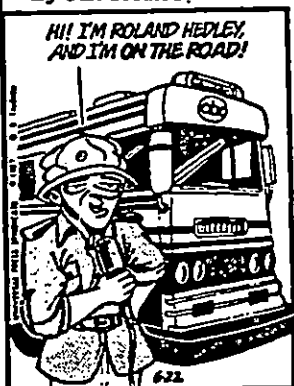
also broke the record for single biggest night of any film, earning just over \$16 million on Saturday night. Holy revenue! . . . If you think you've spotted Bigfoot out there, the Pennsylvania Center for UFO Research will not laugh at you if you call their hairy beast hot line. People are encouraged to call so the center can collect and analyze the creature's exploits. . . . "Judy," the pregnant Mommy-to-Be Doll introduced last Mother's Day, now has a companion Father-to-Be Doll, to make her an honest woman. "Charlie" was introduced Friday, just in time for Father's Day, complete with a wedding ring. He is, however, missing what it took to make Judy a mommy.

—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Michael Farquhar

Lois Romano has the day off. The Reliable Source will resume tomorrow.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



On Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Book World

Propaganda & the Presidents

SPIN CONTROL The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News

By John Anthony Maltese
University of North Carolina Press.
297 pp. \$29.95

By Todd Gitlin

The following quotation, which comes late in John Anthony Maltese's valuable book, might have served as his epigraph: Modern presidents "must try to master the art of manipulating the media not only to win in politics but in order to further the programs and

causes they believe in; at the same time they must avoid at all costs the charge of trying to manipulate the media."

The writer: that modern prince, Richard Nixon. News management is, of course, an old story in the White House, but never before Nixon had an American president established an office specifically devoted to managing executive imagery. The resulting machinery has sped national politics toward a peculiar mixture of professionalism and demagoguery, helping undermine an already fragile democracy, and polarizing the country be-

See BOOK WORLD, B4, Col. 1

BOOK WORLD, From B1

between insiders who make strategy and outsiders who feel the consequences of policy. Maltese, an assistant professor of political science at the University of Georgia, has drawn upon Nixon, Ford and Carter archives, and other firsthand sources, to write in "Spin Control" a cautionary history of the Office of Communications and other bureaus of what, less euphemistically, might be called an Office of Propaganda. He shows that Nixon's bungles have taught his Republican successors how to operate more smoothly.

In 1969, Nixon brought his campaign marketing apparatus into his presidency. If you could solicit a fake *vox pop* for campaign commercials, why not stir up telegrams of support once in office? Thus was engineered the apparatus that The New Republic's Sidney Blumenthal has called "the permanent campaign," a seamless loop of theme-orchestration, sound-biting, leaking, polling and opinion-making, all feeding back into policy. When the office's first director, Herbert Klein, balked at going beyond the solicitation of friendly letters to editors and kept schmoozing with a press Nixon called "the enemy," Nixon turned to Chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman, who hired Jeb Stuart Magruder to go on the public relations offensive.

Haldeman, Maltese writes, told Magruder to stir up telegrams attacking Republican senators who dissented on Vietnam. The ascendant Charles Colson, brought in as bad cop, told Magruder to engineer phone calls to Washington radio station WTOP supporting Nixon's bombing and mining of Hanoi and Haplong. In Nixon's eyes, Klein's foot-dragging made him what John Ehrlichman called one of "the walking dead," and he was gradually phased out. Supplied with the results of a daily opinion poll on how yesterday's line had played, Colson would meet at 8 every morning with Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Ron Ziegler to set the "line-of-the-day." At 9, Colson discussed it with Nixon. Then, as he told Maltese, the White House would "reflect [those issues] in the next morning's public statements. In other words, you could tell one night how people were reacting to things, and the next morning back off or intensify what you wanted to say with almost simultaneous polishing."

Maltese's post-Nixon chapters are not nearly as interesting, that is to say, lurid; they tend to devolve into minutiae, accounts of who pushed which paper to whom. But perhaps this is not Maltese's fault: Even Scheherazade would find the story of Nixon's White House a hard act to follow. Gerald



Author John Anthony Maltese.

Ford trimmed back the Office of Communications and Jimmy Carter, a stylist with an aspiration to substance, eliminated line-of-the-day meetings and further downgraded the office. The resulting diffusion left his administration on the defensive. So halfway into his second year, Carter resurrected the office under Gerald Rafshoon, in the process drawing too much attention to it—thus violating one of Nixon's rules. But there were—as Maltese acknowledges but fails to admit into his slender analysis—limits to what any planning could accomplish. In Carter's closing years, not even an adviser with the talents of a David Gergen or a Michael Deaver could have coaxed the public into forgetting the rate of inflation.

Under Reagan, the computer and the satellite were put to work orchestrating what a CIA official once called, in another connection, "the mighty Wurlitzer" of the press. The line-of-the-day was supplemented with the image-of-the-day, thanks to Michael Deaver's dramaturgy. Maltese offers an enlightening account of how the 1984 Republican Television Network downlinked convention coverage to cable and independent stations around the country. During Patrick Buchanan's two-year directorship of the Office of Communications, there was even a return to Nixonian tactics—including the State Department's solicitation of Op-Ed articles supporting the administration's Central America policy.

Working within a limited purview, Maltese does not ask what the news media, TV in particular, get out of the White House message—for example, the regular supply of pictures, the likes of which made the Persian Gulf War a veritable co-production of the White House and television. But he does give valuable glimpses of the cooks at work preparing the fast food of public opinion.

The reviewer is professor of sociology and director of the mass communications program at the University of California at Berkeley. His books include "Inside Prime

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

NBC News sources have confirmed the recent rumor that Garrick Utley and Mary Alice Williams will be replaced on "Sunday Today" when the two-hour "Saturday Today" show is launched Aug. 1...

The official line is that NBC affiliates have been pressing the network to use the same two anchors for both the Saturday and Sunday shows to provide "consistency and continuity" for the weekend concept...

Williams, who is expecting twins in November, begins maternity leave at the end of July under doctor's orders. Utley, who will continue anchoring both the Saturday and Sunday editions of "Nightly News," reportedly "was not interested" in taking on the additional Saturday morning duties. The new program, airing from 7 to 9 a.m. on the East Coast, is designed to be "time zone friendly," which translates to five hours of broadcasting each Saturday to provide news updates as the Central, Mountain and Pacific zones tune in...

No replacements have been named for Utley and Williams although Jackie Nespral, currently a nightly news anchor at Univision, the international Spanish language network based in Miami, is rumored to be a strong candidate. She has not yet signed with NBC News, however, according to sources in New York...

The male co-anchor list is reportedly down to three names...

The word is that the network will find a new assignment for Williams when she returns from maternity leave...

Utley, who joined NBC in 1963, has anchored "Sunday Today" since its debut in September 1987. Williams, who joined NBC in March 1989, replaced Maria Shriver on the program in April 1990...

In Other News

No deal yet but WETA is talking to David McGowan about the job of vice president of news and public affairs...

McGowan has been director of development at Time magazine and executive producer, Time Television...

He would replace Ricki Green, who resigned in February after eight years on the job. Green left to form her own communications consulting firm and has continued as a freelance executive producer for two WETA projects, a fall election special and a documentary on surviving cancer...

Since Green's departure, producer Dick Richter has been acting head of the public affairs unit, according to a station spokeswoman...

Two major communications unions, the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) and the giant Communications Workers of America (CWA), are talking merger...

The executive council of NABET has voted unanimously to affiliate and meetings are scheduled at locals around the country to make the case before a ratification vote is held for members by the fall...

NABET has 16,182 members, including 9,382 in the United States. The union represents engineers, technicians and other broadcast employees at ABC and NBC as well as at some 50 independent TV stations and production firms around the country...

CWA has about 600,000 members, some 10,000 of them in Canada...

NABET held unsuccessful merger talks with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) a couple of years back...

Public broadcasters kicked off their big annual meeting in San Francisco Saturday. Among the topics: a new satellite channel for PBS dedicated to mathematics, with a projected rollout date in August 1994...

Tomorrow there'll be an all-day "issues forum" dealing with the "key issues raised by our friends and critics." Charlie Rose, now of WNET in New York, will lead a panel...

On the Political Front

Undeclared but decidedly independent presidential candidate Ross Perot will get the late-night town meeting treatment from ABC News next Monday...

Studio audiences from "as many as 10 cities

around the nation will have the opportunity to pose questions and voice concerns directly to Mr. Perot in the live ABC forum, moderated by Peter Jennings, starting at 11:30 that night...

The town meeting, oops, forum will follow a one-hour special at 10 called "Peter Jennings Reporting: Who Is Ross Perot?" which will "focus on Ross Perot the man—how he got where he is today and what has kept him there"...

ABC's "Good Morning America" has chosen the panel that will grill Gov. Bill Clinton tomorrow during his one-hour appearance in the first hour of the program...

Named were Johnnetta B. Cole, president of Spelman College in Atlanta; C. Everett Koop, former U.S. surgeon general; Norman J. Ornstein, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute; and Alvin F. Poussaint, assistant professor of psychiatry and associate dean of student affairs at the Harvard Medical School...

GMA co-anchor Charles Gibson will moderate the panel, billed as "Breakfast With Bill Clinton." However, according to a GMA spokeswoman, there will be no breakfast (coffee only). Nor will there be any phone calls from viewers...

"It will be like a conversation over the breakfast table, discussing important issues," Cathy Rehl of GMA said Friday...

That Mike Tyson prison interview on CBS News's "Street Stories" Thursday night produced the series's best numbers ever, a 13.1 national Nielsen rating and a 23 percent audience share...

CBS won the night as the premiere of "Bodies of Evidence," a new cop drama that followed at 10, did a 10.6/20...

NBC was second with a 9.8/18, followed by ABC at 7.9/15, where a "World of Discovery" hour on Siberia got a cold 6.9/13 and "Prime-Time Live" did a 10.7/20. FOX averaged a 7.2/13...

Touching moment on ABC's "Home" Friday when the show's resident grocer, Curtis Aikens, sitting in for host Gary Collins, broke down when he couldn't handle the word "captioning" on the teleprompter. Co-host Sarah Purcell helped him past the rough moment and he quickly recovered...

Aikens, with a successful produce business in San Francisco and a regular columnist in his native Georgia, was illiterate until seven years ago and still has occasional trouble with words...

A spokesperson for the show said "the phones went wild" after the incident from viewers offering comfort...

Returned from a European honeymoon: Cheryl Gould, senior producer of "NBC Nightly News." She and Marc Rosen, vice president of government relations for AT&T, were married May 30 in Kent, Conn....

Is Edie Magnus one of the reasons "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather" is doing better against ABC these days? Are two of the reasons Edie Magnus and Roberta Baskin?...

While you're mulling that over this morning, TV Column fans, consider that the selfsame "CBS Evening News" will air a five-part series on Ross Perot starting tonight. Correspondent Eric Engberg will do the Monday and Tuesday reports...

The July issue of Washingtonian magazine hits the stands this week, including the results of the annual readers' best and worst poll. Several thousand voted this spring...

As usual, the poll includes some TV elements. Among the "best," viewers chose ABC as the tops in network news (followed by NBC and then CBS); Nine's Gordon Peterson as best local anchor (Four's Jim Vance and Doreen Gentzler); weatherman, Four's Bob Ryan ("Today's" Willard Scott and Nine's Doug Hill); sportscasters, George Michael of Four (followed by the late Glenn Brenner of Nine and Frank Herzog, formerly of Seven).

The McLaughlin Group was named best political talk show ("This Week With David Brinkley," "Inside Washington"); "L.A. Law" topped dramas ("Northern Exposure," "Homefront"); and "Murphy Brown" was named best comedy ("Seinfeld" and "Cheers")...

In the "worst" categories: TV Personality I'd Most Like to Shut Up: Geraldo Rivera (John McLaughlin, Roseanne Arnold); Cable Channel: QVC Shopping Network (MTV, HBO); TV Show: "Roseanne" ("Married... With Children," "Studs"); TV Commercial: all personal hygiene ads (all car ads, Energizer Bunny)...

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JACK ANDERSON and MICHAEL BINSTEN

Tracking Commodity Credits to Iraq

If you're wondering what \$1.9 billion can buy, Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) has an answer. "If that money had been spent on domestic needs . . . our nation could have bought a hot lunch for 9.5 million schoolchildren every day of the year. Or our nation could have afforded to fully fund . . . 3.8 million pregnant women, infants and young mothers that do not get care now."

The question Leahy was answering during a recent congressional hearing was: How much is it going to cost U.S. taxpayers to bail out defaulted U.S. loan guarantees to Iraq—guarantees that were used to pay kickbacks to Iraqi officials and possibly even finance Saddam Hussein's military machine before the Persian Gulf War?

On Tuesday, the Iraq scandal will get more airing during a hearing before the House Judiciary Committee, which will grill various Bush administration officials on the government's prewar support of Iraq. Later this month, the committee also is expected to vote on whether to recommend that an independent counsel be appointed to probe possible crimes by U.S. officials carrying out the ill-fated Iraq policy.

A prime focus of this inquiry will be the Commodity Credit Corp., a program the Department of Agriculture used to foster U.S. exports abroad. In theory, Iraq was granted U.S.-backed credits through certain U.S. banks from which it could draw money to purchase agricultural products. In practice, the program became Saddam's personal "automatic teller machine," says one investigator.

Throughout the 1980s, the Bush and Reagan administrations used this program as a back-door foreign aid program for Iraq during and after its war against Iran. By the time Iraqi tanks stormed Kuwait, more than \$5 billion of these credits to Saddam had been granted, of which Iraq has defaulted on \$1.9 billion. Because the credits are backed by the U.S. government, taxpayers are left footing the bill.

"The most disturbing thing that we discovered happening was that these loan guarantees for these tremendous shipments of supposedly agricultural products to Iraq were never actually inspected," Rep. Charlie Rose (D-N.C.) told us. "Therefore [the USDA] didn't know what got to Iraq."

For example, Rose recently showed that the

third-largest U.S. recipient of tobacco credits for Iraq was, in fact, wholly owned by a European group with a long history of arms sales to the Middle East. Even more troubling, says Rose, the Justice Department knew about it and did nothing.

But the most common abuse of CCC-backed funds was to pay kickbacks to Iraqi officials. Cables from Baghdad obtained by our associate Dean Boyd show the Iraqis demanded that U.S. shippers send not only the agricultural products, but other items such as trucks and spare parts "free of charge." Some U.S. shippers treated the kickbacks as simply overhead that was passed on to the U.S.

government through inflated commodity prices. That's how the Department of Agriculture found itself guaranteeing both the cost of the kickbacks as well as the agricultural products.

Some of these U.S. loans for inflated commodity prices allowed the Iraqis to recycle the excess into cash, which they could use to buy weapons.

Investigators also have found at least two cases in which they believe the Iraqis were able to obtain duplicate loans for the same shipment of farm goods. In one case, a used CCC contract worth \$355,691 was apparently forged, then resubmitted for more than \$10 million in fresh cash—cash that, again, could go toward weapons.

Today, while congressional investigators try to sort out all the ways the Iraqis fleeced the government through the CCC program, the administration has already shelled out about \$1 billion to cover loans that Iraq misused—and then defaulted on.

Congress goes into "executive session" when it takes its work behind closed doors. The recent congressional golf tournament—from which the public and news media were barred—may go down as the first sporting event ever to be accorded that secretive status.

Perhaps that's because the annual frolic would be a source of embarrassment in an election year—particularly if voters knew that prizes were solicited from lobbyists.

About 76 members of Congress participated and all were big winners at the tournament held at Andrews Air Force Base. Each participant took home a shopping bag filled with some of the thousands of prizes that were distributed.

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Russia—Growth First, Balanced Budgets Later

By JUDY SHELTON

As Russia slides deeper into the abyss with every passing day, it must be disheartening for President Yeltsin to realize that he has pinned his hopes for economic salvation on a group of bureaucrats at the International Monetary Fund. The Bush administration is just now recognizing that IMF prescriptions are not the right medicine for Russia at this crucial time. They should have seen it coming; bureaucratic institutions breed rigid, unimaginative policies.

While members of the IMF delegation fret over the Russian government's inability to meet arbitrary money-supply targets and balanced-budget constraints, it appears they have lost sight of Mr. Yeltsin's fundamental objective in moving to a market economy: To preserve and strengthen Russia and her people. If lack of discernible economic progress under current reforms causes Russia to succumb to disillusionment and opt to reinstate dictatorial measures for allocating resources, all is lost. It won't then matter much whether or not IMF-specified quarterly deficit targets were reached.

Patient Died

The situation brings to mind the joke about the team of doctors, all eminent specialists, who announced after a complicated surgical procedure: "The operation was a brilliant success. Unfortunately, the patient died."

The aspirations of the New Russia must not die. The world should not entrust that vulnerable nation's fate to IMF analysts who are more prepared to raise tax revenues to match government expenditures than to devise innovative ways to stimulate private sector growth and attract foreign investment. Wealth must be created before it can be collected and redistributed.

What Russia needs is an economic reform program that recognizes the primacy of entrepreneurial activity, one that elevates the businessman over the bureaucrat. Instead of making further supplications for an IMF-administered aid package, Mr. Yeltsin should begin seeking Western government and private support for an alternative economic program that would designate growth as a more urgent priority than unreasonable budgetary and monetary restrictions.

Take the matter of Russia's need for a sound convertible currency. Under pressure from the IMF to drive down the exchange rate of the ruble against hard

currencies earlier this year, Russian officials moved to shut down the printing presses and restrict credit. The use of administrative brute force caused a temporary strengthening of the ruble, but the policy quickly spawned deep resentment from other sovereign republics who found themselves intolerably squeezed. As rubles became increasingly scarce, workers were forced to go without wages for weeks on end. Agricultural collectives could not proceed with spring planting. Industrial enterprises began issuing IOUs to one another in lieu of payment for supplies, running up a gargantuan level of intra-enterprise debt that now approaches nearly 2 trillion rubles.

A reversal in policy was urgently launched this month to stave off threatened worker strikes and widespread industrial collapse. Russians were informed on

critical for attracting foreign investment and supporting free market reform, could be offered by establishing a new Russian Currency Bank presided over by a distinguished board of Russian, American, European and Japanese members — Margaret Thatcher, Karl-Otto Poehl and Milton Friedman come to mind.

In conjunction with a comprehensive debt forgiveness plan initiated by Western governments, this new Russian Currency Bank could look to three major sources for its initial capitalization: (1) The central banks of the Group of Seven industrial nations, (2) the Russian government and (3) Western commercial banks with outstanding loans to the former Soviet Union. As part of the plan, gold accepted as collateral by G-7 central banks engaged in swap arrangements with the former Soviet government would be returned. Commer-

prudent use of Western funds than setting up a "ruble stabilization fund" to back a discredited and uncontrollable currency. Moreover, the additional \$12 billion the IMF intends to spend on "balance of payments support" for Russia will do little to foster small business development, but will instead reassert the influence of government control over the distribution of economic resources.

The funds are earmarked now to finance the import of Western consumer goods and industrial products, which are then to be redirected in accordance with the calculated preferences and priorities of government officials in Moscow. "Essential" industries will be the lucky recipients of technologically advanced Western equipment while the government expects to rake in massive profits by selling Western consumer goods through its network of state-owned stores.

How much more appealing, how much more enterprising, to focus such large sums on bolstering the fledgling private sector in Russia. What if Mr. Yeltsin were to announce the issue of a 10-year Russian government bond, guaranteed by sellable commodities and denominated in dollars, the funds from which would be made available to would-be entrepreneurs who came up with promising business proposals? Call it the Free Enterprise Fund and tap the expertise of U.S. venture capital investment firms to market it.

American Sympathy

Americans understand that Russia needs help to make it towards democracy and free markets, and they are sympathetic. They don't begrudge Mr. Yeltsin the amount of money he is seeking; they just don't want to see it wasted by institutional bureaucrats who seem more comfortable working with governments than private individuals. The world can hardly afford to have Russia into yet another permanent ward of the IMF.

As for Mr. Yeltsin, all he can seek is what has been offered. If the so-called Freedom Support Act is not passed by Congress, Russian officials will have wasted precious time trying to appease IMF analysts. If it does pass, the New Russia will soon find itself back on the old treadmill of inflation and central government control of the economy. Mr. Yeltsin and the Russian people deserve better.

Ms. Shelton, a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, is author of "The Coming Soviet Crash" (Free Press, 1989).

Americans don't begrudge Mr. Yeltsin the amount of money he is seeking; they just don't want to see it wasted by institutional bureaucrats.

television that 142 billion new rubles would be printed in July; that is more than the amount issued during all of 1991.

By following IMF recommendations, Russia can look forward to continuing new rounds of inflation, followed by demands for compensatory wage increases, which in turn will set off successively higher levels of inflation as each new effort to "skim" some percentage off the population's real wages is neutralized by the anticipatory wage demands of increasingly skeptical Russian workers.

Was it good advice to demand that the Central Bank of Russia attempt to control the outstanding supply of rubles, a feat that the U.S. Federal Reserve Board—with all its relative finesse at utilizing regulatory and market mechanisms to influence the supply of dollars—can hardly perform with predictable results? Instead of trying to salvage the remnants of the old Soviet ruble system, Western advisers should be working with Russian reformers to pursue alternative solutions.

For example, a new Russian currency could be introduced. The plan announced last week to coin 25,000 and 50,000 ruble gold pieces is a step in the right direction, but if it is to work, the new gold coinage must not be connected to the moribund old ruble monetary system. Sound money, so

cial banks relieved through government insurance programs on defaulted Soviet debt would be required to purchase a predetermined amount of the new Russian currency (as a percentage of the debt relief provided) by paying in the necessary sums of hard currency.

The Russian Currency Bank would effectively function as a currency board; new units of Russian money would be issued on the basis of held reserves of gold and foreign currencies. Every new deposit of hard currency or gold would justify creation of additional Russian money. This base of convertible Russian currency would provide a new solid monetary foundation for economic growth and investment based on accurate price signals. It would also help speed Russia's integration with the global economy.

Such a plan would constitute a bold move toward the rebirth of Russia, enabling Mr. Yeltsin to co-opt the growing nationalist movement. At the same time, it would build strong financial links with leading Western nations. Indeed, G-7 support in setting up a Russian Currency Bank would provide an invaluable signal of confidence in Mr. Yeltsin's leadership and Russia's economic future.

Putting up \$6 billion to create a new Russian money would seem a much more

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Czechs and Slovaks Move to Split Nation

Amid Ethnic Rivalries, Period of Uncertainty Begins

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BRATISLAVA, Czechoslovakia — Jan Horvath, a wiry electrician, straightens his newspaper and reads the front page headline: Czech and Slovak leaders agree to split up the country. Then he reads it again and again, trying to believe it.

"This makes me very anxious," he says, finally folding his paper and tucking it under his right arm. "I agree, we Slovaks should have more independence. But this is all happening too fast."

The swiftly unfolding divorce of Czechs and Slovaks provides the latest confirmation of Europe's unsettling post-communist phenomenon: When the locomotive of ethnic nationalism gets a full head of steam, it is impossible to stop.

Only two weeks after nationwide elections, which provided the momentum for Slovak nationalists, the new leaders of the Czech and Slovak republics emerged from a marathon meeting Saturday morning and announced that the dissolution of the country seemed inevitable. They instructed the parliaments of the two republics to draw up the separation papers by Sept. 30.

The federal government, led by President Vaclav Havel, the poet-playwright who led the anti-communist revolution in 1989, will be reduced to the role of a divorce court judge, dividing assets and debt, before going out of business. Mr. Havel, however, is insisting on a referendum on the split, saying that is the only constitutional way to avoid a "wild divorce."

Thus begins a period of deep uncertainty for the 10 million Czechs and five million Slovaks, who together formed Czechoslovakia in 1918 on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The eastern European country that once seemed the most stable is now burdened with question marks.

What will become of Czechoslovakia's strict economic reform, which was setting the pace among countries switching from communism to capitalism? Will the two parts, separately, be as attractive to foreign investors as was the whole? And what of further ethnic fissions; say, Slovakia's Hungarian minority (more than 10% of the population) pressing for its own sovereignty?

One of the few things most everyone agrees on is that the breakup won't be consumed by the violence that has befallen Yugoslavia and parts of the former Soviet Union. "If there would be fighting, it would end in the first pub the two sides encountered," says Jozef Prokes, the leader of the Slovakia National Party, which has been pushing Slovak independence. "The Czechs would drink beer, the Slovaks would drink Slivovitz and then everyone would go to sleep."

But that doesn't eliminate the trauma

of the breakup for Europe. Joao de Deus Pinheiro, the foreign minister of Portugal, which currently holds the presidency of the European Community, calls the separation "a great mistake." EC officials had been lobbying Czech and Slovak leaders to keep the country together.

EC Mourns Breakup

"I feel disappointed, because the name of the game should be integration rather than disintegration," says Mr. Deus Pinheiro. "I think it will make things rather more difficult than simple for each of the two countries, especially for Slovakia."

While the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia are more wealthy with a westward-looking economy and a thriving tourist trade, Slovakia is more rural with an economy that was oriented toward the old Soviet trading bloc. Traditionally, Slovak companies processed raw materials and Czech companies turned out the finished products. The economic reforms pushed by Vaclav Klaus, the federal finance minister and the new leader of the Czech republic, have exacerbated these differences.

The reforms closed a number of Slovakia's heavy industries, which had become inefficient following the collapse of the communist market. Unemployment is nearing 15% in Slovakia, while only about 3% of Czechs are jobless. Of all the foreign investment that flowed into Czechoslovakia since 1989, less than 20% has made its way to Slovakia. In 1991, for instance, foreign investment totaled \$640 million; only 13% went to Slovakia.

It was these economics that fueled the calls for sovereignty by the Slovak nationalists, led by Vladimir Meciar, who wants to temper the economic reforms with more social compensation. After the elections, Messrs. Meciar and Klaus emerged as the strongest leaders in each republic — though neither won a majority — and the showdown was set. During several days of negotiations, Mr. Meciar's insistence on a separate international identity for Slovakia and autonomy in economic decision-making convinced Mr. Klaus and the Czechs that the current federation had little chance of surviving.

As Slovaks woke up Saturday to the news that they would likely soon have their own country, there was more apprehension than elation. In the capital of Bratislava, there were no flags flying, no anthems being sung. The loudest music came from a record shop playing the rock ballad "Bohemian Rhapsody," which bears the name of the Czech province. The only public celebration was a festive re-enactment of the crowning of a Habsburg king in Bratislava four centuries ago.

"I'm worried about a split. Bad for the economy," says Alexander Kreybig, who is dressed like a jester, in white tights and red-and-white shorts and beating a

drum at the head of the Habsburg commemoration. He has just completed an economics degree at the local university. "The Slovaks and Czechs, our economies need each other. We're too small to stand alone," says Mr. Kreybig.

Unsettled Differences

"These young guys, what do they know," scoffs 66-year-old Anton Levicky, who is selling chewing gum and chocolates from a small cart on the city's main shopping street. An "I Love Slovakia" sticker greets his customers. "We Slovaks are becoming second-class citizens in this country. Been heading that way since World War II."

He reaches for a chocolate bar to illustrate. "This is the way it works. In Slovakia, we make the chocolate. On the Czech side, they put it in a nice wrapper. Then they export it. They get the markets, they get the money." Now, he says, Slovakia can provide the wrapper itself. "We'll be better off that way," he says with conviction.

Juraj Janosik, a 32-year-old banker out shopping with his family, isn't so sure. He worries that his two young sons will miss out on the opportunities a bigger country



can provide. "I hope we can somehow remain partners with the Czechs. It won't be easy to be alone between east and west in Europe," he frets. "In Slovakia, we will have to work hard and believe that life will get better."

Sitting on a park bench near the Danube River, which forms the border with Austria, Mr. Horvath reopens his newspaper to the help wanted section. At 59, he will be retiring next year from his job as an electrician at a high school. But with a pension amounting to less than \$160 a month, he figures he'll need to keep working somewhere.

"I'm afraid I'm too old," he says. "I've been to Austria looking for a job. They ask me, 'How old?' I tell them I'm 59. They tell me to go back home. But here, in Slovakia, there are no jobs."

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Judge Is Told of Milken Assistance to U.S.

By JONATHAN M. MOSES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Government lawyers told a federal judge considering whether to reduce Michael Milken's 10-year prison sentence that the former junk bond king "substantially" assisted the prosecution of one of his friends and former colleagues.

Mr. Milken testified for the prosecution two weeks ago at the trial of Alan E. Rosenthal, a former Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. salesman who was convicted of one count of bribery. Mr. Rosenthal was acquitted of four other securities-related counts.

When she sentenced Mr. Milken in 1990, Judge Kimba Wood said she would consider reducing his prison term if he cooperated with government lawyers. The prosecutors' letter to Judge Wood on Friday is noteworthy because it marks the first time the government has characterized Mr. Milken's cooperation as helpful.

While the prosecutors didn't recommend that the sentence be reduced, the letter will likely work in Mr. Milken's favor.

Nevertheless, the letter was a significant turnaround. In the past, government lawyers have argued against a sentence reduction because they said Mr. Milken's cooperation hadn't resulted in a successful prosecution or enforcement action by the Securities and Exchange Commission. In earlier letters, they told Judge Wood they were waiting for "substantial" cooperation. They also asked her to delay her decision until after the trial of Mr. Rosenthal.

Mr. Milken's attorneys filed their own letter on Friday asking for a significant reduction of the sentence because of his cooperation. They cite Mr. Milken's testi-

mony in the Rosenthal trial and note that his cooperation "has led the SEC staff to propose enforcement proceedings."

The SEC is expected to submit its own letter today.

Judge Wood can now either convene hearings on the sentence reduction or simply issue a decision. If she doesn't reduce his sentence, Mr. Milken, who pleaded to six securities-related felonies in 1990, will not be released until the fall of 1994. Mr. Milken has served more than 14 months at Camp Pleasanton in Pleasanton, Calif.

In their letter, prosecutors faulted Mr. Milken for continuing at the trial to deny that he destroyed evidence and that his brother Lowell was involved in any illegal activities. But they praise Mr. Milken for testimony that "directly implicated Rosenthal, an old friend and trusted colleague, and corroborated the testimony of other witnesses in important respects."

At the trial, Mr. Milken said that Mr. Rosenthal helped him pay off David Solomon, a fund manager and Drexel client, with profitable trading opportunities.

Mr. Milken's lawyers urged Judge Wood also to consider recent appeals court reversals of other cases stemming from the

Wall Street scandals of the 1980s. And they point out that Mr. Milken testified for the government despite the "adverse institutional consequences of being called as a government witness while incarcerated."

ANTI-LAWYER legal reform group is launched.

Defectors from HALT, a national legal-reform group based in Washington, D.C., formed a rival organization. The National Congress for Legal Reform, Washington, will focus its efforts on people who represent themselves in court. The group's goals include formalized arbitration in family-law cases. But it also expects to push more radical proposals that HALT shied away from, such as banning lawyers from public office.

HALT abandoned its grass-roots chapters earlier this year and ended an activist newsletter. That newsletter's editor, Leigh H. Hauter, is executive director of the new organization. He said half of HALT's former chapters have joined the spinoff group.

Scott R. Swirling, HALT's executive director, said, "We welcome the formation of this or any other group that seeks to join and complement HALT . . . in its efforts to reform the civil legal system."



Japan's Appetite for U.S. Shows Grows

By JACOB M. SCHLESINGER
And YUMIKO ONO

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TOKYO — American businesses may have trouble supplying Japanese companies like Toyota Motor Corp. and Nippon Telegraph & Telephone Corp. But they're enjoying great success these days with the likes of Wowow and Space Shower.

Both are stations in Japan's new home satellite TV system, and they hope to lure viewers by shunning conventional Japanese TV fare. The year-old Wowow, with actor Harrison Ford as spokesman, advertises that as much as 40% of its programming is foreign movies. This month it plans to air all three parts of "Back to the Future" in a row. Space Shower has been on the air just over a month with music videos, half of them from overseas.

In addition, a competitor of the two is negotiating to broadcast Viacom Inc.'s Music Television by fall. Another has been showing Turner Broadcasting System's Cable News Network since late April, and a new sports station has been using ESPN's sports service since last month.

As Japanese television expands, U.S. culture purveyors are preparing for an export boom. "We see significant growth in Japan over the next five to 10 years," says Jeffrey R. Schlesinger, senior vice president of Warner Bros. international television distribution business. "It definitely has the potential to be our No. 1 market outside the U.S."

A sharp increase in sales to America's most troublesome trading partner is certainly good news. But much of the windfall will stay in Japan. Unlike the French, the Japanese openly welcome American culture—as long, it seems, as they get some of the profits. As soon as this summer, Warner Bros., for one, will turn over half its Japanese operations to Toshiba Corp. and C. Itoh & Co., part of a transaction whereby parent Time Warner Inc. is selling 12.5% of its global entertainment

operations to those companies. There are many complex reasons for Japan's recent Hollywood buying binge, but it happened to coincide with the growing demand for American software in Japan.

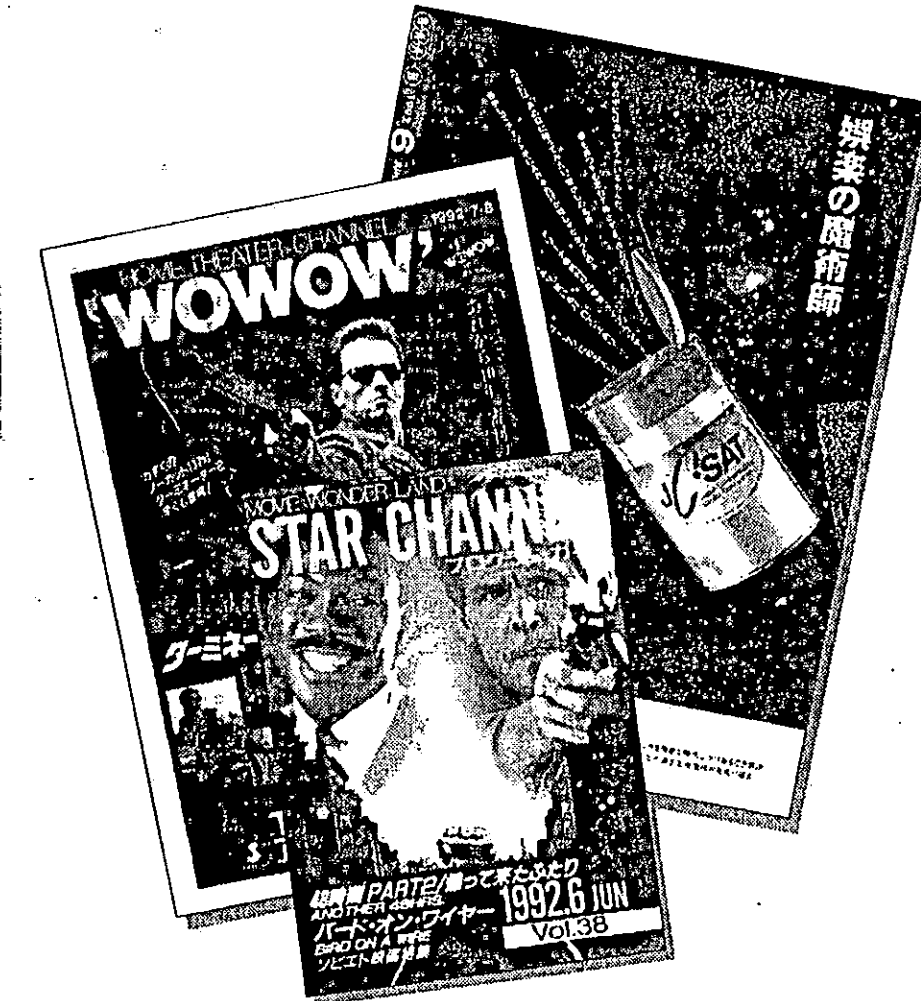
Many Restrictions

Foreign entertainment companies without Japanese capital are finding it difficult to enter Japan without a local partner. "With the selection of programs, [Japan] is free and open," says Hiro Kuno, president of Viacom Japan Inc. But when it comes to running the business and controlling the profits, "there are so many restrictions," he complains. "The culture is so different in Japan that it's absolutely necessary to hook up with a partner."

Japan's movie and video market will grow twice as fast as the U.S. market over the next decade, doubling into a 6.2 trillion yen (\$48.87 billion) annual business, according to a recent Sanwa Bank study. One reason: The average Japanese watches only three hours a day of television now, compared with the average American's seven or eight hours.

That gap comes partly from the relative dearth of offerings in Japan. Because of regulatory and economic problems, only 1% of Japanese homes have cable TV, compared with 60% of U.S. homes. But satellite TV, as well as a new cable push, are finally bringing the same channel explosion that transformed American and European television over the past decade. More than five million Japanese households—more than 10% of the country—have signed up for satellite broadcasting since the service began two years ago. Popularity is projected to double by 1995. By the end of this year, nine channels will be on the air, and more than 50 could be available by 1997.

Filling all that air time, though, is a problem. Domestically developed shows are popular enough on the seven terrestrial TV channels in Tokyo. But surveys show



Expanding television technology brings more U.S. entertainment programming to Japan.

that viewers won't pay more for more of the same largely formulaic offerings of game shows, celebrity talk shows, slapstick comedies and samurai dramas.

Domestic movies won't help much either. Industry observers say many of them

have lower budgets than television dramas — and only a hundredth the budget of a major Hollywood picture. Foreign movies grab about 60% of Japan's box-office revenue.

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American Movies

"Movies are the king of software," says Chomei Ueno, general manager of the Tokyo office of Fujisankei California Entertainment Inc., the Hollywood division of Japan's biggest media conglomerate. "And to be competitive," he says, "they've got to be American."

So far, U.S. entertainment companies have barely cracked the Japanese TV market. MTV, which claims an audience of 30 million households in Europe, has no presence in Japan. And more than 95% of the air-time on the two terrestrial channels of NHK, Japan's public broadcasting corporation, is devoted to domestic shows.

Not just any U.S. programming will sell. "Dallas" flopped on Japanese TV a few years ago, some say because the female characters were too independent. Broadcasters have turned down "Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles" because they feel it portrays Japan incorrectly.

Still, doors are swinging open, even for small U.S. companies. For five years, the best Will Vinton Productions Inc. could do in Japan with its dancing clay figures — famous for California Raisins ads — was two 15-second commercials. Last year the Oregon company sold a half-hour Christmas special to the NHK satellite channel, and now it's negotiating to sell a series of

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The Japanese Appetite Grows for TV Shows That Are Made in U.S.

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half-hour programs. Columbia Pictures' "The Big Picture," a 1989 low-budget movie by a first-time director, couldn't break into Japan's theaters but did get picked up by a satellite movie channel.

Even with a desirable product, however, U.S. entertainment software companies are finding that cracking the Japanese market often requires compromise. Most Japanese investors, sensitive to suspicions of censorship, deny making editorial demands. "If you make films for the Japanese market, they won't be profitable," says Matsushita Senior Managing Director Keiya Toyonaga. "Hollywood should continue producing films for a global market."

But some producers are adjusting content to accommodate the Japanese audience. In "Point Break," the first film from a \$100 million joint venture between Victor Co. of Japan Ltd. (JVC) and producer Lawrence Gordon, the lead character is a zen-inspired surfer — a touch aimed at young Japanese working women. After selling more than 300 hours of tournaments this year to three Japanese TV stations, the U.S. Professional Golf Association agreed to let at least 20 Japanese players participate in tournaments even if they fail the normal qualifying route.

Foreign companies find they are yielding not only on content but also on control. CNN sells directly to broadcasters and subscribers in Europe, Latin America and the rest of Asia, but in Japan it goes through a partner, Japan Cable Television Ltd., according to a CNN spokeswoman. While MTV has set up a 100%-owned subsidiary in Europe, in Japan it's negotiating to air through partners.

"Japan is different," says an official at an American company who asked not to be identified. "You can't just do it on your own — you have to keep the Japanese involved." Some of the constraints are legal, such as a prohibition on foreigners owning a majority of a broadcasting company. (The U.S. also limits foreign ownership of broadcasters; Europe doesn't.)

Sometimes the constraints are informal, and software companies simply find it easier to link up with a Japanese company. The complex Japanese broadcasting industry, in which stations tend to buy programs based on the seller rather than content, makes it particularly difficult for foreigners to gain ground. "Given the choices, I wouldn't do it on my own," says a Japanese video software distributor.

Another problem foreign companies find in Japan is that sales often dry up once competitive local products emerge. That happened once before with entertainment: American shows dominated Japanese TV when broadcasting started in 1953 but were almost completely pushed out by the late 1970s by Japanese shows.

Some analysts believe that could happen again. Ichiro Okazaki, who buys foreign software for Mitsubishi's broadcasting and audiovisual business team, says that the foreign buying binge "eventually will reach saturation" and that demand is already waning for second-rate software that costs too much to dub into Japanese.

Indeed, Wowow has recently increased the number of its Japanese programs, and later this month it plans to show 12 straight hours of Godzilla episodes. "With satellite television, there aren't that many subscribers yet," says Wowow executive Katsuyuki Hachimori. "Until we know we can make profits, we'll have to cut down on our budget by airing programs we bought." Ultimately, however, audiences "will tell us to put on more Japanese programs," he adds. "We will have to strike a balance."

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U.S. Plans to Help Russia Establish A Banking System

By STEVEN LIPIN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK — The U.S. plans to help Russia build a banking system practically from scratch, a necessary step in establishing a market-driven economy.

Toward that end, the Federal Reserve Board said Friday it was joining with officials from the Russian Federation to set up the Russian-American Bankers Forum, which will advise the Russian government on building a Western-style banking and financial system.

The blue-ribbon panel, which includes Federal Reserve economists, senior U.S. executives and representatives from major American banks, will help develop such basics as a retail banking and payment system, an interbank funding market and a market for government securities. This is considered a daunting challenge for a country that uses cash for most commercial transactions and has been used to unlimited access to credit from government banks.

"We badly need reform of the banking system," said Yuri Skokov, Russia's secretary of the security council, at a news conference Friday at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

The initiative comes on the heels of Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin's successful state visit to Washington, in which he pressed the U.S. for financial aid in stabilizing the Russian economy. While the bank reforms won't include any financ-

ing, it could go a long way toward laying a foundation for economic growth and could also help attract private foreign capital to the country, experts said.

"One of the most important things holding back the Russian economy is that very few can get credit given the chaos of the banking system," said David Beim, a banking professor at Columbia Business School.

In recent years the banking system has gone from a government-sponsored bank that supplied loans without regard to creditworthiness to more than 1,000 private institutions that are mostly unregulated and lack banking experience, experts said. A classic private banking system in which savings is channeled into investment through commercial banks has yet to develop.

"A modern banking and credit system . . . in Russia is a very, very important mainstay of the new market economy," said Yuli Vorontsov, foreign affairs adviser to President Yeltsin and the country's ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr. Vorontsov and E. Gerald Corrigan, president of the New York Fed, are co-chairmen of the forum. The American team includes David Rockefeller, former chairman of Chase Manhattan Corp.; John R. Opel, former chairman of International Business Machines Corp.; Richard Debs, former president of Morgan, Stanley International; John Whitehead, former co-chairman of Goldman, Sachs & Co.; and Cyrus R. Vance, former secretary of state.

"It will take an enormous amount of effort," said Mr. Corrigan. "This is hard work, blood and guts."

The forum, which will be split up into various working groups, could eventually lead to the creation of a Russian-American investment bank to facilitate private investment to Russia.

If Gov. Clinton Continues to Take Risky Stances, The Race Could Get Even More Unpredictable

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — When Gov. Bill Clinton went before Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition and attacked rap singer Sister Souljah's remarks about race, was it merely a short-lived, tactical foray—or the start of a roll-the-dice, high-risk strategy to revive his troubled candidacy?

Even some of the people close to the soon-to-be Democratic nominee don't know; it may be that the Arkansas governor himself isn't sure. But insiders acknowledge the answer will play a major role in shaping this year's already unpredictable and unconventional presidential election.

If Mr. Clinton is the cautious, traditional candidate he was during the primaries—and his new economic plan meets that description—the election in November may turn on whether the current front-runner, Ross Perot, crashes. But if Gov. Clinton becomes a political entrepreneur, taking risks in both style and substance, he could affect the race in ways that aren't so easily predicted.

The answer may become clear in the next three weeks with Gov. Clinton's choice of a vice presidential running mate.

The conventional route, deemed likely by many knowledgeable Democrats, would be to choose someone like Sen. Paul Simon of Illinois, Sen. Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia or Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana. These are solid citizens of the Washington establishment—safe picks who would have little effect one way or the other on Mr. Clinton's prospects.

But if the governor decides to gamble,

he will go for a bold choice, which could either jump start or jettison his presidential hopes—like Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York or Gov. Ann Richards of Texas or maybe even a Republican.

"His selection of vice president is going to shed an awful lot of light on things," says Tad Devine, former presidential campaign manager for Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska.

In recent days, Mr. Clinton's stealth campaign has been showing signs of life, thanks to a new feistiness in its approach. The governor's Sister Souljah comments and his appearances on the Arsenio Hall Show and on MTV, the music-video cable network, have "succeeded in putting him as a blip on the radar screen again," says Bill Bradley, editor of a respected newsletter about California politics. "Clinton has finally realized that to create news you have to create conflict and controversy."

Over the weekend, Mr. Clinton showed no sign of backing down to Mr. Jackson or catering to the civil rights leader's complaints. But on CBS News's "Face the Nation" yesterday, Mr. Jackson again blasted Mr. Clinton's comments as "a ploy to get a cheap headline." He also pointedly declined to endorse Mr. Clinton and kept the door open to endorsing Mr. Perot.

Yet, some Democrats applaud what they see as a new Clinton, and are eager to see more. "Clinton doesn't have the luxury of waiting," says Bob Beckel, a top campaign adviser to former Vice President Walter Mondale. "He's got to make moves

and he's got to take risks. Some of them are going to pay off and some of them aren't."

'Dead in the Water'

John Reilly, another former top aide to Mr. Mondale, observes: "He was dead in the water for a while," but now "he's gaining confidence, that's becoming apparent."

Though the surging Ross Perot candidacy is a gigantic problem for Mr. Clinton, it also has goaded Mr. Clinton to sharpen his campaign effort quickly in a way that many Democrats say he must. In addition, the intense public interest in Mr. Perot "has created breathing space for the Clinton campaign," says Anthony Corrado, a former Kerrey adviser. "The campaign can sit down and position itself for the general election, which is a luxury that the last three Democratic candidates have not had."

But sustaining its newfound momentum could prove difficult, especially for the diffuse Clinton campaign. A recent meeting to discuss election-year themes, at which Mr. Clinton himself was present, was attended by more than two dozen people. And it's still unclear who is calling the shots within the campaign, whether it is the candidate himself, his wife Hillary, campaign chairman Mickey Kantor or one of the other strong-willed top aides that the governor has enlisted.

What's more, a gambling strategy by definition creates hazards. Mr. Clinton must now hope that the temperamental Mr. Jackson doesn't create more long-term problems for him by making trouble during next month's Democratic convention in New York, or bolting to support Mr. Perot.

But one of Mr. Perot's campaign man-



Bill Clinton

agers, Ed Rollins, said he doubted the likelihood of a Perot-Jackson alliance. Speaking over the weekend on CNN's "Evans and Novak" program, Mr. Rollins added that he would welcome Mr. Jackson's endorsement, "but we're not reaching out for that and we don't expect that to happen."

Innovation also is often easier to predict than to produce. Some Clinton aides, for instance, boast about the likelihood of an "unconventional convention" for the Democrats in New York next month. But Gov. Clinton's convention director, Harold Ickes, says "it's going to be a fairly standard convention." The most extraordinary event, he says, may be the inclusion of more non-politicians than usual.

Signs of Risk-Taking

Yet there are some indications of a more risk-taking approach in the vice presidential search. Mr. Clinton has ordered his selection committee to make an especially broad search. One member of the committee tells associates that the governor wants them to seek unconventional choices; those being considered include some people who don't and never have held public office. Apparently, even being a Democrat isn't a prerequisite: One person under consideration, it's believed, is retiring Republican Sen. Warren Rudman of New Hampshire.

In addition, Mr. Clinton has made clear that he is looking hard at women candidates. He is known in particular to admire the political acumen of Gov. Richards, whose state borders his own.

But the most intriguing—and daring—choice may be Gov. Cuomo. His selection would electrify Democrats, unnerve Republicans and give Mr. Clinton an electoral boost on both coasts.

At the same time, the risks would be considerable. Mr. Cuomo, the 800-pound gorilla of the Democratic Party, is easily capable of upstaging Mr. Clinton, leaving voters wondering who is first and who is second on the ticket. Mr. Cuomo also is known for his outspokenness, and might be

ill-cast in the role of loyal follower to anyone, let alone a governor from a small, Southern state.

While Mr. Clinton ponders the vice presidential choice and other fundamental questions of strategy, a clock is ticking.

"He's got one month to get out of third place," warns Gary Orren, a political scientist at Harvard University. "If he's still there by the time the convention begins," Mr. Orren says, "he's in serious trouble."

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Clinton's Revised Economic Plan Sets Massive Tax Increases for Foreign Firms

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's revised economic-policy blueprint targets foreign corporations for massive tax increases and pares back one of his most fundamental, domestic-policy proposals: a tax cut for middle-income Americans.

Mr. Clinton, who is expected to become the Democrats' presidential nominee next month, yesterday issued an economic plan that his aides say was based on his conversations with voters during the tough primary campaign. But some of the changes from Mr. Clinton's original plan, which was first published early in the campaign season, were clearly influenced by one voter: Ross Perot, the undeclared presidential candidate who is now leading in many polls.

In particular, Mr. Clinton comes down hard on special interest groups and "revolving door" lobbying practices in Washington, much as Mr. Perot has done so successfully in recent weeks. "Too many public officials enter the revolving door and emerge as high-priced influence peddlers," Mr. Clinton writes in his new plan, called "Putting People First." He adds: "Too often those we elect to lead seem to respond more quickly to special interests than to the real problems of real people."

Gov. Clinton retains many of the economic strategies he proposed in the earlier blueprint, which was called "A Plan for America's Future." For example, he continues to call for new spending in education and infrastructure, and he suggests tax incentives to spur private investment, such as a targeted investment tax credit, a permanent research and development tax credit, and a credit for investment in new businesses.

"My strategy puts people first by investing more than \$50 billion each year over the next four years to put America back to work—the most dramatic economic growth program since World War II," he writes.

breaks that encourage corporations to open plants overseas; eliminating them would raise \$1.5 billion over four years. This would include curtailing a tax break coveted by multinational companies that allows them to defer paying tax indefinitely on profits made on sales by their foreign units.

In domestic policy, Mr. Clinton had proposed cutting taxes on the middle class by 10% and granting a credit to those families based on the number of children they have. The new proposal would allow middle-class taxpayers to take one of the benefits, but not both, thus reducing by half the overall cost of the proposal.

The change is, in part, a sop to former presidential contender Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, who opposed the middle-class tax cut. But it is also an effort to make the budget books balance better, and is possible now that the economy is pulling out of recession, aides say.

A new element of the Clinton plan is a \$20 billion infrastructure program that is part of an expanded plan for the inner cities. That section is meant to please the nation's mayors, whom Mr. Clinton is scheduled to address today, and it also moves toward ideas suggested by former presidential contender Jesse Jackson, with whom Mr. Clinton is feuding.

Gov. Clinton also outlined several measures to end what he calls "an extended hunting season for high-priced lobbyists and Washington influence peddlers." He says he would end the tax deduction for "special interest lobbying expenses," toughen lobbying disclosure laws and require senior government officials, especially those who work for the U.S. Trade Representative, to pledge not to lobby for foreigners.

In other matters, he says he would eliminate tax breaks for drug companies that raise their prices faster than Americans' incomes rise, and that he would demand the insurance industry streamline its operations.

But Mr. Clinton puts a greater emphasis than before on reducing the federal budget deficit, which also has been a focus of Mr. Perot's. Mr. Clinton had been criticized earlier for suggesting proposals without specifying how he would pay for them. Now he claims that his revised plan actually would cut the \$300 billion-a-year deficit in half within four years and ensure that it continues to decline each year.

In all, he outlined roughly \$300 billion in savings to help reduce the deficit, not counting savings from his plan to overhaul the health-care system. Slightly more than half would come from tax increases on the wealthy and corporations, and slightly less than half would come from spending cuts—some of which remain vague. These include the line-item veto, "management reform" in the savings-and-loan cleanup agency, and "reform" of the military procurement and inventory systems.

Mr. Clinton continues to call for big tax increases on wealthy Americans. He proposes to raise taxes on the top 2% of U.S. earners, impose a surtax on millionaires and increase the minimum tax, which is designed to catch high-income people who escape the net of the regular tax system.

In general, Mr. Clinton would do little to rein in the government's fastest-growing set of programs: entitlements. But he would make people with annual incomes of more than \$125,000 pay more for hospital stays than they are currently required under Medicare.

But the biggest tax increase would fall on the U.S. subsidiaries of foreign corporations. Over four years, the plan would raise \$45 billion by preventing "tax avoidance" through a system of sheltering income known as transfer-pricing. The increase on foreigners would be huge. Tax data show that in 1986 foreign-owned companies were due a tax refund of \$1 billion, even though their gross income was over \$500 billion.

The candidate proposes to end tax

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Improved Ties With Vietnam and Iran Could Hinge on U.S. Election Result

WASHINGTON INSIGHT

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Iran and Vietnam, the nemeses of a generation of Americans, themselves have a stake in the outcome of this year's U.S. presidential campaign.

For the first time in years, conditions appear to be ripening for a gradual improvement in relations between the U.S. and those two nations. But whether the bitterness many Americans feel toward Iran and Vietnam gives way to more civil relations may depend heavily on who sits in the Oval Office for the next four years.

If President Bush wins re-election, he might feel liberated from the political risks associated with overtures toward two long-time adversaries. Some exploratory moves already have been made. And Democrat Bill Clinton, if he wins, could proclaim that he represents a fresh start and begin rebuilding ties. Vietnam may have special reason to take heart, as Mr. Clinton opposed the Vietnam War.

Difficulties With Perot

But in this area, as in so many others, the presidential bid of Ross Perot introduces great uncertainty. In 1979, Mr. Perot sneaked into Iran and directed a break-in at an Iranian jail to free two of his employees. And though Vietnam once offered business opportunities to Mr. Perot, he has devoted much of his energy to needling Hanoi over suspicions that it still holds U.S. prisoners of war.

Iranian and Vietnamese leaders might find it politically difficult to edge closer to a government led by Mr. Perot — and the Texas billionaire might have a hard time swallowing the bitterness of his own experiences with those two nations.

On the surface, events of the past year have improved the odds of a slight thaw in Iranian-U.S. relations. Iran helped arrange the release of all Western hostages held in Lebanon. And President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani has just engineered a national election in which most radical members of the Iranian Majlis, or parliament, were thwarted. Their places have been taken by more pragmatic Rafsanjani loyalists, many of whom advocate better ties with the West.

In view of those developments, the Bush administration has begun a confidential review of policy toward Iran to see if there are grounds for even a slight thaw.

Stumbling Blocks for Iran

Several serious problems remain. The first is Iran's continued sponsorship of terrorism. The Iranian government is believed to have participated in assassinations of several of its political opponents abroad in the past year or so, and Middle

East terrorist leaders have been welcomed in Tehran in recent months.

In addition, Washington remains worried about Iran's efforts to rebuild its military. On top of that, the U.S. and Iran are at odds over whether the U.S. should have a role in maintaining security in the Persian Gulf.

"Nobody is contemplating dramatic breakthroughs," says a senior administration official involved in the policy review. But, the official adds, there might be a chance to reward Iranian behavior that the U.S. considers constructive and to build a "limited relationship" in coming years.

Neither Gov. Clinton nor Mr. Perot has talked much about U.S.-Iranian relations, though Mr. Perot's exploits in rescuing his employees there have been chronicled in a best-selling book and a movie. Shaul Bakhash, an expatriate Iranian scholar teaching at George Mason University, says that for Mr. Perot, "the baggage and his background" might make it "difficult" to rebuild a relationship.

Vietnam and POW Questions

Vietnam, meanwhile, clearly hopes to rebuild ties to the U.S. It has begun showing unprecedented cooperation with investigators trying to account for Americans missing since the war in Southeast Asia. At the same time, the United Nations is trying to implement a plan to end the civil war in Cambodia, where rule by a Vietnamese-installed government has soured relations with much of the West.

Having watched the collapse of its main benefactor, the Soviet Union, Vietnam is desperate for foreign investment. And some U.S. companies are champing at the bit to get into that market, from which they are now banned by law.

Bush administration officials have laid out a "road map" for normalizing ties with Vietnam—but the big obstacle continues to be the prisoner-of-war question. That, of course, has been an enormous issue for Mr. Perot, who traveled to Vietnam in 1987 to try to clear up the matter.

A Perot aide made several subsequent trips to Vietnam. At one point, Vietnam sent Mr. Perot a letter designating him as a business agent to procure U.S. investment in Vietnam once relations are normalized. Mr. Perot told the New York Times recently that he rejected the letter. The larger question is whether a President Perot, who has made the POW issue such a personal crusade, could ever be satisfied enough that all questions have been answered to normalize relations.

Hong Kong Orders Rise 2%

HONG KONG—Orders on hand at Hong Kong's 200 largest manufacturers rose 2% in April from a year earlier and were unchanged from the preceding month, the government said.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

MORTON KONDRACKE

Bush's chance to shape House

President Bush has a golden opportunity to rejuvenate his torpid presidential campaign by crusading for a Republican Congress and an end to divided government — but advocates of such a strategy are worried he'll blow it.

Mr. Bush has agreed to appear on the Capitol steps this October with hundreds of incumbent Republican members and congressional candidates, but the event may amount to nothing but a giant photo-opportunity with no consistent programmatic or political follow-through.

Specifically, advocates of a Bush "congressional strategy" are worried that Mr. Bush and his White House and campaign advisers will shy away from appearing overly partisan, especially this summer, when legislation is still pending before the Democratic Congress.

The merits of a congressional strategy seem overpowering: Mr. Bush could blame "divided government" for what he has failed to accomplish in the last four years. He could join with Republicans in promising an agenda for the next four years, which his campaign so far lacks.

The joint campaign could gain energy that it now utterly lacks, and Mr. Bush could make a plausible claim to change from the gridlocked status quo.

In addition, advocates of the strategy say, ideological control of the House is well within reach, and

Mr. Bush will need all of the congressional support he can gather if the 1992 presidential election is thrown to the House.

(GOP control of the Senate, however, seems hopelessly out of reach. And under a congressional strategy, Mr. Bush would have to pretend that it isn't.)

While Mr. Bush shows signs on some occasions of going for the strategy — in a June 15 CNN interview with Frank Sesno, for example — campaign officials say, "There is no plan for us to do a repeat of Truman in 1948."

According to campaign officials, attacking Congress will aggravate the public's dissatisfaction with "finger-pointing" between the branches and also will demean Bush accomplishments over the past four years, such as passage of a Clean Air Act, a transportation bill and a child-care law.

Advocates of the congressional strategy include Vice President Dan Quayle, Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond, House Republican leaders Bob Michel, Illinois Republican, and Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican, White House domestic adviser (and former GOP chairman) Clayton Yeutter, and senior campaign adviser Charles Black.

The strategy apparently does not so much have active opponents as nervous resisters, including White House staffers responsible for negotiating with Congress and campaign officials who believe that getting the president elected is their top priority and helping GOP candidates should be secondary.

Exactly where Mr. Bush and campaign manager Bob Teeter stand on

all this is unclear. "Bush loves the idea of getting a team of his own in place," said one adviser, "but he's also constitutionally unable to take on people he's known and liked for years."

Advocates of a Bush congressional strategy are hoping Democrat Bill Clinton will lead the way by proposing a program for his first 100 days, to be ratified by congressional Democrats. The idea of Mr. Bush's acting first seems, characteristically, beyond imagination.

Mr. Bush's ambivalence is evident. In his State of the Union address, he set a March 20 deadline for action on an economic agenda, and on March 20, he lambasted Congress for failing to pass it. Since then, however, there's been little followup on

Despite all the reasons why a congressional strategy makes good political sense, some advocates say history suggests it won't happen.

the Trumanesque theme of a "do-nothing Congress."

After the riots in Los Angeles, Mr. Bush returned to a cooperative mode with Congress to get an urban aid package passed. As Mr. Bush noted in his CNN interview, "What

happens? It gets caught in the Senate and in the House with a great big Christmas tree of more spending."

Mr. Bush told Frank Sesno: "People see a frustration out of the Congress, which is controlled by the Democrats. So let's try it the way it hasn't been tried in recent history, a Republican president and then a Republican Congress. That's the answer for real change."

Such words are music to the ears of Messrs. Gingrich, Bond, et al.

Mr. Gingrich says, "The best argument Bush has to make against Ross Perot is that he [Bush] will have a team in Congress to help him bring about change. Clinton's team is the

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Washington power structure committed to the status quo. Perot is committed to change but has no team. Bush's clearest message to the country ought to be, "You decide which of these three arrangements you want!"

In a White House meeting a few weeks ago, Mr. Gingrich and National Republican Congressional Committee chairman Rep. Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan got Mr. Bush to agree to a joint appearance on the Capitol steps with Republican candidates for Congress.

Mr. Gingrich intends this to be more than a photo opportunity, however. In the style of Ronald Reagan and House candidates in 1980, Mr. Gingrich wants Mr. Bush to agree to an agenda of legislation to be passed

in the first 90 days of next year if Congress and the White House are in Republican hands.

The agenda presumably would include campaign finance reform, education choice, a balanced budget amendment, a capital gains tax cut and urban enterprise zones, but few steps have been taken toward formulating a White House-Hill pact.

One benefit of adopting a congressional strategy is that it would give Mr. Bush a plausible excuse for failing to solve many of the country's problems over the past four years.

As Vice President Dan Quayle put it in his speech to the Federalist Society on June 12, because of divided government, "with only a few exceptions, friction and deadlock have become the order of the day."

"For issue after issue, you have two separate — and, very often, irreconcilable — agendas in conflict. You've got liberal Democrats on the Hill who want to raise taxes, make more regulations, and extend the reach of the federal government — vs. a conservative Republican president who ran and serves on a platform that seeks just the opposite."

Besides being theoretically desirable, a Bush congressional strategy also conceivably could work to deliver him control of the House. With only 166 seats now, Republicans need a 52-seat pickup to achieve outright control, but only 24 or 25 for ideological control and 10 or 12 more to be able to take operating control along with defecting conservative Democrats.

The closer Mr. Bush is to having control of the House, the more likely he is to be able to return as president if Ross Perot throws the election into

the House. At the moment, 32 state delegations are Democrat-dominated to 10 that are Republican-dominated and eight tied. Mr. Bond is elbow-deep these days in overlay maps showing which districts and states are vulnerable to Republican capture.

Despite all the reasons why a congressional strategy makes sense, some advocates say history suggests it won't happen. "Early on, they always promise a joint campaign," says retiring Rep. Vin Weber, Minnesota Republican. "Reagan did in 1984, and Bush did in 1988. But when it comes down to it, they always have their own priority to win the presidency."

"To win Congress, you need real substance, but presidential campaigns like symbolic issues. In the end, they go for 'Morning in America' or the flag. A House candidate gets nowhere with issues like that."

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

DONALD LAMBRO

A supply side of Perot

Economic analyst and supply-side guru Jude Wanniski says Ross Perot is going to be elected president of the United States and he's willing to bet \$1,000 on it.

Mr. Wanniski, a longtime Jack Kemp adviser who recently joined the Perot camp, took the bet at a gathering of institutional investors in Toronto, but with one proviso: The bet would be off if President Bush replaced Treasury Secretary Nick Brady to show he was getting tougher on economic growth issues. Since Mr. Bush places loyalty above all else, he says, there was no chance of that happening.

Mr. Wanniski's decision to support Mr. Perot is significant because it shows that Mr. Perot was able to convince the well-regarded supply-side analyst that he is committed to sweeping reforms to boost capital investment, new business creation and entrepreneurial expansion.

The conversion came about recently after Mr. Wanniski flew to Dallas for a face-to-face meeting at Mr. Perot's suggestion, one of many meetings he has held with a broad range of economic experts in recent weeks.

Significantly, the two did not talk about cutting capital gains taxes because Mr. Perot "told me there was no need to, that we were 'joined at the hip' on that issue," Mr. Wanniski told clients in his confidential newsletter.

While cutting capgains rates to unlock capital investment is at the heart of Mr. Bush's economic growth plan for the country, it is not a proposal Mr. Perot has talked much about lately. Instead, he usually talks only in very general terms about rebuilding the job-creating base of the economy.

Skillfully trying to maintain his

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Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

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broad political appeal as a take-charge leader, Mr. Perot apparently does not want to be identified with the one economic growth proposal most conspicuously associated with the Bush administration.

Yet Mr. Perot "was on the record long before me in arguing for a lower capital gains tax," Mr. Wanniski says, as was noted in a recent column by "Wall Street Week" host and pro-capgains cutter Louis Rukeyser.

Mr. Wanniski also points to Mr. Perot's flat response on NBC's "Meet The Press" after the Los Angeles riots when he was asked what he would do about joblessness and urban decay in the inner cities: Eliminate the capital gains tax completely in the inner city, "because the risks are so high for capital that the rewards must also be high."

(Actually, Mr. Bush made the same proposal at Mr. Kemp's suggestion during his first post-riot tour of Los Angeles.)

But there are many unanswered questions about what economic policy would be like under a Perot presidency because of his refusal to get specific about what kinds of policies he would pursue; his outreach to liberal economic advisers like New York's Felix Rohatyn; and his occasional statements about raising taxes to reduce the deficit.

Mr. Wanniski concedes that Mr. Perot "is at his worst when asked narrow, hypothetical questions" about economic issues such as taxes and trade.

When asked "about this or that tax proposal, he'll respond off the top of his head, seeming to contradict himself from one week to the next," he says. Or when asked about the Free Trade Agreement with Mexico, "he comes across sounding like a poorly informed Texas protectionist."

Yet Mr. Wanniski is convinced that Mr. Perot is heading in the right direction on bedrock economic issues; that he understands the intrinsic relationship between capital expansion and growth; and that he is a leader who will shake up the ruling government establishment and trigger change.

Surprisingly, however, he believes that in the end it will be the nation's hunger for political change, not basic economic issues, that will elevate Mr. Perot to the presidency.

"Perot's primary thrust is not, after all, economic, and the election will not turn on 'bread-and-butter economic issues,' as Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown has said," Mr. Wanniski argues.

"Perot understands that the voters want change in the way political business is conducted. He is offering himself to the electorate as the agent of that change."

But this tough-talking tycoon has not only charmed Mr. Wanniski, he has also won over Wall Street wizard Theodore "Teddy" Forstmann who flew to Dallas to spend several hours advising Mr. Perot on "how to fix the economy." Notably, it was Mr. Forstmann who persuaded Mr. Wanniski that it made no sense to tax capital gains at all. Former Treasury Secretary William Simon is also said to be ready to climb aboard, as are other notable supply-siders.

Says one well-known GOP supply-sider, who is drawn to Mr. Perot's candidacy but who did not wish to be identified yet, "We've lost faith in Bush's ability to take charge of this economy."

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

YASUHIRO NAKASONE

Emerging new systems for international order

One of the notable phenomena of the post-Cold War era is the revitalization of the United Nations. The organization, whose functions had been paralyzed, has finally become somewhat effective in the area of international security.

Yet, that does not mean the United Nations has a real power base. Still, for the foreseeable future, the real power center is the Group of Seven major industrial countries (G-7), which includes Japan and Germany, that have become economically powerful. One possible role of the G-7 can be found in cooperation to bring the spirit of the United Nations into reality. It can achieve Pax Consortium, peace through common management, under United Nations auspices.

Some may say that the permanent member states of the U.N. Security Council should form the power center. However, that includes Russia and China, and it is not unified in the value system. On the other hand, the G-7 have common ground in their values and social systems, and there is a more realistic prospect for their cooperation. Of course, among the U.N. member nations, Brazil, India, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and others are important in different regions. The G-7 has to keep close communications with them.

Yasuhiro Nakasone is the former prime minister of Japan.

What kind of role should Japan fulfill in the formation of a new world order? The Japanese Diet recently passed the U.N. Peacekeeping Operation Cooperation Act, a breakthrough for Japan's international role. The new law can be regarded as a milestone in Japan's transition from self-restraint in international activities to active participation in world affairs. Of course, Japan will maintain its longstanding principles. These include not becoming a military power, concentrating on passive defense and refraining from manufacturing, possessing or exporting nuclear weapons.

Japan will firmly maintain the U.S.-Japanese Mutual Security Pact. The pact has evolved into the internationally meaningful political alliance. Based on its principles, Japan should supplement the United States' international efforts. At the same time, Japan can voluntarily cooperate with the United States economically or financially. In response to misunderstandings or concerns of neighboring nations, Japan has to prove her peaceful intentions through her accomplishments. Japan has to make efforts to resolve such misunderstandings.

Japan is in a position to contribute greatly to international nuclear disarmament efforts such as dismantling of Russian nuclear weapons and extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty that is to expire in 1995. Japan also contributes to global environmental protec-



Yasuhiro Nakasone

tion through her various advanced pollution-control technologies, and has the financial resources needed for this activity. But, many Japanese citizens feel the so-called "check-book diplomacy" is not appropriate. Japan has to participate in the international decision-making process.

Japanese citizens should have a determination to shoulder international financial burdens and do so.

I spoke at Stanford University in March, and proposed an initiative called, "Asian Pacific Common House."

It is undeniable that the world is

becoming tripolar. It is being polarized into a European Community, an American Economic Area, and a Far-East and Western Pacific Economic Area. Asian economic prosperity is so great that NIES (Newly Industrial Economic States) and ASEAN are becoming the economic engine for the world. It will be appropriate to include Canada, the United States, Mexico, Chile and others in the Western Pacific Economic Area and nurture the concept of a Pan-Pacific economy.

The center of the communist world has now shifted from Moscow to Beijing. There is a future potential for an ideological confrontation between the United States and China. Fortunately, China is adopting a strategy of economic development along her coast. There is an economic boom in Southern China, including Shenzhen, Shanghai, and Hong Kong as well as Taiwan. It will be desirable for China to develop economically as a Pacific nation. That development cannot be achieved without the United States. My concept of an "Asian Pacific Common House" is characterized by mutual security, a common market, or information and technology exchanges.

Each region has its own unique characteristics. Quite naturally, there will flourish different smaller economic regions — such as the North and South American region.

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and the East Asian, ASEAN, or the Sea of Japan regions. But it will be wise to include these smaller regions within the framework of "Asia Pacific."

In fact, Asian nations are so different in culture, religion and political systems that they cannot be united as easily as Europeans. So the Asian union is bound to be a loose one, not as tight as the EC, but it will promote mutual trade and peaceful coexistence.

As a part of this initiative, I am also proposing the creation of a political dome over Japan, the Korean Peninsula, China, the ASEAN countries, Australia and New Zealand. Existing alliance pacts would be left alone, but political stability can be created transcending these pacts.

My proposal is to create one union or one political dome encompassing all these nations based on the principles of free trade, non-belligerency, non-aggression, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention, mutual sharing of benefits and equality, and long-term mutual trust. One example of this proposal is creation of Major Pacific Common House. The first floor of the house can be used for joint living room quarters, the second reserved for Asia, third for North and South America, the fourth for Oceania and

the fifth for EC and other nations wishing to participate. And everyone gathers together and holds conferences in the living room. Such a political dome creates a significant environment in which Japan can make her contribution to the international community.

The reason Germany has not aroused other nations' concern is that she is acting within the multi-national framework like the EC or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. By contrast, the U.S.-Japanese Mutual Security Pact is the only framework Japan belongs to. This is contributing to neighboring nations' concerns about Japan's intentions. The political concept of Japan existing within a multi-national framework needs to be pursued.

U.S.-Japanese relations remain the top-priority bilateral relationship for Japan. Recently, there has been an increasing perception that the U.S.-Japanese relationship is in trouble. However, in my opinion, the U.S.-Japanese relationship is now maturing, and frictions are natural between free nations.

The question is whether we know how to solve the problems. The solution is demonstrated by the achievements of the U.S.-Japanese relationships in the last 40 years. So long as the leaders and citizens of both the United States and Japan maintain democracy and freedom, the problems will be solved in time. There is no need to worry.

The former Soviet Union now is under great centrifugal force, and that force is expanding. It is like a Big Bang. As time goes on, the centripetal force will start working. At that time, a coalition will form centering on some nations such as Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. The current situation is a part of a transformation. It is dangerous to observe the current situation in the short term.

Then, how should the West respond to Russia? The West should promote all kinds of flexible response measures. Right now, Mr. Yeltsin is the best choice for us in the Russian presidency. It is extremely important that the West implement actions to support him in order to avert a catastrophe.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

ALSTON CHASE

Sometimes heartbreaks come in small, furry packages. Kazi, a wolf-dog hybrid, came into our lives when she was 4 weeks old and left 10 days later. Yet in that short time she won our hearts and exposed our folly.

Kazi's saga began on Memorial Day. A friend, whom I shall call Tony, arrived at our house with two of the cutest puppies my wife and I had ever seen. Blue-eyed and long-legged, they meowed like kittens. An uncompromising environmentalist, Tony had acquired them from a couple in a Great Plains state who are campaigning to return buffalo, wolves and other wild animals to rangelands. The pups, however, were not pure wolf. One great-grandparent was a malamute.

Tony planned to give one to a Los Angeles neighbor. He wanted us to take the other. If we did not, he said he might have to put it to sleep.

We didn't want to take the pup. We've had a lot of experience raising wild animals, and knew what it entailed. In 1967, we adopted a wildcat

Alston Chase is a nationally syndicated columnist specializing in environmental issues.

Lament for a pup belonging nowhere

from India we called Mumtazi, which remained a loving member of our family for 14 years. Once we provided shelter for two founding coyote pups that we eventually released into the wild. But we were sorry we ever raised wild animals and long ago resolved never to do it again. We were aware that keeping them is motivated by a conflicting and unfulfillable desire.

Like hunters whose urge to possess wildlife leads them to kill, we want to have untamed creatures because they symbolize freedom, and then we deprive them of it. When one "imprints," it becomes slavishly devoted, providing its owner with uniquely ardent companionship. But it is a love between slave and master.

And like May-December marriages, these relationships seldom work out. They take intense commit-

ment. Even if an animal receives devoted attention, it may never imprint or become housebroken. Veterinarians may refuse to treat it.

Nevertheless, against our better judgment we told Tony we would seek a good home for the pup, and if we failed, put it to sleep. We named her "Kazi," a wise counselor in the story "Arabian Nights."

Kazi quickly won our hearts. She was loving and playful. But she displayed menacing ferocity toward our terrier, as though the dog were a wiener covered with mustard and relish. Concerned, we contacted wolf experts. Kazi, they said, was a ticking time bomb.

"Wolf-dog hybrids may be the most dangerous animals on Earth," explained Jack Laufer, research biologist with Wolf Haven, a sanctuary and research facility in Tenino, Wash. Since 1988, these genetic crosses have killed an average of two people a year. Combining the aggression of dogs with the predatory instincts of wolves, they are unpredictable and lethal. Yet there are probably 300,000 of these animals in the United States, and their numbers are growing. Unscrupulous breeders, getting up to \$1,500 an animal, are selling them as bigger and badder guard dogs. They have become the Rottweilers of the West. Many conservation groups want laws to restrict and ultimately eliminate hybrid ownership.

On learning this bad news, I called our vet to have Kazi euthanized. My wife, who had spent virtually every waking hour with Kazi,

was in tears. Tony called from Los Angeles, begging for a stay of execution. We relented. I cancelled the vet appointment. But the next day Tony phoned again and insisted we put Kazi to sleep. He, too, had learned from experts that hybrids don't belong in homes. We made a second appointment for euthanasia and said our good-byes again.

Then Kazi's breeder called. She wanted the pup back. We faced a moral dilemma. Perhaps we should have Kazi euthanized anyway. But my wife had bonded to her like superglue, and could not bear to see her die. We cancelled the vet appointment again, and told the breeder to come.

When the breeder arrived, Kazi clung to my wife with fright. We felt awful. We do not know what the creature's future will be. And we felt bad that everyone behaved irrationally. I wanted to apologize to the pup for the behavior of my species.

Kazi is a victim of our misplaced love of nature. A growing romanticism about wild things is sweeping the land. Some people, like Kazi's breeder, have turned their backs on dogs and cattle, which humans spent 15,000 years domesticating, and would replace them with bison and wolves. They desire to live in Arcadian innocence with untamed things.

But they should leave nature alone. Wolves belong in wilderness and dogs on the hearth. Kazi's curse was that she was neither, and belongs nowhere. A misbegotten wolf dog, her existence is a cruel, humorous whim. She is our creation, and our victim.

DANIEL EVANS JR.

As debate continues over the problems of the cities, the recent tragedy in Los Angeles may present an opportunity for creative approaches to those problems — but only if we emphasize policies that can actually work.

An encouraging first step was President Bush's recent announcement that the Federal Home Loan Bank System had created a \$600 million fund to support housing and economic development in South Central L.A. and other areas affected by the riots.

By and large, commentators failed to appreciate the real significance of the new initiative. Some reacted as though it were merely the latest government-sponsored program to cure urban problems. The casual observer might easily have concluded that the days of Big Government had returned.

But if that were true, there would have been no real news in the president's announcement, and no reason to hope for any improvement in the situation of the cities.

In fact, the president's statement was not more of the same old tonic. It introduced an alternative for urban development, that seeks to apply some of the hard-won lessons of the past.

Most significantly, the \$600 million to which the president referred is not tax-money. It's private money, raised from investors in the capital markets. And precisely because the program is a private-sector initiative, it's more likely to have a positive

Daniel F. Evans Jr. is chairman of the Federal Housing Finance Board.

Private money tonic to mend L.A.

impact in an arena where government-directed programs have often proved disappointing.

In short, it's a creative approach to urban development, with some crucial advantages:

First, speed of response. The decision to act was reached within hours. As chairman of the Federal Housing Finance Board that oversees the Bank System, I raised the possibility of using the system's Community Investment Program to make funds available for reconstruction in Los Angeles. Within 48 hours, the System's 12 Bank presidents had concurred, and \$600 million in Bank System funds was set aside for special low-cost loans. There was no red tape, no cumbersome approval process. It was a private-sector business decision, reached the way business decisions are made every day.

Second, flexibility to respond to the needs of the community. We have learned that a successful social or development program cannot be run from Washington. It needs to be based in the community itself. And the program has to be flexible enough to respond to the particular needs of the community.

In this instance, we mobilized a Bank System that consists of 12 stockholder-owned District Banks, with more than 3,000 member institutions. Their people know the communities in which they do business, because they are community-based organizations themselves. They know a community's needs and how



A person who borrows money will invest it more prudently than he would a grant.

best to deal with them. In fact, Bank System people were on the scene soon after order was restored.

Financial intermediaries that lack a real base in local communities can be as ineffective as centralized government bureaucracies. They lack flexibility. And they are not re-

sponsive. They tend to be monolithic, national institutions, with standards of operation that are rigidly applied throughout the country and without regard for local needs.

Instead we're offering programs that are tailored to local requirements and adaptable to all kinds of economic development or housing needs — whether it's for rental housing, multifamily housing, units for low-income households, or housing for people with special needs, including the elderly, the disabled, the homeless, and others.

Third, delivery system. Every program needs a way for getting services to the intended beneficiaries.

In this instance, we are making use of a nationwide network that's already in place, and it's ready to deliver credit products wherever they are needed. This network of committed housing lenders includes savings and loan associations, savings banks, commercial banks, and credit unions. In Los Angeles County alone, there are 46 member institutions ready and able to serve as sources of funding for the community.

Fourth, accountability. Bank System investment in community development and housing involves below-market loans, not grants. That means its decisions are subject to the rigors of the marketplace, like any other private-sector investment decision. This reduces both cost and risk, and it increases the chances for success. A person who borrows money will invest it more prudently than if it comes in the form of a grant. And that kind of investment will give the person a real stake in the community.

Of course, there is no guarantee that a borrower will succeed in an investment. Even the best intentioned people can fail. But the odds of success are greater with this approach than they would be with a program that does not allow people a personal stake in the outcome.

As we know from past history, the latter is often a recipe for failure. And there's no sense making the same mistake again. Our country can't afford it — and neither can the people in the cities.

NICHOLAS EBERSTADT

New-blood Rx for cloak and stagger

Thanks to the end of the Cold War, the secrets of Moscow and Washington's long global struggle are now coming to light.

Perhaps the most fascinating — and disturbing — revelation to date was offered last month by Robert M. Gates, director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Reviewing four decades of CIA work on the Soviet Union, Mr. Gates concluded that "our statistical analysis ... described a stronger, larger economy than ... existed in reality." Mr. Gates further stated that he himself believed the agency "always understated the real burden economically of the Soviet military."

Though couched as asides in the midst of a vigorous defense of overall CIA performance, Mr. Gates' remarks amount to the first official admission that the U.S. intelligence community failed at its central analytical mission throughout decades of East-West conflict. During the Cold War, after all, U.S. policymakers desperately needed accurate estimates of the Soviet Union's economic potential and its "military burden." (The first figure could speak to Moscow's capabilities; the second, to her international intentions.) For 40 years, the CIA spent enormous sums producing those critical estimates; in fact, its quest to describe the Soviet economy was probably the largest social science project ever undertaken. We now learn, however, that its results were basically wrong — and misleading.

How can we avoid a repeat of this extraordinary intelligence failure in the future? Some at Langley say "Relax: the U.S.S.R. [the focus of this monumental misreading] has passed from the scene." True, but irrelevant: even without the Warsaw Pact, the world is sure to remain a dangerous place. Top-quality intelligence analysis will remain vital to our national security.

One hope for improving U.S. intelligence might seem to lie in bureaucratic "reorganization": collecting the government's various intelligence research units under a single roof or transferring the CIA's analytic functions to the State Department. While such schemes might keep Congress and the White House busy, they are unlikely to fix the problem, because they really don't address it. We did not misassess our Soviet adversary for decades because a few boxes in the federal "flow-chart" were out of order. Fundamental, longstanding, and uncorrected analytical errors are a sign that the process — if you will, the approach — that generates U.S. intelligence estimates is itself deeply flawed.

But how to fix the approach? Easier said than done: In essence, a corps of seasoned professionals must be retaught how to think and reason. For a bureaucracy, that is rather like learning swimming from a book.

Nevertheless, here are some very general suggestions for shaping a

more intelligent national security estimate:

(1) Always try to test your conclusions. Knowledge and understanding can only be advanced by exposing pet hypotheses (and their implications) to the possibility of disproof. At the moment, this is not standard operating procedure in the intelligence community. In 1990, when the Soviet economy was obviously falling apart, the CIA's computer models said it was still growing. Instead of wondering where they had goofed, CIA analysts circled the wagons. Some of them even argued that things really were getting better — it was just that Soviet consumers and reporters didn't understand!

(2) Trust common sense. Just before the Berlin Wall came down, the CIA was estimating per capita gross national product to be a bit higher in East Germany than in West Germany. To this day, the agency estimates per capita output in the former Soviet Union to be far above booming Taiwan's. And even though health levels are better in Mexico than in the post-Soviet Commonwealth of Independent States, the CIA maintains that worker productivity is more than three times higher in the latter.

Such anomalous — even bizarre

— results are implausible on their very face. They attest to the perverse effect of unmoored "expertise" and hothouse specialization on the estimate process. Intelligence estimates worth the name should be able to withstand "sanity checks," to say nothing of obvious questions.

(3) Competition is healthy. That is why it may be good to have separate research units in the government covering the same national security topics, even if this looks "wasteful" or "redundant." It is also why government analysts must understand that their competition is not merely an intramural one. To the contrary, they must be prepared to match, or exceed, the best work from the private sector, be it in the media, think tanks, universities or corporations.

(4) Finally, there is no substitute for talent. You can't expect first-rate analysis from second-rate analysts. Individual exceptions notwithstanding, the overall calibre of U.S. intelligence analysts seems to have been slipping for years. Herbert Meyer, a former senior official at the CIA, has warned that the agency will not be able to do its job in the years to come unless it can somehow "make it attractive for non-governmental analysts to join the CIA — as attractive as a tour on the Council of Economic Advisers is to high-flying economists." He's right.

Now is the time to correct and repair the evident shortcomings of our national security research apparatus. If we move fast, and are lucky, we may finish the job before the next big storm hits.

Nicholas Eberstadt is a researcher at Harvard's Center for Population and Development Studies and the American Enterprise Institute. He is author of the forthcoming book, "The Tyranny of Numbers."

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

'Harassment' at the service academies redux

William E. Beusse of the General Accounting Office writes in the Letters column today about a June 7 editorial in this space on a GAO study of sexual harassment at the service academies. He was kind enough to supply the text of the testimony (and supporting charts) that his boss, Paul L. Jones, gave to a Senate subcommittee June 2. That testimony was the basis of a chart on sexual harassment at the academies that appeared on the front page of The Washington Post. It accompanied an article on a sexual assault case involving Navy officers. The conjoining of the two, as well as the substantive content of The Post report on the GAO study, was the subject of the editorial here.

Let us begin with the good news: The Post's reporting on the GAO's study was scrupulously accurate, based on Mr. Jones' testimony. Mr. Beusse complains that one "form of harassment" cited here from The Post report, "unwanted pressure for dates," was a truncation of the category as it had actually appeared on the questionnaire distributed to cadets and midshipmen. The actual area in which complaints were solicited, Mr. Beusse writes, was "unwanted pressure for dates by a more senior cadet (or midshipman)." Yet Mr. Jones' testimony nowhere made reference to the phrase, "by a more senior cadet (or midshipman)." Indeed, in the three charts Mr. Jones distributed (one for each academy), the precise phrase the GAO used was "unwanted pressure for dates." The Post reported what he presented correctly.

The substantive points made in the editorial here about this particular form of harassment were, first, that it was not widespread (only 4 percent of women at each academy complained of it) and second, that it, like all of the other categories, was utterly subjective. The editorial asked, "What is the difference between an 18-year-old asking another 18-year-old out on a date only to be turned down and 'unwanted pressure for dates'?" The answer implicit in this study is that the question is irrelevant. The only issue is how the woman takes the request." To comport fully with what the GAO asked, that question should have been, "What is the difference between a 20-year-old asking a 19-year-old out on a date," etc. And it remains a question in which Mr. Beusse and the GAO are ultimately uninterested. He says these requests for dates "can easily involve implicit, if not explicit, coercion." Of course they can. Do they? We have no way to know.

Mr. Beusse now makes a number of other claims about the GAO study that are similarly unsupported by Mr. Jones' prepared testimony and unresponsive to the points made in the editorial here. For example, in answer to questions posed here about the possibility that males might have experienced these "forms of harassment," Mr. Beusse writes that the "questions included a second part asking those who indicated they had experienced a given type of treatment to indicate what they believed the primary basis was for that treatment." And nearly all complaining women said it was "their gender."

Again, this was not in Mr. Jones' prepared testimony. And again, it is off the mark. Mr. Beusse is, shall we say, imprecise in his claim that the questionnaire asked cadets what they thought the primary basis was. In fact, the questionnaire invited them to choose from exactly four possibilities for "primary basis." They were: "My gender"; "My race"; "My ethnic background"; "My religion." The study admitted no other possibilities (not even, for example, "other"). It is hard to fathom how a white Italian-American male who had experienced "mocking gestures" from another white Italian-American male (or a black Baptist male from a black Baptist male, or a WASP female from a WASP female) would respond to this. Moreover, if that white Italian-American male gestures mockingly at a Jewish male, does the Jew then have to pick "my religion" by default? What if this Jewish male happens to know that his harasser gestures mockingly at practically everybody at the academy?

The truth seems to be that the GAO study is not interested in such cases. And the point made in the editorial here is that because the GAO is uninterested in such cases, necessary context for such "harassment" as it finds is missing.

As for Mr. Beusse's exercises in mind reading, they seem mainly to illustrate that when it comes to understanding people who do not agree with his premises, he just doesn't get it. The GAO study is a mess. It is politics, in the form of the unquestioning acceptance of those premises, posing as social science. And the most interesting thing of all about it, as was noted in the editorial here, is that despite its biases and prejudices in favor of finding widespread sexual harassment at the service academies, it didn't find much "harassment" that most people would deem serious at all.

The exclusive French airspace

The French are famous for marching to a different drummer, particularly where foreign policy is concerned — and, of course, particularly so when the United States is somehow involved. In 1986, the French government rejected the request for American bombers taking off from their British bases to enter French airspace en route to Libya. The French decision lengthened the bombers' journey by thousands of miles and may have contributed to the loss of one plane at sea.

Disagreeing with the object of a punitive bombing mission — in this case to remove a major source of terrorism or at least scare the Libyan strongman Moammar Gadhafi back into his hole — is one thing. France has always purported to have a superior knowledge of the Arab world, and while the denial of the request back then may not have been terribly loyal to a long-time ally and two-time savior, at least it can be explained.

However, where exclusively humanitarian concerns are at stake, one would have thought that compassion and common sense would overcome France's visceral reluctance to cooperate with the United States. For France to deny American planes overflight permission when their destination is Bosnia-Herzegovina and their object to gather intelligence that will aid in the opening of the Sarajevo airport makes no sense whatsoever. That such a request had been denied was re-

ported by The Washington Times Friday.

This comes at a time when the U.N. Protection Force is working at considerable peril to life and limb to establish a tentative hold on the airport, demilitarize the surrounding area and open an aerial corridor to allow relief flights to enter. A U.N. force of 80 peacekeepers was deployed to the area Thursday, and progress has been sporadic and slow between bursts of fighting. Clearly the intelligence that can be gathered by the American U-2 spy planes will be essential if the cease-fire agreement signed by Serbs, Croats and Muslims last week is to be enforced and have any effect.

As has been argued in this space previously, it's unlikely that anything but brute force will persuade the Serbian forces to withdraw. But given the reluctance of the NATO countries to get involved militarily, ensuring that much-needed supplies reach the 300,000 starving citizens of Sarajevo is at least something all should be able to agree on. After a siege of 2½ months and relentless bombardment, only one bakery in the city is functional. People in some areas are reduced to a diet of nettles and grass from the city parks. Meanwhile, tons of donated food and medical supplies have to be diverted to Croatia because of conditions in Sarajevo. Making sure that it gets where it's needed is a matter of immediate urgency. France should be able to understand as much.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

Playing chicken in Fairfax schools

There is one huge game of chicken going on out in Fairfax County, and students there are going to have to learn how to play in a hurry. They're the ones who have the most to lose.

Here's how the game has gone to this point. The Board of Supervisors, attempting to reduce spending, told the School Board that it would have to make do on \$55 million less than it had planned. The School Board, unhappy about making the cuts, decided to make them hurt by cutting something that people genuinely care about: athletics. It did away with assistant athletic directors, who collect a combined total of about \$450,000 to help set up schedules for all the different sports.

Along came the Northern Region Council of the Virginia High School League, a group of principals, to say that individual school athletic directors couldn't handle the burden of scheduling without their assistants. So they cut back the number of games to reduce that burden. Now the coaches have gotten together to say that if the schedules are cut back, they will quit. In the meantime, they plan a huge rally for the board's next meeting, June 25, to see if they can't get it to rescind the cuts.

What's going on here is what economists refer to as "rent-seeking." Parents quietly or perhaps not so quietly pay their property taxes to the county, which end up in a huge pot known as the county budget. Then, with relatively little to say in the matter, they watch as the rent-seekers — the county employees, the teachers unions, the welfare types, the agencies, the road builders and so on — gather round to figure out who gets what.

When one group doesn't get what it wants, it makes cuts strategically designed to do away with a service that the public actually uses or cares about — something like athletics — as a way to generate support for a different allocation of the goodies or simply for more money, in the form of higher taxes. In federal government circles this is known as the Washington Monument syndrome. It means you don't close down the

sub-sub office on Tierra del Fuego affairs, a matter of concern only to the bureaucrats in that office and, possibly, a few Tierra del Fuegians. You board up the monument, in anticipation of a highly exploitable hue and cry from every schoolteacher and Scoutmaster in the land.

Now the responsibility for this whole mess starts with the Board of Supervisors — which, in the name of public service, just helped itself to a brand-new \$100 million government center at Fair Oaks that, by all accounts, makes the Paris Opera House look like a slum dwelling. But let's say everyone could agree that county officials truly needed a daunting, monstrous, opulent palace, as state legislators recently described the new office, to hang their hats. They wasted half a million dollars renting empty office space at their old headquarters after they moved out. The contract did not require them to do that. That \$500,000 waste would have been more than enough to settle the current dispute.

The easiest thing for athletics-minded parents to do under the circumstances would be to join the rent-seekers at the rally and see if they couldn't get the board to change its mind. Of course, next year or the year after next, they may find themselves fighting the same battle. They could go private, putting their budding Mark Rypiens in a school more in tune with their own priorities. But that's expensive, since they'll still have to shell out big bucks for the public system they are furious with.

Controversies like this one should refocus attention on school-choice legislation of the sort Rep. Dick Army is promoting against heavy congressional odds. When parents can choose the schools best suited to their children's athletic — or musical or academic — inclinations, those schools have to compete for their attendance and their dollars. In other words, the schools are forced to serve the interests of the parents and children who are their true customers, rather than chicken-minded politicians and bureaucrats who made the Fairfax debacle possible in the first place.

SUZANNE FIELDS

Congratulations to the fathers who survived another Father's Day. One dear old dad hid the boxer shorts decorated with golf and tennis balls in the bottom bureau drawer. Another spilled ketchup on the green, yellow and blue "contemporary" tie. (At least he didn't have to wear it to the office.)

Still another said he would begin the exercise regime as soon as he finds the perfect place to set up the "lifecycle" bicycle. Someday, if not today.

These are the lucky fathers whose kids cared enough to send the very best.

Many fathers never hear from their kids on Father's Day because

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

Getting deadbeat dads to pay a bit of their dues

their kids don't know them. Some of them are the "deadbeat dads" who don't pay child support.

Sponsors of legislation have bipartisan support to make interstate flight to avoid child support payments a federal crime. Rep. Henry Hyde, Illinois Republican, and Sen. Richard Shelby, Alabama Democrat, want to criminalize non-payment when dad jumps over the state line to hide.

Sounds right. Why shouldn't the bums go to jail if they don't take responsibility for their kids?

But the Children's Rights Council, a lobbying group for rights of both parents, doesn't see it that way.

If you're going to make life miserable for the disappearing dads, why not also go after the mothers

who violate custody and visitation rights? They have a point. Vindictive moms sometimes won't let dad in the front door to see his child. Mr. Hyde says state courts should vigorously enforce the visitation rights of these men.

The evidence shows that most fathers who don't support their children aren't really interested in seeing them, either. Sad, but true.

Parents with joint custody pay 90.2 percent of their child support, according to Census Bureau data. Parents with visitation rights pay 79.1 percent of their child support, but parents with neither joint custody nor visitation rights pay less than half their child support. A culture of poverty develops when dad flees.

Delinquent fathers owe more

Delinquent Dads owe more than \$18 billion in delinquent child-support. When the father doesn't pay, the taxpayer does.

than \$18 billion in delinquent child-support payments. When the father doesn't pay, the taxpayer does.

New laws and federal money have helped the states in their collection of child support payments and the average amount of court-ordered payments has increased by 50 per-

cent in the last four years, up to \$60 a week. Some states post "Most Wanted" lists of delinquent fathers and publicize arrests to make it clear they mean business. This can often make the difference between welfare and independence for a family.

Money helps, but for most children who are abandoned by their fathers, the emotional loss is traumatic. "What matters for success is less whether your father was rich or poor than whether you knew your father at all," says Lawrence Mead, a researcher at New York University.

Children who grow up without a father in the house have more emotional and academic problems than those raised with both parents. The proportion of single-parent families

in a community usually predicts the rates of violent crime and burglary.

It's a better-than-even bet that the majority of young people arrested in the Los Angeles riots grew up without fathers. In 1990, census figures show, 55 percent of black children lived with a single parent; 19 percent of white children.

Many cities are experimenting with court-ordered participation in "father clubs" as an alternative to jail. These clubs provide job training and help men find jobs where child support can be deducted from the paycheck.

"You could still be called daddy if the mother's not your wife," sings the rap group Ed O.G. and Da Bulldogs. "Be a father to your child."

That's a start, but only the start.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

MONA CHAREN

Incensing of public educrats

This is a story about policy — but it also is a tale of dishonesty, vindictiveness and, finally, hope.

First, the setting: The public school system in Milwaukee, Wis., is about as dysfunctional as they come. According to the magazine *Wisconsin Interest*, only 40 percent of entering freshmen graduate. The grade point average for high school students is D+. The absentee rate is 30 percent.

Was it lack of funding that produced such abysmal results? No. "Between 1976 and 1988, per pupil spending rose 190 percent in Milwaukee. State aid to the system had leapt by 278 percent ... in the same period. By 1989-1990, Milwaukee Public Schools spent \$5,944 per pupil."

The idea of school choice has two foundations: (a) The state is a failure at providing education; and (b) giving the money directly to parents will encourage competition among schools and therefore higher quality. Interestingly, the choice concept is more favored among black Americans than whites.

Enter: a heroine, Polly Williams, a black mother who became a state legislator and pushed an educational choice program through the Wisconsin legislature — over the howls of the education bureaucrats.

The state of Wisconsin was promptly sued by the usual suspects — the Association of Wisconsin School Administrators, the teachers unions, the Milwaukee Administrators and Supervisors Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and, pitching in at the Wisconsin Supreme Court level, the American Civil Liberties Union. Enter another hero: the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, which provided funding for the state's legal defense.

The state won. Educational choice for poor parents (choice has always been an option for the wealthy) became a reality at the elementary school level. Happy ending? Not quite. The educrats continued to stew and fume — and wait.

Messmer High School was run by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese until 1984, when the church could no longer afford to maintain it. Together with the DeRance Foundation, parents and alumni joined to reopen the school as an independent high school. Sixty-two percent of Messmer's students are black, 50 percent live at or below the poverty line, and 65 percent are non-Catholic. Ninety-eight percent graduate, and 78 percent go on to college.

Someone suggested that Messmer apply to be considered for the Milwaukee choice program. (Finances are tight with per pupil costs at \$4,400, and tuition at \$2,050 annually. The added revenue from the city choice program might be enough to keep the school in operation.) The education department sent three bureaucrats to check out the school with a satchel of instructions for how to determine if the school was too religious to qualify.

("Review trophy case(s) for references to conferences like Catholic Conference.") Additionally, the school's principal was asked, "Has the school received services from the Bradley Foundation? Explain."

Now, it happens that the Bradley Foundation has provided a challenge grant to Messmer, but what does that have to do with the school's sectarian status? Bradley is a non-sectarian foundation. The only logical explanation is that the educrats, lead by Herbert Grover, state superintendent of education and opponent of school choice, are employing McCarthyite tactics against a well-remembered foe from the Polly Williams case.

Michael Joyce, president of the Bradley Foundation, had his lawyer direct an inquiry to Mr. Grover. On what grounds was he interfering with the freedom of association of private parties? Mr. Grover replied with a whopper. Did we say the Bradley Foundation? Gosh, we meant the

other Bradley Foundation. (There is indeed another Bradley Foundation in Milwaukee — but its sole purpose is to maintain a sculpture park.)

Perhaps Messmer High School is too sectarian to qualify for the state program — it may well be. But what price are we paying for strict secularism? As Mike Joyce noted, "A crucifix in urine is eligible for a federal arts subsidy; but a crucifix in a trophy case is a dangerous threat to the Constitution."

What this case illustrates is that education bureaucrats are much better at sniffing the air for whiffs of incense than they are at teaching the three R's. They ought to be retired from both tasks.

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

PAUL CRAIG
ROBERTS

Held to account for Uncle

America's accounting firms are being held legally responsible for the failure of public policies made in Washington.

In the latest absurdity, Price Waterhouse has been ordered by an Arizona jury to pay \$338 million to a British financial institution, Standard Chartered PLC, because of losses it incurred from purchasing an Arizona bank audited by Price Waterhouse.

The British firm purchased the United Bank of Arizona in 1987 for \$335 million. It sold the bank 18 months later to Citicorp for \$207 million. Standard Chartered blamed its loss on what it claimed were negligent audits in 1985 and 1986 that did not discover what later proved to be sour real estate loans that reduced the value of the bank.

American juries are notorious for awarding plaintiffs huge amounts of other people's money — perhaps because jury members hope to be on the receiving end of the legal Lotto one day. Nevertheless, one has to wonder where Price Waterhouse's lawyers were. The accounting firm had no reason to question real estate valuations on the bank's books in 1985 and 1986. The collapse in real estate values began in 1987 when the Tax Reform Act went into effect.

After years of encouraging real estate investments with tax incentives as well as with inflation predictions that caused investors to seek hedges in real estate, the Treasury Department, Congress and the White House suddenly yanked the rug out from under real estate.

Without warning and with no grandfathering of existing projects, depreciation schedules for commercial properties were increased from 19 to 31 years, tax deductions were curtailed for most investors and the capital gains tax rate was raised 40 percent.

The effect was to collapse real estate values. As investors walked away, the properties ended up in the hands of lenders. In effect, the government legislated the sour real estate loans, after first encouraging a massive real estate investment boom with inflation and tax incentives.

The immorality of using public policy to wreck the fortunes and careers of those who had invested in real estate, thrifts, commercial banks and insurance companies was compounded when the government then blamed the crisis on those its policy had destroyed. After having destroyed real estate and its creditors with the most inane tax policy imaginable, the government then turned on those it had destroyed, along with their lawyers and accountants.

The government alleged, and journalists duly reported, that the crisis was the work of real estate crooks and junk bond salesmen. As the taxpayer cost of the bailout rose to unbelievable heights, to shift attention from its culpability the government began to root out "S&L crooks" with the same careless fanaticism and disregard for truth as inquisitors pursued "heretics" during the Spanish Inquisition.

Standard Chartered's case against Price Waterhouse was pre-empted by the government's cases against bank executives, accountants and lawyers associated with any failed real estate investment. It is preposterous to hold business and professional men and women accountable for a real estate collapse that the legislators and Treasury officials who brought it on could not foresee themselves.

The ultimate cost of the government's disregard for fact remains to be seen. It may deprive the country of the accounting firms and business leadership it requires to operate.

By law, accounting firms are partnerships with the personal assets of the partners at risk. The largely spurious litigation claims have already collapsed two accounting firms, and the decision against Price Waterhouse comes to \$350,000 per partner.

The government's pursuit of "deep pockets" regardless of innocence has shown the way to private litigants as well. The courts have become a means of robbing anyone who can be related in any way to a real estate loss.

Recently Professor Glenn Yago, a critic of the mishandling of the savings-and-loan crisis, was told by a government official: "We're not in the business of finding out what happened; we're in the business of shutting down financial institutions," an admission that is all too true.

Uncle Sam should cease its callous treatment of its own citizens as scapegoats for our savings-and-loan, banking and real estate problems, and look instead in the mirror for their cause.

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 *

EDWIN FEULNER

National health has jet set flying

Here's all you need to know about how well the Canadian health care system works — and whether the United States should adopt a similar plan to cure its health-care woes: When the rich and famous in Canada need health care, they come to the United States to get it.

For example, when Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa learned that he needed an operation for melanoma — a potentially fatal skin cancer — he chartered a plane at his own expense and flew to the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda for a consultation. Later, he returned to Bethesda for surgery, also paid for out of his own pocket.

Contrast this with the case of Al Hingley, a 53-year-old resident of suburban Edmonton, who apparently is not one of Canada's rich and famous: Even with one of the arteries to his heart completely blocked and the other three 99 percent obstructed, Mr. Hingley waited more than 14 months for his triple bypass surgery.

Today, many Americans — and more than a few members of Congress — want the United States to adopt a Canadian-style health-care system. According to popular myth, Canada's system provides health

care coverage for all of its citizens, while keeping costs down.

But the fabled Canadian system does not work as advertised. Canada's health care coverage is universal all right — universally satisfactory if you're healthy; universally iffy when major illness strikes. That's why thousands of Canadians who can afford it get their care in the United States.

One problem is that, like the United States, Canada's health costs are increasing rapidly. The United States may have the world's most expensive health care system, but Canada is running a close second. Canadians are discovering what conservatives have been saying all along — that government cannot provide everyone with everything they want (or need) and still keep costs under control.

Faced with this reality, the Cana-

dian government is doing the only thing it can to keep from going bankrupt: It's controlling costs by rationing care.

For the average working man, health care waiting lists now are as common in Canada as hockey pucks. Many — like Toronto's Charles Coleman, whose heart surgery was postponed 11 times because of bed shortages — simply don't survive the delay.

These are not isolated cases. Ac-

Edwin Feulner is president of the Heritage Foundation.

cording to the Christian Science Monitor, "a heart-disease patient categorized as an emergency case gets an operation within 48 hours. The wait lasts up to a week for urgent patients, up to six weeks for semi-urgent patients, and up to four months for elective patients."

If a Canadian-style system is instituted in the United States, you can bet it won't be the rich and famous who'll be waiting in line. When fans of socialized medicine — like the

members of Congress pushing for the United States to adopt the Canadian system — need surgery, they'll either bribe their way past waiting lists, or fly to a country like Switzerland to get quality medical care.

If you can afford to fly to Switzerland — or if you like the idea of waiting in line for heart or cancer surgery — the Canadian system is for you. However, if you're like most of us, the idea ought to frighten you to death.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

We Don't Have to Fight Over Fetal Tissue

Before The Post, its editorial staff and its columnists shed still more tears over the president's callous opposition to the harvesting of human fetal tissue for medical research, I think it's worth pointing out that this particular skirmish in the abortion war is needless.

What is being overlooked by both

sides of the dispute is that it is not necessary to use human fetal tissue at all to pursue genuinely promising research in human brain tissue regeneration. Research currently in progress in Canada and Philadelphia strongly suggests that the human brain can be helped to repair itself. I refer readers to the March 27 and May 8 issues of Science magazine, which report progress in reversing Parkinson's disease by using nonhuman mammalian cells.

This line of research seems at least as promising as using human fetal tissue, the results of which so far cannot be said to be more than marginally promising.

Both the University of Toronto and Hahnemann University in Philadelphia have had significantly positive results from using a substance derived from mammalian brain cells to stem damage and stimulate brain cell repair in humans.

The Post knows this because it has reported that the National Institutes of Health plan a pilot study on such research soon [news story, May 8]. Yet The Post's reporters and editorialists, in handling the fetal tissue harvesting issue, take no note of what seems at least an equally promising form of research.

Why? Is unrestricted abortion more important to the paper than seeking a cure for Parkinson's and other diseases which would not rely on abortion? If The Post wishes to preserve an impression of objectivity in its handling of the abortion issue, why not highlight a line of research that is not abortion-dependent?

ROBERT H. BAKER
Vienna

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Swamping the Courts

SUDDENLY the U.S. District Court here, more accustomed to dealing with civil suits against the government, contract disputes and the like, is swamped with criminal cases. In an increasing number of them, defendants are being acquitted by juries. Both problems have their origin in statutory changes imposing severe mandatory minimum sentences, particularly in drug cases. Both might be alleviated if the mandatory sentences were revised.

In recent years, Congress has responded to rising crime rates by requiring judges to sentence drug offenders, firearms users and other criminals to specific and relatively long terms in prison. These minimums must be imposed even on first offenders and in cases where there are extenuating circumstances. Thus, prosecutors faced with a choice between bringing a drug case in local or federal court will choose the latter in the hope of obtaining a stiffer sentence. U.S. Attorney Jay Stephens has made a policy decision to do just this, and the federal judges are hard pressed to keep up with the new workload. The court experienced a 41.5 percent increase in criminal cases between 1989 and 1991. In addition, the court has more criminal trials. As recently as 1988, guilty pleas were taken in 69 percent of criminal cases, but that figure was

down to 44 percent by 1991. The prospect of a high mandatory minimum prison sentence discourages confession and contributes to the decision to risk a trial.

Why are acquittals also on the rise? The reasons probably include poorly prepared or argued cases and witness intimidation, which is of growing concern in this city. But there is also anecdotal evidence that juries are aware of the mandatory minimum sentences—five years, for example, for simple possession of 5 grams of crack—and are reluctant to convict young defendants in particular when the judge has no room for flexibility.

Note that these sentences were not devised by the U.S. Sentencing Commission, which has broad authority to set ranges of penalties for various offenses taking into account both aggravating and mitigating circumstances. They were enacted by Congress, and they skew the guidelines process because they are severe, selective and inflexible. Congress should reconsider the whole idea of mandatory minimum sentences. They may be a popular reflex response to crime, but they are having an unanticipated and unfortunate impact on the criminal justice system.

Science Cops Move Up and Out

THE OFFICE that investigates allegations of scientific misconduct, housed at the National Institutes of Health, has closed up. A new office with a strikingly similar name—the Office of Research Integrity—has appeared in its place over at the Public Health Service. The move represents something more than a bureaucratic shift; it represents the government's response to scientists who have been complaining bitterly—and with good reason—about the office established three years ago to police them.

That office, the Office of Scientific Integrity, was also born of complaints—then of congressional investigators who exposed the all-too-relaxed manner in which some universities pursued allegations of misconduct against their government-funded biomedical researchers. Fearing that Congress was about to push its way into the laboratory, NIH decided to transform some of its own scientists into investigators.

The government's sleuths, however, never got it quite right. Despite slogging through a formidable caseload, including allegations against Nobel laureate David Baltimore and AIDS researcher Robert Gallo, the office came under both

intramural and extramural attack. It was too slow, too political, too prone to leaks. It was both judge and jury, all the while denying accused scientists due process.

The new office (moved out of NIH so as to avoid potential conflicts with its own researchers) is expected to correct some of the serious procedural shortcomings of the old one. It promises to separate the investigatory and adjudicatory functions and to give accused scientists a fair hearing. That's the important step in rectifying past wrongs. And it could mean some new twists in both the Baltimore and Gallo cases, which have wound down but technically aren't closed.

Just how these necessary changes will affect the research is unclear. The prospect of quasi-judicial "trials" and adversarial confrontations between whistle blowers and research scientists has some people worried. But it's important to remember that the onus remains on the universities to instigate misconduct investigations and to follow through expeditiously. If and when the government steps in, it must ensure basic fairness.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Tracking the Tax Bill

TAX BILLS are instructive examples of politics at work. The one that has recently been voted out by the Senate Finance Committee illustrates, among other things, the tight constraints on the process in this era of hard-edged budget rules. Congress wants to repeal the much-denounced tax on luxuries and to extend a long list of expiring tax breaks. One of the breaks benefits low-income housing, and another encourages industrial research and development—both good causes with much vigorous support. But under the rules, the bill that provides them has to be revenue-neutral. It has to raise a dollar for every dollar that the breaks, and the end of the luxury tax, would cost the Treasury.

To do that, the Finance Committee has added a provision that would resolve a narrow but immensely complex and heavily litigated quarrel over business taxation. When a company is sold, the price is usually considerably higher than the value of its tangible assets. The difference represents intangible assets—which might include things like customers' habits, a low wage scale for employees, subscription lists, supply contracts and so forth. The company's new owners then try to persuade the Internal Revenue Service to allow them to depreciate these intangibles on their tax returns. Present law is chaotic, while

the epidemic of mergers and acquisitions over the past decade has enormously increased the volume of these claims. Measured by the number of dollars at stake in current cases, the taxation of intangible assets is now the largest legal issue with which the IRS is dealing.

As a compromise, the Finance Committee's bill would let businesses depreciate in the future all of these intangibles—including for the first time simple good will—at one uniform rate. As for current cases, it would let businesses settle them with the IRS by depreciating three-quarters of whatever they claimed. That produces the surge of revenue (in the short term) that pays for the aforementioned tax breaks—at least for the five-year period that the budget law requires.

Support for this deal is far from unanimous. Labor unions object that, by permitting the depreciation of an asset as insubstantial as good will, the bill would create a tax incentive for more mergers and acquisitions. The incentive would be small, but unhelpful.

To state the obvious, nothing about this tax bill is simple. Nor is anything certain, least of all its prospect for enactment. The bill is an accurate reflection of the congressional state of mind at midpoint of this peculiar year.

An Effective Approach to Policing

IN PRINCE George's County, there's a modern version of the old kids-in-the-streets movies with the neighborhood cop who knew every kid by name and by relatives and who nearly always seemed to know when and where trouble was brewing and how to take care of it. In Prince George's, it is called the community policing program—and it is reducing crime noticeably, winning high praise from heretofore terrorized residents. The program began about 18 months ago, after much constructive pressure from a 40-church coalition, Interfaith Action Communities, to field specially trained police officers throughout high-crime neighborhoods. After an initial guarded response, county residents are now giving the program strong enough support to win approval for its expansion.

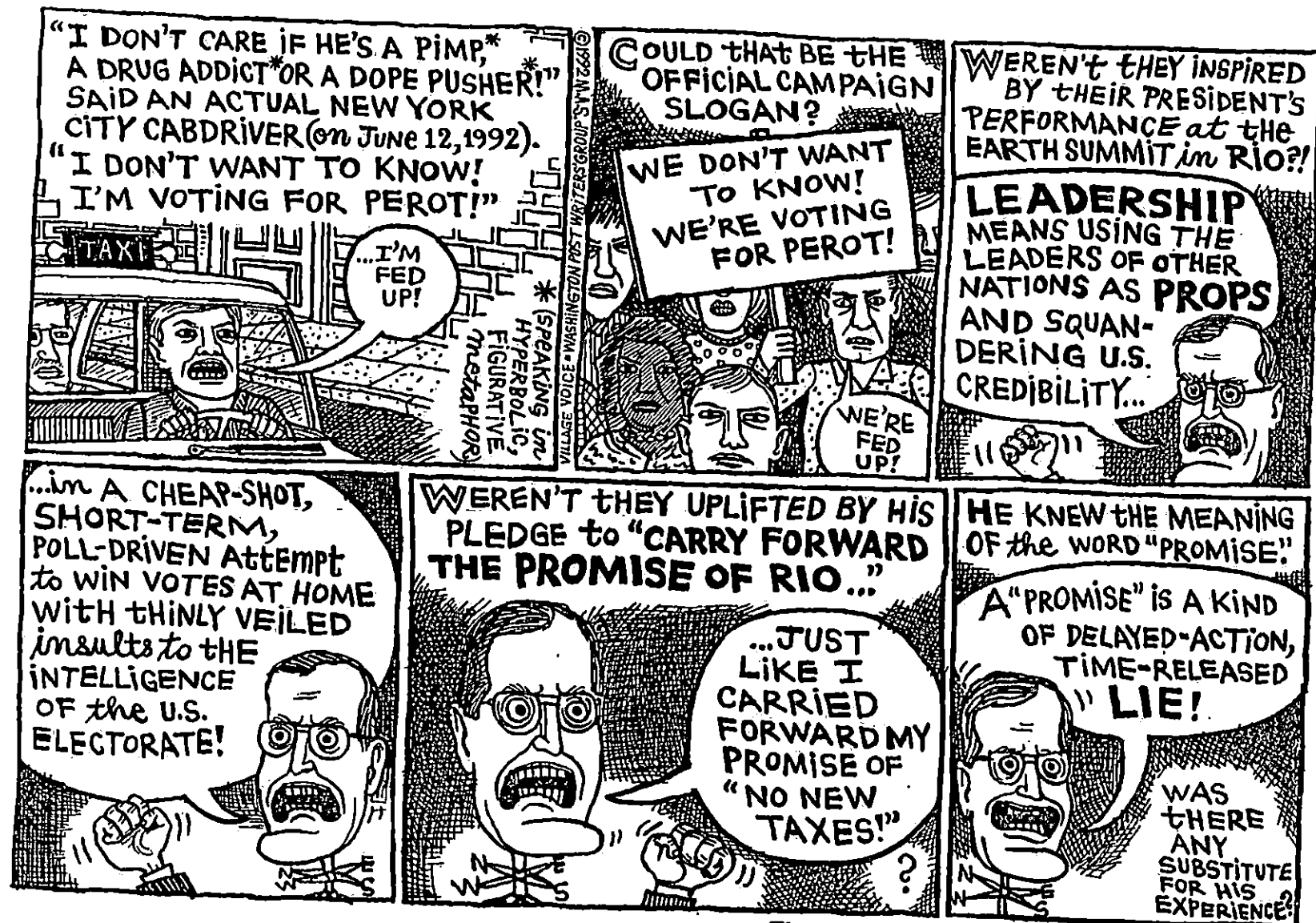
Specially trained officers are stationed throughout the neighborhoods, in apartment complexes, churches and other sites where people gather. An officer becomes a trusted sounding board and a community activist/law enforcer. The beat includes anybody and everybody with a role in the ups or downs of a street. The results

include decreases in serious crimes in the participating neighborhoods. Capt. Terry Evans, who is in charge of the community policing program, told reporter Eugene L. Meyer that "it's the only thing I've seen in 23 years of law enforcement that's had an impact, actually turned it around."

It's had enough of an impact as a pilot program to be set for more territory and more officers. Over the next three years, the number of officers in the program will be increased from 22 to 101, and the number of community police stations from 19 to 51. Similar programs are functioning in many cities, but success varies, apparently depending on the ability of governments to add officers rather than taking from existing numbers, which leaves other work or areas untended. County Executive Parris Glendening now considers the experiment a success and the financial commitment to come a sound investment. The Interfaith Action Communities and other early advocates deserve credit for generating the support and for helping to make the project take hold.

WASHINGTON.

Mark Alan Stamaty



The cartoonist is a contributor to the Village Voice.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Mark A. Siegel

Don't Steal the People's Votes

I disagree with my old friend Hamilton Jordan's judgment ["Why I Broke With the Democrats," op-ed, June 7]. I believe that an electoral college deadlock forcing the election of the president of the United States to the House of Representatives—with each state casting the same single vote and deadlocked states disenfranchised—*would* provoke a constitutional crisis. And I disagree with Rep. Don Edwards' patrician restatement of Edmund Burke's elitist ethic ["A Solemn Responsibility," op-ed, June 14].

Edwards was incorrect when he wrote that there is no basis in logic or history for members of the House to simply vote for the candidate who wins a majority or a plurality of the popular vote. That notion is wrong—politically, practically and, above all, morally. Edwards' contempt for the popular will and his endorsement of the notion that 200 years into our republic the people still need aristocratic filters to select their president is antithetical to the construct of democracy.

As we progress in this historic summer of 1992, Bill Clinton will

certainly have a public opinion bump during the Democratic National Convention in July to be followed by a predictable increase for Bush in August. By the time the American people finally become engaged in the presidential election process after Labor Day, we may be looking at a three-way logjam once again, with the House of Representatives still looming as a possible selection body.

This hypothetical situation will break into reality as candidates for Congress appear before voters. They will be asked a simple, straightforward question: "If the electoral college is unable to select a president and the election is thrown into the House, will you vote the presidential preference of your constituents or will you vote for the candidate of your own political party?" (The Political Hotline is already keeping a scorecard on the responses.)

For moderate Republicans like Connie Morella in Montgomery County, Bill Green in Manhattan and Jim Leach in Iowa, their answers may well determine if they are reelected. Connie Morella may be an awfully

good member of Congress, but if she insists that she will vote for George Bush in the House of Representatives, heavily Democratic Montgomery County would almost certainly throw her out with the president.

Conversely, conservative Democrats across the South and West may find their districts going one way while their party pulls them another. Candidates all across America will be put to the "test"—their party preference or their constituents. Those who fail may find themselves looking for a new job.

Jordan's thesis that the nation survived House of Representative selection processes in the past, and electoral college inversions as well, does not address the problem of legitimacy and governability in the modern era. What occurred in the House in 1800 and 1824 is not relevant. The fact that the United States tolerated the outright theft of the presidency from Democrat Samuel J. Tilden by Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876—when the Republicans bought 20 disputed electoral college votes from the South by paying the devastating price of ending Reconstruction—does not mean that the U.S. public would be equally sanguine 116 years later. Not only would a Rutherford Hayes be ridden out of Washington while the electoral college was voting, but the electoral inversion would certainly trigger a proposal for a constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of the president.

If the popular vote winner of the presidential election was denied the presidency, the world's greatest democracy would be held up to mockery all over the world. The United States would become a symbol of political manipulation and electoral fraud. "We the People" would be reduced to a bitter joke. The 538 members of the electoral college would be relegated to their House of Lords elitist origins at best, or horse trading "entrepreneurs" at worst. The 435 members of the House of Representatives choosing a president counter to the expressed wishes of the people would look remarkably like Moscow coup plotters in constitutional garb denying the people of America their most basic political right.

Congressional candidates will all have to make a choice. It is not enough in 1992 to know their positions on health care, the deficit, crime, abortion rights and foreign aid. The first vote the members of the 103rd Congress may make after an electoral college deadlock in January could be the selection of the president of the United States. Each member may have to decide between his or her constituents' expressed presidential vote or his or her own party. (Spare us the rhetoric about conscience, this will be the most political call in history.) The people's vote or the congressman's party—it's that simple. And the American people deserve to know the answer before, not after, Nov. 3.

The writer, a political consultant, is a former executive director of the Democratic National Committee.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Lloyd N. Cutler

Electoral College Dramas

You probably think that when 90 to 100 million of us enter the election booths next Nov. 3, we will be voting for president. In fact, we won't. The actual vote for president does not occur until December 14, and only 538 of us will be voting.

So just what do we do on Nov. 3? We choose between lists of "electors" offered on behalf of each presidential candidate, and it is these electors who actually choose the president on Dec. 14. Each state elects a number of electors equal to the number of its senators and representatives (3 for the least populated states and the District of Columbia, 54 for California), making a total of 538. A majority of the electors—270—is needed to elect a president. The framers devised this system when a consensus could not be reached on electing the president either by Congress or by direct popular vote.

With rare exceptions, that did not change the outcome; the electors have always voted in December for the presidential candidate on whose behalf they were elected in November. But in this year's unusual three-cornered race, a substantial number of electors may go home with a different fellow than the one who brought them to the party. While some states have laws requiring electors to remain loyal, these laws are constitutionally suspect. Moreover, they may not even apply in a three-cornered race in which one presidential candidate asks his or her electors to switch to another candidate.

Suppose, for example, that on Nov. 3 George Bush and Bill Clinton each win 200 electoral votes—that Ross Perot wins the other 138—and that the popular votes are in about the same proportions. If this is how the electors actually vote on Dec. 14, no candidate would have the required majority, and the election would be thrown into the new House of Representatives. But between Nov. 3 and Dec. 14, the Bush and Clinton camps would bust their guts to win over Perot and at least 70 of his 138 electors.

Since Perot would have little or no chance to win in the House, he would have good reason to withdraw and suggest that his electors switch to whichever of the other two he thought best for the country, particularly if that candidate pledged to adopt some of Perot's favorite ideas. Most of Perot's electors would probably follow his advice, although many might be even more influenced by promises of more personal rewards, which we can be sure the camps of both other candidates would offer.

Let's spin the dial again. Suppose the indicated electoral college vote on Nov. 3 is Bush 200, Perot 200, and Clinton 138; or Clinton 200, Perot 200 and Bush 138. Suppose that in both cases the Democrats win a 60 to 80 vote majority in the new House. In the first case, Clinton and his 138 electors would probably stand fast, because he would have at least a chance of winning the presidency if no one gets an electoral vote majority and the final choice goes over to the House. But in the second case, what would Bush and his 138 electors do? Bush would have little chance of winning in a strongly Democratic House. Would he and his electors shift to Perot in order to keep the Democrats from controlling the entire

"For the electors to exercise their own judgment would be a huge departure from recent practice, but it would be a return to the intent of the Framers."

government, or would they regard Perot as a Republican turncoat and a threat to the two-party system who must be defeated at all costs?

For the electors to exercise their own judgment would be a huge departure from recent practice, but it would be a return to the intent of the Framers. The original idea was that each state would choose its most respected citizens as its electors and that these electors would have discretion to choose the president. That is how our first presidents were chosen. But when the political parties developed around 1800, each party nominated slates of electors who, if elected, were at least morally committed to vote for the party's presidential candidate. Over time, a party nomination as elector became a political favor. Loyal rank and file members, rather than leading citizens of the state, were put on the ballot to run as electors. Since the voting machines came along, we voters have even lost track of the electors' names, because the machine only has room for the

name of the party's presidential candidate on whose behalf they are running.

In short, the unseen, unknown, unpaid electors may have a very important and exciting role to play this year. In each of the hypotheses suggested above, our presidential election may be decided by the hearts and minds of 138 ordinary citizens, a sample modern pollsters would consider much too small to be an accurate measure of public opinion. If that happens, presidential candidates and voters may hereafter pay more attention to how electors are chosen and whether they are the best people to entrust with electing the president. Better still, we might reexamine why we still have an electoral college at all and whether we wouldn't be better off with either a direct popular vote for president or a mechanical conversion of the popular vote into electoral votes, without intervention by human hands.

Hold on to your hats, because this may also be an election in which the smart thing for some voters to do is vote for their second choice instead of their first. We may see the kind of "tactical voting" that often occurs in the three-cornered races for the British Parliament. If you are a British voter whose preference is Labor, and in your constituency the Conservative and Liberal Democratic candidates are running neck and neck with the Labor candidate a poor third, you might well decide to vote for the Liberal Democratic candidate in order to keep the Conservatives from winning the seat. This year, if you are a California voter who prefers Clinton, and the election eve polls show Clinton with 25 percent in California while Bush and Perot have 37.5 percent each, you might be well advised to vote for Perot to keep California's 54 electoral votes away from Bush. Why? Because if Perot carries California, the election could be thrown into the Democratic House, where Clinton would have a chance to win. The Clinton campaign, unofficially of course, might even encourage you to do so.

What a dizzy, Machiavellian election this may turn out to be. In three-cornered politics, a straight line may not be the shortest distance between two points. Each candidate must try to be at least every voter's second choice. And this fight may go three rounds—Nov. 3, Dec. 14 and a sudden-death overtime beginning Jan. 4—instead of the usual one.

The writer, a Washington lawyer, was White House counsel to President Jimmy Carter.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Morris B. Abram

Restricting Medical Access

How much personal health care can society afford?

Recently, at age 73, I survived my second brush with death. I am recovering, slowly but steadily, from open heart surgery. Nearly 20 years ago, I was diagnosed with acute myelocytic leukemia and predicted to have a minimal life expectancy. After many months of chemotherapy, followed by experimental immunotherapy, I went into remission which has lasted until this day.

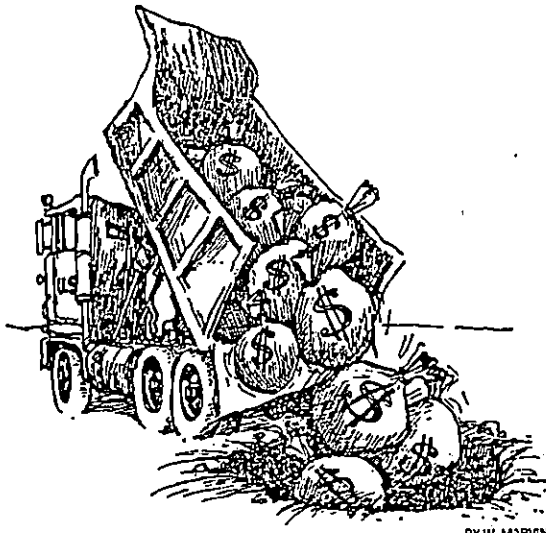
I can only guess that in all, millions of dollars have been spent on me, improving my health and lengthening my life. But how much have these massive expenditures contributed to the general health of people in the United States? If average mortality has changed, the degree is minimal. My contribution to public health is only to the extent that I have offered myself as a guinea pig. It seems nearly impossible on this basis to justify the astronomical burden on society.

The statistics show what dire straits we are in. Health care now stands at almost 14 percent of the gross national product—more than \$700 billion. Some believe that by the year 2000, the figure will reach 21 percent of GNP, or \$1.5 trillion. We are fast approaching the point at which education, Social Security, housing and military expenditures will have to give.

I am grateful that I have been the beneficiary of advanced medical care and that I bore little of the expense. While approving personally of the excellent and costly care I received, I recognize that the spiraling costs of health care somehow must be contained. There is no end to the demand for medical technology. The way our insurance system operates, the costly procedures seem "free" to the patient. And physicians are bound by their Hippocratic oath to provide all the advanced care that is available. Whatever it can do, medicine will do!

The responsibility to cut back health care costs belongs to all of us. During my surgery and recovery, I have contemplated some of the options available. The most obvious is limiting care to some. In England, age is a factor in deciding how a limited number of kidney dialysis machines are allocated. In the United States, the government provides free dialysis to people of all ages through the Social Security/Medicare system. We cannot keep extending the lives of all those who are terminally ill, nor can we save every hopelessly premature baby. To limit care to some and extend it to others is distasteful and unquestionably a form of discrimination. But the time could soon come when we may be forced to set restrictions and make selections among candidates for treatment.

There are ways of reducing health care costs without explicit rationing. Consider the large number of unnecessary tests and procedures that are administered, many of them using expensive advanced technology. The nature of insurance cost



BY W. MARVIN

reimbursement (with which I have become familiar) only encourages more such procedures at higher costs, because these procedures are fully reimbursed while an office visit to a general physician, who uses his hands or a stethoscope, may not be. The problem builds on itself because full reimbursement encourages specialization and leads to fewer medical graduates in the less profitable area of primary care. Thus specialization and the provision of advanced technological procedures may even lower the general health of the population and decrease average life expectancy by reducing important preventive, prenatal and pediatric care.

Difficult economic and ethical decisions about health care are going to have to be made. We need to think less about how much personal health care we expect and more about how much society can afford. Society must contemplate and then debate these issues, which affect each one of us—whether we have been the fortunate recipient of expensive care or have been healthy enough to avoid the experience, whether we have private or public insurance coverage or are among the 34 million people in the United States with no insurance at all.

While the demand for health care grows and technology runs ahead, we must begin a public evaluation of societal costs along with benefits. In some cases, the supply of health care may have to be restricted.

Bypass surgery may not be available to every 73-year-old in cancer remission.

The writer is the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations in Geneva and was chairman of the first Presidential Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

The Guts to Pardon Weinberger?

The decision by the Iran-contra special prosecutor to indict Caspar Weinberger stirred hope among the Republican faithful that George Bush would use a pardon to display his fortitude. But those dreams are fading amid familiar caution and delay that pervade the White House.

It is hard to exaggerate the outrage over the prosecution of the former secretary of defense, not limited to Republicans but certainly stronger among them. Angry GOP members of Congress implored President Bush to kill the indictment by closing down Lawrence Walsh's operation as special counsel, pardoning Weinberger or doing both.

But two days after the indictment, according to one of the president's closest aides, there still had been no discussion of the case—either formally or privately. The aide told us to expect a public statement from Bush in Weinberger's behalf, but at this writing 24 hours later none has been heard. Bush could be merely displaying a judicious temperament as he weighs his options, but the guess in Washington is that he will do nothing but commiserate.

That would follow the course of both Bush and Ronald Reagan before him, since it was disclosed in November of 1986, that funds from covert arms sales to Iran were illegally diverted to the Nicaraguan contras. Mindful of Richard Nixon's fate in Watergate, they have given a hunting license to Walsh. That has criminalized policy differences between branches of government and, for the first time in the history of the republic, has threatened officials with prison who allegedly misled Congress.

Although an independent counsel can be dismissed for "cause," sacking Walsh would trigger endless lawsuits and probably not terminate Weinberger's problems. The more direct course would be the presidential pardon. With a stroke of the pen, the prosecution of the former defense secretary would die.

This course is fraught with political peril. While pardoning Cap Weinberger is not comparable to pardoning Dick Nixon, what happened to Gerald Ford is keenly remembered. In a White House that trembles when accused of insufficient "fairness," it is feared Bush would be swept under by populist ire—fed by the news media—that the establishment takes care of its own.

Weinberger's many friends believe such considerations pale before what is being done to a distinguished statesman after a long career of honorable public service during which there was no suggestion of impropriety until Walsh's eager young lawyers got to work. At age 74 and in questionable health, Weinberger faces a bruising trial that will cost him \$1 million to \$2 million, exhausting his estate.

Those considerations might be compelling even if Weinberger had been a secret principal in the Iran-Contra scandal, but such is not the

case. "I believe that Secretary Weinberger was one of the true heroes of the Iran-contra matter," Gen. Colin Powell, who served as his military assistant, said in an April 21 affidavit. "He was adamantly opposed to the sales of arms to Iran and spoke up forcefully inside the government in an effort to prevent it from occurring."

Weinberger's indictment, based on a lapse of memory, looks like an eleventh-hour effort by Walsh's prosecutors to make amends for spending more than \$30 million with scant progress. "They want heads to mount on the wall," former assistant secretary of State Elliott Abrams told us. Abrams pleaded guilty to two obscure, misdemeanor charges of withholding information from Congress rather than undergo a \$1 million defense.

Walsh, 80, a retired federal judge, still signs off on everything but in effect has moved back to Oklahoma. The shop is run by Walsh's 40-year-old deputy Clark Gillen, who operates at a level of nastiness extreme even for the legal profession. In a forth-

coming book about his ordeal, Abrams details treacherous behavior by Gillen, who is described as preventing more civilized treatment of defendants which would have been agreeable to Walsh. He played a similar role prior to Weinberger's indictments.

Gillen is after heads even bigger than Weinberger's. He offered a non-jail sentence misdemeanor plea if Weinberger would finger Reagan. The trial is intended to add more incriminating evidence against the former president. Nor is the incumbent president safe, as his gratuitous mention in the indictment suggests.

That ultimately might prove Weinberger's salvation. While Harry Truman was loyal to a fault in defending indiscretions by aides, Republican presidents view loyalty as a one-way street. But with Reagan and even Bush now threatened by the rampaging Walsh team, the president might yet decide it prudent to pardon Weinberger, for his own sake if not Cap's.

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MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Traps Hobble Unwary Investors in Vietnam

Vietnam is being pushed as the next boombtown. The Singapore Development Board estimates that Vietnam needs to invest some \$2.5 billion in infrastructure in the next five years. Nguyen Van Huan, vice chairman of the Ho Chi Minh City People's Committee, says Vietnam will require some \$30 billion in investment between now and 2005. The pickings look rich indeed. Foreign investors are warned to step right up because "the slow water buffalo has to drink muddy water."

In the long term, Vietnam's abundant natural and human resources provide reason for optimism. But investors should be aware of the traps that now await them.

First, there is the inadequate infrastructure. According to the Vietnam Electricity Co., the country needs to generate 4.3 billion kilowatt hours a year. But current production is only 2.2 billion. And production has been going down steadily. For Ho Chi Minh City and its suburbs, this means no power three days a week. Since last June, individuals have had to reduce consumption by 20%; stores, hotels and commercial firms by 30%; textile mills by 33%, and paper mills by 36%.

Second, it takes months to get a telephone installed. And you have to go to the post office to make international phone calls, on a first-come, first-served basis. Faxing is difficult and costly. One Singapore-bound page costs \$13 from Ho Chi Minh City and \$16 from Hanoi. The need for instant communication has driven businessmen to the Saigon Floating Hotel, despite its higher rates, because of its satellite facilities.

Third, the country's transportation networks are in disrepair. Less than 30% of the surfaced roads are usable, many bridges have not been rebuilt since the war, and

potholes endanger both vehicles and people. Trains are slow. A trip from Saigon to Hanoi takes two days (compared with 24 hours before 1945). Shipped goods are prey to loss and theft. Domestic air transportation is the monopoly of the state-run Air Vietnam. That many foreign travelers prefer to fly from Ho Chi Minh City to Hanoi via Bangkok tells a great deal about the services of this company.

Most business people are familiar with these problems, which are not unique to Vietnam. But other, more subtle traps could ensnare the unwary investor.

One is the serious breakdown of social discipline in Vietnam. Pilfering and other

government has no effective control over the provincial authorities, nor the provincial authorities over the district authorities. Vietnam has 40 provinces, 452 districts and 2,361 villages. That means you may have to go through the same procedure dozens of times, and suffer the pangs of constant uncertainty.

Another trap is the refusal of one official to honor an agreement concluded by another one. Take the real-life case of Company X, as I shall call it. Company X entered into a joint-venture agreement with the chairman of the executive committee of a province near Saigon to build a supermarket. When the company sent an agent to collect money for the merchandise supplied, the agent was told by the incumbent chairman of the provincial committee that the agreement was invalid because it had been signed with an official who had disappeared. There was no court to which this company could turn for redress. It had to choose between writing off its investments or pumping in more money. It quit.

This disregard for business ethics is no surprise. Although Vietnam's Communist leaders have been shaken by the collapse of communism elsewhere, they have retained the Leninist reflexes that dismiss such traditional values as integrity as "bourgeois morality."

Under existing conditions, the businessman who ignores Vietnam's political, legal and moral weaknesses in his quest for gold runs a considerable risk of losing his shirt, or his peace of mind, or both.

Mr. Thien, who now lives in Montreal, was managing editor of the Vietnam Guardian and associate dean of the Graduate School of Business and Government of Dalat University before 1975.

Manager's Journal

By Ton That Thien

theft is common, even of such public property as telegraphic and electrical wires. Many people feel no guilt or shame in stealing because they have no other way to feed their families.

There is also widespread corruption. The most common form is the expectation of a "gift" as a proof of your "reasonableness" in return for a service, even one for which you have already paid. No formal demand is made. But without a gift, don't expect quick service, or any at all. A high official of the national bank explained: "If I do not demand anything from you, and you offer me \$5,000, then it is not a bribe, but a welcomed gift, considering that my monthly salary is only \$12." Another form of corruption is the imposition of a charge, formal or implied, for every service.

The most annoying trap is the country's splintered administration. The central

Californians Get Sick of Each Other

By MATT REES

Secession, an issue considered dormant in American politics since the end of the Civil War, has once again made its way onto the political landscape. Today's secessionists, however, want to split states, rather than the whole country. A nonbinding referendum on the division of California appeared on the June 2 primary ballot, and was approved by 55% of eligible voters. In all, 27 of the 31 counties voting on the proposal gave majority support to a division of the state.

California's secessionists are not alone. In November 1990, 81% of Staten Island voters favored leaving New York City. Queens is looking to follow suit.

The majority of California's two-staters come from rural, sparsely populated counties north of San Francisco and along the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountain range. Part of what motivates them is a feeling that they are being made to subsidize their economically troubled neighbors in southern California. (Los Angeles County, for example, has lost 340,000 jobs in the last 18 months). They may also want to put as much distance between themselves and their riot-prone southern neighbors as possible.

Northern residents believe that they are getting a raw deal from the state government. Under California's version of federalism legislators in Sacramento pass mandates to counties telling them what services they must deliver but without giving them any extra money. Residents claim these mandates have left them unable to pay for essential social services.

Sacramento is a driving force in a related form of disillusionment, the disillusionment that lies behind Ross Perot's

appeal to California voters. In the June 2 primary, 41% of those surveyed in exit polls said they would support him. Gov. Clinton got just 27%, and President Bush, only 23%.

Two-staters, whose nominal leader is Assemblyman Stan Statham of Redding, were particularly incensed by the state's 1991 budget. It not only imposed \$7.3 billion in new taxes, but also passed \$2.2 billion in new state mandates down to the counties. According to Peter Schaafsma of California's Legislative Analyst office, state mandates now consume between 85% and 90% of the average county's budget. Officials in some northern counties believe the figure is even higher.

Whatever the exact figure, says Mr. Schaafsma, it has increased by 15% to 20% since the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, which slashed property taxes and left counties without revenues to pay for state-mandated services. Bill Bixby, administrative officer of Lassen County, says his county is faced with so many Sacramento-imposed mandates that "we have almost ceased to exist in terms of being an independent governmental unit. Almost everything we can do is dictated by Sacramento."

Northern residents are most upset with mandates imposing costly environmental regulations meant to apply to more heavily-populated areas. Patty Mattingly, Supervisor of Fiskiyu County, points to a state law requiring gas stations to install pollution-reducing benzine vapor-recovery systems, which cost \$3000 per pump, as an example of unnecessary meddling by the state government. She says these devices

have resulted in the closure of service stations throughout her clean-air county. Jim Chapman, Supervisor of Lassen County, is upset about a state regulation prohibiting the incineration of trash at garbage dumps, which costs the county an extra \$775,000 in annual trash disposal costs.

With a population of close to 30 million, California has 40% more people than the second most populous state, New York, and has more people than 22 other states combined. A March report from the State Assembly's Office of Research concluded that "California has become too large and too complex to be managed efficiently as a single unit."

One reflection of the paralysis in Sacramento has been the growth in government-by-initiative, whereby virtually any issue can be put to a state-wide vote if 615,958 signatures are collected. When Gov. Pete Wilson introduced his welfare reform package into the Democrat-controlled legislature, he knew it had almost no chance of passing intact. So he simultaneously announced that the package would be on the November ballot in the form of an initiative.

Government-by-initiative may empower voters and act as a release valve in a gridlocked government. But the proliferation of initiatives highlights a larger ill: the failure of government to govern.

One way out of this morass would be to split the state in two. The March state assembly report proposed dividing California by drawing a line between Monterey County and San Luis Obispo County and continuing the division east to Nevada. In fact, had it not been for the outbreak of the

Civil War, Congress very likely would have approved an 1859 resolution, approved by California's legislature and 75% of the state's voters, and signed by Governor John B. Weller, dividing California into two states.

Each of the two proposed new states, the report claimed, would be able to generate enough revenues to meet its expenditures. The population breakdown between the two states would be approximately 60-40, favoring "South California." And while "North California" would have a slightly higher per-capita income, it would also have more costly welfare obligations.

The formation of a new state within another is outlawed by the state constitution. But that didn't stop four states from being created out of other states, most recently West Virginia in 1861, and two-staters don't expect it to stop them. Before there are any court challenges to splitting California, however, the split would have to be approved by the state legislature and Congress.

A term limits initiative that passed in November 1990 and will begin to remove state legislators in December 1996 could diminish California voters feelings of powerlessness. It is not, however, likely to end the two-state fever because the larger problem is California's ungovernability, as evidenced by the \$10.7 billion revenue gap projected for this fiscal year. Splitting the state would be no panacea; it would, however, narrow the scope of conflict in the state legislature, lessen the influence of special interest groups, and, in the end, make government in the area now called California more responsive to its citizens. Even Abe Lincoln would be in favor of that.

Mr. Rees is a reporter for The New Republic, in Washington.

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Rapping With Time Warner

"Batman Returns" opened successfully over the weekend, despite the call for a boycott of all Time Warner products by law enforcement organizations in Texas and New York. The cops are upset because Warner Bros. Records is distributing "Body Count," an album by rap performer Ice-T that includes the song "Cop Killer."

Stopping a potential blockbuster movie in its tracks, of course, is a stiff order for the Combined Law Enforcement Associations of Texas or the New York State Sheriff's Association. For one thing, they face blockbuster publicity with the Time half of Time Warner proclaiming that director Tim Burton "understands that to go deeper, you must fly higher, to liberation from plot into poetry. Here he's done it. This Batman soars."

Time also treats its readers to a three-page defense of Warner Bros. Records, including a full-page scowl from Ice-T, a.k.a. Tracy Marrow. It reports "what guardians of respectability find vile is considered compelling and clever by hundreds of thousands of fans." Yes, at \$14.98 a pop.

While boycotts are born to fail, the cops have a point. We need only apply the Bill Clinton test: What if the roles were reversed? Applying this to rapper Sister Souljah, Governor Clinton said that substituting white for black in her lyrics would make them sound like a speech by David Duke. Jesse Jackson is still fuming, threatening a war for the Democratic Party's soul.

For our part, we're sorry the Governor didn't include the rest of the rap performers whose sentiments run along the same lines and worse and have been airing a far longer time. Shortly after the Los Angeles riots, a Gallup Poll for "Newsweek" showed that the violence was opposed by a similar majority of blacks (74%) and whites (79%). Such Time Warner and Sony celebrities as Ice Cube, Ice-T and the star of a group called Niggas With Attitude justified the Los Angeles riots as revolution, glamorized the burnings and lootings and violence as an act of war.

Consider "Body Count" itself. It begins with a number called "Smoked Pork" that illustrates how to kill a policeman: Put in a false call for police help and when police arrive, shoot. The lyrics of "Cop Killer" read in part, "I got my black shirt on. I got my black gloves on. I got my ski mask on. . . . I'm 'bout to bust some shots off. I'm 'bout to dust some cops off." This is followed soon after by a chorus:

"Die, Die, Die Pig, Die!
[Obscenity] the police!"

This last is repeated eight times, including once where Ice-T challenges listeners not to be, well, cowards. The general manager of Warner Bros. records has told reporters that the album "absolutely . . . does not encourage people to shoot the police." Under the Clinton test, substitute the word "blacks" for the word "police."

If the boycott is uncertain, an education effort is beginning to pay off. CLEAT, the Texas group, reports that support is pouring in. Its spokesman, Ronald De Lord, tells us the great volume of support calls come from middle-class citizens who seem never to have been involved in protest actions before. They all seem, he says, to be expressing a pent-up revulsion at an entertainment industry that has taken outrageousness one step too far. In reviewing "Lethal Weapon 3," another Warner Bros. movie and an especially violent one, our Julie Salamon remarked on the Hollywood figures who went down to South Central Los Angeles with brooms to clean up after the riots, "Maybe they would have done more good for their community and mine if they had taken those brooms to their development offices and swept out the junk that's accumulated there."

It certainly seems to us that the police organizations have done a service in publicizing these rap lyrics and identifying the company responsible for getting them out into the world. In a larger way, Bill Clinton has done a service by pointing a public finger at hate rap and the racial double standard. Most blacks, and most liberals, agree with his point. While we carried an article criticizing what the Los Angeles Times carried about the riots, the Times also published an editorial calling justifications of the violence "sophisticated claptrap."

Hollywood, though, seeks to justify calls for violence so long as they come from blacks. This is, in our view, pure condescending racism. As it happens, Time Warner shareholders are convening on July 16. There may be a police demonstration. Perhaps Time Warner will show its devotion to the free exchange of ideas by playing the lyrics of "Cop Killer" for shareholders. And perhaps someone will put the Clinton test: Would Time Warner have put out an equally outrageous song encouraging whites to go out and kill blacks and not be cowards about it? Nearly everyone knows the answer: They wouldn't, and they'd be right.

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Oil's Well

We've never ceased to marvel that people persist in believing that America lacks an "energy policy." They mean, of course, the failure to introduce a Rube Goldberg system of commands and subsidized incentives that would somehow remedy the fact that much of the world's oil is inconveniently located in someone else's backyard. In fact, we've had a rather successful energy policy. It's called deregulation, and the returns are continuing to come in.

The latest evidence, surprisingly enough, is Congress's new energy bill. With the Gulf War still in memory, many pundits called for heroic measures dealing with oil. These critics overlook a revolution in the energy economy in the past 20 years.

When Saddam rolled over Kuwait, the markets barely hiccuped at the loss of Iraqi production and Kuwait's 4.5 million barrels a day. Most people now realize that Washington was the real culprit behind the last energy crisis in the 1970s. In the years since, we've junked a panoply of controls that thwarted competition and undermined the price mechanism. Gasoline prices are allowed to gyrate instructively, so motorists drive less when it costs more. Oil, coal and natural gas now vie fiercely for industrial customers, a huge market ready to switch fuels for a few pennies' saving.

With flexible pricing and fuel switching now the rule, the oil fetishists can relax. For though the Arabs supply a sixth of our oil, they account for a mere 4% of our primary energy.

The legislation before Congress (and derided by some as irrelevant) would extend this market revolution to the last bastion of energy socialism, the electric utilities. The bill would make it easier for unregulated competitors to get into the power generation game and open up the transmission grid so that more sellers can reach more buyers.

No industry's deregulated potential is greater, as a smidgen of liberal-

ization in 1978 has already shown. Most of the new power coming on line today is supplied by entrepreneurs operating small, cheap-to-build gas turbines. Huge coal or nuclear plants built on the backs of captive ratepayers are becoming a thing of the past. As the downsizing continues, someday even homeowners may be cranking up their turbines when electricity rates get too high.

The energy bill isn't perfect. Instead of being allowed to shop around themselves, homeowners and business will have to rely on local utilities to pass along the savings from having competing suppliers in the wholesale "bulk power" market. And we'd prefer that grid access be negotiated between private parties, not dictated by a transmission czar at the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

On the other hand, it's admittedly a complicated business to move from regulatory nannyism to the free market in an industry with millions of shareholders and billions of dollars in sunk investment. We have faith that existing capitalism will make short work of the political compromises.

If this good work isn't enough, the House-Senate conference seems likely to repeal the suffocating "alternative minimum tax" on independent oil producers and approve one-stop licensing for new nuclear plants (leaving nuclear fans to cope only with prohibitive economics). Sadly the reign of reason stops short of the outer shelf and the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge, which remain off-limits to drillers.

None of this will satisfy the energy isolationists or people who think that the automobile is immoral. They'll continue to paint Mad Max scenarios of industrial civilization collapsing and hot-rodding outlaws battling over drops of gasoline. But as anybody with an inkling of markets now understands, energy is a most abundant and protean commodity. Oil will still exist in the ground long after people have tired of paying to get it out.

Asides

Case Closed

We're happy to report that Governor Bill Clinton's Willie Horton was apprehended Friday in Odessa, Texas. Charles Lloyd Patterson Sr. apparently absconded with an airplane on April 9 while on a five-day furlough

from an Arkansas prison, where he was serving a 40-year sentence for solicitation to commit murder, theft and other offenses. The two lawyers he'd threatened can sleep more soundly; we wonder if the suspended Arkansas furlough program will be resumed.

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

EC Officials, Relieved by Irish Vote, Still Focus on Winning Over Skeptics

By MARK M. NELSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LUXEMBOURG-Euro-enthusiasts won the day in Ireland, but Danes and other skeptics continue to have the upper hand as the European Community charts its future course.

At an EC foreign ministers meeting over the weekend, the ministers could hardly contain their joy over the 2-to-1 approval last week by Irish voters of the Maastricht treaty leading to closer unity. But as they laid plans for the EC summit opening Friday in Lisbon, it was clear that their biggest concern still is enticing the Danes and other skeptics back into the EC fold.

In a discussion of the future, ministers gave new evidence of the far-reaching effects on EC policies of the Danish rejection of the treaty earlier this month. As they discussed EC spending plans, its future enlargement and its role in making and enforcing legislation, the ministers made it clear that a new era has dawned. The EC is not only taking a slower approach to new Euro-initiatives, but also is paying more attention to fears of small countries and the revival of nationalist sentiments across the EC.

"The problem of Denmark is always there, sitting in the background, even if we don't mention it," said a Portuguese official. The Danish issue wasn't on the agenda here, he said, nor will it be in Lisbon.

"It doesn't need to be on the agenda," a Brussels-based official said. "It is the agenda."

Irish Foreign Minister David Andrews said the vote in his country "not only saves European union, it strengthens it." Other EC leaders were equally ecstatic about the result, and pledged to forge ahead with their own ratification efforts. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who faces strong popular resistance to a single EC currency, said the Irish showed that the treaty could be ratified in the other EC states "without changes or cuts to its contents."

Despite the determination to forge ahead without changes to the treaty, the foreign ministers indicated some important alterations in future plans and even in the way the community makes decisions. The ministers indicated a scaling back of their ambitions and several new attempts to redefine the EC's mission. With France and Germany fighting complex political battles to get the treaty approved at home and with the EC Commission under fire for having been seen in Denmark as too power-hungry, the pace of EC affairs is now on the "slow" setting.

This can be seen most dramatically in the role now being played by EC Commission President Jacques Delors. Stung by criticism from Denmark that the commis-

sion was steam-rolling the community and especially smaller member states into an overly centralized and bureaucratic structure, Mr. Delors has in recent weeks been promoting a vision of decentralization. Though the concept is embodied in the Maastricht treaty, Mr. Delors hopes that bringing it into practice even before the treaty is in force could help prove to skeptics that the EC can operate in a decentralized way, preserving national identities and home-grown habits.

Mr. Delors will present a plan along these lines. Other officials said he could be considering giving the member states more leeway on issues ranging from environmental enforcement to tax policy and state aid to industry.

British officials said they would also present decentralization ideas during the British EC presidency, which begins July.

Even in its plans to consider applications from new members, the EC is feeling the cold winds from Denmark. The ministers said they would press ahead with plans to admit applicants such as Austria, Finland, Sweden and Switzerland, but wouldn't try to rush into any streamlining of institutions or decision-making procedures. Only recently, the EC Commission was warning that a larger community would complicate operations and require streamlining.

Mr. Delors said there would be no attempt to streamline the EC's decision-making procedures and no new revision of the EC's treaties before 1996, the date set in the Maastricht treaty.

Meanwhile, the small members are seeking to make sure future enlargement won't smother them. The Benelux countries — Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg — presented a paper outlining their ideas about enlargement, stressing that a larger EC should continue the present "over-representation" of small countries in EC institutions.

Even if the EC expands to two dozen or more members, each member should be able to appoint one EC commissioner, the Benelux countries said. Moreover, the number of members of the European parliament should continue to be higher on a per-capita basis for the small countries than for the bigger ones.

EC budget discussions are also progressing cautiously. While a compromise on plans to increase the EC's spending authority looks likely to be worked out before year end, there will be no attempt to make a final decision on the budget plan in Lisbon. Even the EC Commission agrees the EC can carry on for at least two more years, even increasing the aid to the four least developed countries — Spain, Portugal, Greece and Ireland — without raising the EC's spending authority. That's because the EC is currently spending less than it is authorized to do.

Yeltsin hails U.S., Canada trips as 'very successful'

Russian leader points to arms deal, other agreements



Boris Yeltsin clasps his hands for well-wishers during his Montreal visit on Saturday. He returned to Moscow with an armful of accords yesterday.

MOSCOW (Reuters)—A beaming Boris Yeltsin said yesterday his visit to North America was a success, describing new arms deals signed in Washington as a big contribution to world peace and stability.

The Russian president, speaking to reporters on his return to Moscow, said the arms pact was one of 35 agreements sealed during his visit to the United States.

"I believe the results of the visit can be described not simply as successful, but as very successful," he declared.

"In the past, it took 15 years to achieve a 30 percent cut in arms. Now it has taken five months and two days to agree on a two-thirds reduction."

Mr. Yeltsin and President Bush crowned last week's Washington summit with an agreement to slash the number of long-range nuclear warheads to about 3,500 for each side, far lower than experts expected.

The two leaders also concluded a friendship accord on political, military and economic cooperation and signed new deals on investment and space exploration.

"This is a good basis for stability, peace of mind ... and confidence

that there will be no war," he said.

Aides said Mr. Yeltsin ended his North American tour confident he has secured U.S. and Canadian support to speed up a crucial \$24 billion Western aid package. He also won Canadian promises of 1 million tons of wheat to help feed Russians until the harvest.

But a senior official of his government said yesterday Mr. Yeltsin is now readying a decree providing new loans totaling 500 billion rubles (\$5.9 billion) to bail out heavily indebted companies.

The decree would take effect July 1, First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeiko told the first congress of the Civic Union, a new organization whose members include Vice President Alexander Rutskoi.

New credits on this scale could cast a shadow over Russia's bold economic reform program.

The extra loans, which would be used to pay off mushrooming corporate debts, would enable firms to stave off bankruptcy and mass unemployment.

Many Western economists say a shock reform program, which will

lead to large-scale unemployment, is unavoidable if Russia is to transform its moribund, centrally planned economy into a competitive Western market economy.

The reform program was launched in January, when the government freed the prices of most goods and services from decades of state control.

A second stage of the plan, introduced at the start of this month, included sharply higher energy prices. But officials say it will take two years for energy prices to rise to world levels.

But privatization, another key plank of the reform program, has been slow to get off the ground.

Mr. Shumeiko, a former industrialist with close ties to Russia's military complex, said the planned decree also would transform all state-owned enterprises into shareholding societies.

Mr. Yeltsin appointed Mr. Shumeiko to his Cabinet this month, prompting accusations in the news media that the appointment would encourage Russia to back down on its tough economic reform program.

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'Tough talk' a preview of Bush's strategy

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

President Bush's rip-roaring attack on Ross Perot before Texas Republicans was a preview of his fall campaign strategy — and a glimpse into the depths of his frustration with Perot's popularity and Bush's blueprint for dismantling it.

At the Texas Republican Convention Saturday in Dallas, Bush, waving his fists and shouting until he was hoarse, never named the Texas tycoon, who leads in the polls there. But he railed against Perot's personality traits and tactics.

"That was the real George Bush," says Jim Oberwetter, the president's Texas campaign chairman. "He's been subdued for a while, but he's been unleashed. He's wooing Texans back his way."

As 10,000 people chanted "four more years," Bush recited for the first time his litany of Perot criticisms:

- ▶ "Snappy answers and glib talk will not get the job done. ... Let somebody else become the darling of the talking heads on television."
- ▶ There's "too much at stake ... to buy a pig in a poke."
- ▶ A president "must be temperamentally suited for the job. And I have been tested by fire."
- ▶ It's "just plain irresponsible and out of touch with reality to suggest that a president should take a poll and get a tax increase."

The Bush camp hopes Perot will be made even more vulnerable on "personality" issues by a *Washington Post* story Sunday describing his investigation of Bush's financial and political dealings.

Bush's Texas volleys were planned as a test-run before a friendly crowd. The campaign wanted it to be perfectly clear who he was attacking, partly as a warning to Perot that Bush intends to tackle him head-on.

"It's about time. Where's this tough talk been hiding?" said Republican Jerri Blatt after hearing Bush.

Earlier in a California speech, Bush took a thinly veiled swipe at Democrat Bill Clinton: "Unlike one of my opponents for president, I don't believe the only way to con-

front a massive deficit is with a 'massive tax increase' — and that's in quotes because that's what he said."

Clinton aides deny the Arkansas governor ever called for a massive tax increase; his economic plan unveiled Sunday would raise taxes mainly on the richest 2%, he said.

Bush hasn't abandoned his promise to avoid campaign-style assaults until after August's GOP convention.

"This does not represent a change in strategy," says campaign chairman Fred Malek.

Bush was invigorated to attack by his impatience with voter fascination with Perot and tepid media coverage of Bush's speeches. The final push came during weekend meetings with California GOP leaders who bluntly warned Bush of Perot's strength and urged him to come out fighting.

"There's no question that Perot has tapped into a very rich vein of voter discontent," says Jack Flanagan, Bush's California director.

Bush was pleased with his Perot body blows. "I told him at the end of it, 'It doesn't get much better than this,'" Oberwetter says. Bush smiled in reply. "He was happy."



Agence France-Presse
BUSH: Attacks Perot's personality, traits



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Unblemished veto record may haunt Bush

By Maria Puente
USA TODAY

President Bush could veto as many as 10 more bills this year, adding to his record of 28 vetoes — all without a single override by Congress.

He's ready for his next veto this week: a National Institutes of Health authorization that would end his ban on use of fetal tissue from induced abortions in federally funded disease research. Bush says the bill will encourage abortions.

His fondness for the veto stems from a divided government, when the Congress and the White House are controlled by different parties.

Political experts say veto politics is a key reason for the insurgent presidential candidacy of Ross Perot.

"It reinforces the sense of gridlock, the sense that the system can't accomplish anything," says William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative-leaning think tank in Washington.

Bush has rejected legislation on the minimum wage, foreign aid, Chinese immigrants, civil rights and unemployment.

Republicans say veto confrontations make the Democrat-controlled Congress look bad. "It's a big political game," says Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah. Democrats disagree.

"I think each one of them is going to be a reflection on the administration rather than on the Congress," says House

Saying no

President Bush's veto record pales next to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's mark of 635 — the most for any U.S. leader. A look at vetoes since FDR and each president's success in getting them past the Congress:

	Vetoes	Over- ridden
Truman	250	12
Eisenhower	181	2
Kennedy	21	0
Johnson	30	0
Nixon	43	7
Ford	66	12
Carter	31	2
Reagan	78	9
Bush	28	0

Source: Congressional Research Service

Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash. If government is choked by vetoes, he says, "it's the president's responsibility."

Still, Bush hasn't been over-ridden — the first time since Lyndon Johnson's 30 successful vetoes. And there's only a slim chance he could be over-ridden in the coming months.

"He has exercised his veto very skillfully," says David Mason at the conservative Heritage Foundation in Washington. A veto "gives him a platform, makes him look in control."

But Schneider says Bush has not been skillful enough to con-

Baker prods Congress on Russia aid

Secretary of State James Baker, citing the presence of "true democrats and reformers" in Russia, on Sunday urged a reluctant Congress to approve \$585 million in aid for the former Soviet republics.

"It's a once in a century opportunity to do something that's going to be very beneficial," Baker said on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley*.

Baker, aware that foreign aid is not popular on Capitol Hill in these times of economic troubles and domestic political turmoil, said the aid package for the Com-

monwealth of Independent States "is not a run-of-the-mill" foreign aid bill.

"Having caught the Cold War, and spent trillions of dollars to win it, we finally get true democrats and reformers in power in Russia," he said.

Baker urged lawmakers to "really show that we'll be there for those people, and that we will be doing what we can to help them move to our principles, move to freedom, to democracy and to free markets."

► War-torn Serbs, 1A, 10A
► Baker on POWs, 1A

vey his convictions. "He hasn't convinced voters that he stands for anything," Schneider says.

Thomas Mann of the liberal-leaning Brookings Institution think tank in Washington, says Bush's record leaves the impression that his only agenda is thwarting Congress.

"For the election, he has to answer the question of what will a second term be about, and if all he can do is stop things from happening, that's not a compelling reason for re-election," Mann says.

Bush is expected to veto two other abortion-related bills: One overturns his ban on talking to clients about abortion in federally funded clinics, and one guarantees abortion rights

even if the Supreme Court overturns *Roe vs. Wade*.

Other veto targets:

► Emergency aid to cities; Bush says it's too costly.

► Voter registration when applying for a driver's license; Republicans say it's too vulnerable to fraud.

► Jobless benefits extension; Bush says it's too costly.

► Crime bill; GOP says Democratic bill isn't tough enough.

► Parental leave to care for babies or sick relatives; Bush says it hurts small businesses.

► Corporation for Public Broadcasting authorization; Bush says it's too costly.

► Higher education bill; Bush opposes some provisions on direct loans to students.



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ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Clinton takes on GOP with economic plan

Bill Clinton's economic plan, outlined Sunday and the focus of his campaign for the next three days, gives a glimpse into how he would act as president — and how he plans to run against President Bush and Ross Perot.

The plan, called "Putting People First," neatly encapsulates the case Clinton has been making against Republicans: That their economic policies help the rich while crippling the economy and hurting the middle class.

"For more than a decade, our government has been rigged in favor of the rich and special interests," Clinton said. "While the very wealthiest Americans get richer, middle-class Americans pay more to their government and get less in return."

At the same time, Clinton offered a detail-laden proposal — it even includes pages of tables listing where he would cut and how he would spend the money — that is clearly intended to contrast with the more general approach offered by Perot.

Further, he uses the economic plan to encompass ideas that might not seem, at first glance, to have much to do with the economy — but which certainly have a lot to do with what Perot has been talking about.

For example, Clinton said he would require top government officials who leave to refrain for five years from lobbying government agencies within their responsibility — and to pledge to never become a registered agent for a foreign government.

Clinton's plan at a glance

- ▶ Higher income tax rates, other taxes for those making more than \$200,000 (top 2% of earners), to raise \$17.8 billion next year.
- ▶ Offer the middle class a choice: A 10% tax cut or children's tax credit.
- ▶ No tax incentives for U.S. plants overseas.
- ▶ No corporate tax deductions for executive salaries beyond \$1 million.
- ▶ Raise Medicare-B premiums for incomes exceeding \$125,000.
- ▶ Reduce deficit from \$193 billion in 1996 to as little as \$76 billion, assuming strong economic growth.
- ▶ \$200 billion in new spending over next four years for roads, bridges, high-speed rail and a national computer network.
- ▶ A new 100,000-member National Police Corps, staffed in part by unemployed veterans and military personnel.
- ▶ Guaranteed college loans, paid back with low interest or public service.
- ▶ Vocational training for non-college students.
- ▶ Two-year training program for welfare recipients, work or community service required thereafter.
- ▶ Slash White House staff by 25%.
- ▶ Cut 100,000 federal jobs through attrition.

Clinton also calls for:

- ▶ Tougher regulation of lobbyists.
- ▶ Limiting political action committee contributions to the same level as individuals, \$1,000.
- ▶ Pushing for a line-item veto (also sought by Bush), to go after \$3.8 billion in congressional "pork-barrel projects."

"We must take away power from the entrenched bureaucracies and special interests that dominate Washington," Clinton said, sounding much like Perot.

Beyond that, though, Clinton uses his economic program to reaffirm what once was the driving dynamic of his campaign: an appeal to middle-class families.

Finally, the plan addresses many of the criticisms Jesse Jackson has voiced of Clinton — especially this week: That he has proposed no plans to deal with the ailing economy.

Clinton spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said Clinton has been working on this for weeks and its release had nothing to do with the criticism Jackson has lobbed at the Democrat this week: "This goes beyond what the Rainbow Coalition proposes," she said.

— Adam Nagourney

PEROT PROBES BUSH: *The Washington Post*, in an investigative piece co-authored by Bob Woodward, said Ross Perot launched several private investigations of George Bush's private and government activities. The Perot probes, reportedly conducted over the last five years, looked into matters ranging from a former Bush business partner's land deal to the Iran-contra scandal and whether Bush suppressed evidence of POWs held by the Vietnamese.

The newspaper said there was no evidence of Bush improprieties.

The Bush campaign expressed outrage at the report. "Whacko with a capital W," said Bush spokeswoman Torie Clark. "This is pretty bizarre — you disagree with the guy and he has you investigated. ... What would the man do with the CIA and FBI?"

Perot spokesman James Squires said: "The question is whether Perot is going to go around violating the law, and the answer is no. Is he a tough investigator? Yes."

Election coverage

- ▶ Clinton plan, **1A**
- ▶ N.Y. Senate race, **2A**
- ▶ Perot courts blacks, **6A**
- ▶ Bush talks tough, **6A**
- ▶ Today's debate, **12A**
- ▶ Financier eyes job, **2B**
- ▶ TV politics, **3D**

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THE NATION

A day for fathers lost in war

Kin gather at Vietnam memorial

By Carol J. Castaneda
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Barbara Leigh Miller knelt at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Sunday and gently laid down a red rose and a Father's Day card with a photograph of the man she never knew.

"Dad, I wish this could be a happier Father's Day," the card said. "I'm sad that I never got to know you. I am proud of you and hope you would be proud of me. You have a beautiful grandson who has your eyes. I love you very much."

"The wall is real healing," says Miller, 27, of Murfreesboro, Tenn., who was 2 when her dad, Marine Cpl. Robert Garant, died. "It's sort of that piece of a puzzle you felt was always missing."

For many of the children of servicemen who lost their lives in Vietnam, Father's Day has been a painful reminder of their loss.

This Father's Day, 300 sons and daughters of Vietnam War servicemen came to Washington to meet others who grew up without fathers — and for the first time, to celebrate the day. Brought together by a group called Sons and Daughters in Touch, they came from 40 states.

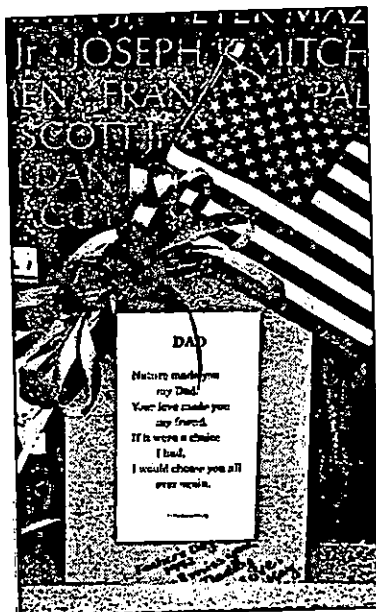
"What's incredible to realize is you're not the only one who had the same pain," says Laurel Jensen, 36, of Sacramento. She was 11 when military officials located the remains of her dad, Air Force Lt. Col. Bruce Jensen.

At a picnic for the families, Jensen sat on the grass near the Lincoln Memorial with her older brother, Doug Jensen, 38, of Grass Valley, Calif.

"We're lucky, we did know our father," Jensen says. "Most of these people never knew theirs."

Tony Cordero, 30, of Portland, Ore., was 3 when he learned his father, Air Force Maj. William Cordero, had crashed June 22, 1965, on the Vietnam-Laos border.

Three years ago, he formed Sons and Daughters in Touch. No one knows how



TRIBUTE: A Father's Day message rests against the granite of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

"
The wall is real healing. It's sort of that piece of a puzzle you felt was always missing.
"

— Barbara Leigh Miller, Murfreesboro, Tenn., whose father, Marine Cpl. Robert Oliver Garant, died in the Vietnam War



PHOTOS BY BARBARA RIES
"HE WAS A GREAT DAD": Jennifer Dauten, 34, of Hinsdale, Mass., recalls her father, Air Force Maj. Frederick Dauten Jr., who died in a plane crash when she was 12.

Senate panel examines POW data from Soviet files

The Senate's Committee on POW/MIA Affairs is analyzing a list from Soviet military archives of more than 100 U.S. POWs from the Korean War who were interrogated by Soviets.

Last week Russian President Boris Yeltsin said the Soviets had interrogated 59 U.S. aviators.

The list includes POWs repatriated by North Korea and China at war's end. Others still are being traced, and

may have been sent to Manchuria and Siberia. Also Sunday:

► Secretary of State James Baker said Yeltsin "can deliver" on his promise to unearth all information on U.S. POWs in Russia.

► Yeltsin renewed his pledge to answer "how many were freed, how many died, how many were shot and where were they buried? ... Maybe they are still alive here somewhere."

► Russia's Itar-Tass news agency reported 1945-era papers recovered in Tambov, southeast of Moscow, show camps there received 2,500 U.S. and allied POWs from Germans.

► A group of 48 U.S. officials in Vietnam has expanded its search for 78 POWs to four provinces.

— Lawrence Joffe

► Perot MIA statement, 1A

many of the 58,183 men who died in Vietnam had children, but Cordero has tracked down 1,000 for his group.

"This affected an entire generation of young people," says Cordero.

Members range in age from the teens to early 40s. Most of them now have lived longer than their fathers.

Patty Crawford, of Burke, Va., had a startling realization

this year on her birthday.

"This year, I turned the age my mother was when he died," says Crawford, 28.

Her father, Navy Lt. John Crawford, was stationed in Saigon with the Coastal Surveillance Force when he was killed in a plane crash March 10, 1967 — two days after Crawford's 3rd birthday.

"For most of us, we grew up not discussing our fathers'

deaths due to the unpopularity of the Vietnam War. It wasn't a comfortable issue."

Jennifer Dauten, 34, of Hinsdale, Mass., knows that feeling all too well.

"Nobody ever wanted to talk about it," she says.

Dauten was 12 when her father, Air Force Major Frederick Dauten Jr., died in a plane crash.

"He was a great dad," she

says. "We did a lot of things together. He taught me to play the piano. He tried to teach me to play softball, but I was pretty bad."

Today, she is a paralegal and for the first time in years she celebrated Father's Day.

"There's an emptiness that nobody can ever fill ... a hole in my heart. He was my dad. There will never be another one like him."

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Salmon swimming against logging tide

Former President Jimmy Carter says bill moving toward House floor must be made strong enough to ensure survival of Northwest's forests, fish.

Along with thousands of other Americans who enjoy fishing, camping and other outdoor experiences, I am deeply concerned about further threats to the Pacific Northwest from destruction of the last 10% of the region's old-growth forests. The highly publicized altercation over the endangered spotted owl is just one small part of the overall environmental crisis.

Scientists and economists now tell us that if the ancient forests are lost, there's a good chance a majority of the salmon stocks in the Pacific Northwest will disappear, too. And with them goes an important cog in the region's economy — the \$1 billion sport and commercial fishing industry providing jobs to 60,000 people. Salmon also hold a unique cultural position as a symbol of the region's wilderness character.

The loss of salmon stocks already has been devastating, and prospects for recovering the lost stocks are not encouraging. The National Marine Fisheries Service has listed four salmon species as threatened under the Endangered Species Act. Environmental scientists are urging similar action for at least three more salmon species. Moreover, according to the American Fisheries Society, some 106 populations of West Coast salmon are extinct, and at least another 214 salmon stocks in the Pacific Northwest are at risk of extinction.



USA TODAY

By Jimmy Carter, former president of the United States.

Several factors explain this decline, but perhaps the most universal and insidious is the decades of excessive logging on public lands throughout the region. Most of the spawning and rearing habitat for wild salmon in the Pacific Northwest is located on, or directly downstream from, national forests and other federal lands. Much of this habitat has been severely degraded by logging of old-growth forests and associated road building, which increase the amount of fine sediment in streams by as much as 1,000 times. This smothers spawning beds and severely disrupts the feeding patterns of the young salmon. Old growth is the anchor of healthy salmon streams, providing permanent sources of stability, shade and nutrients.

Now, the Bush administration wants Congress to approve a plan that would waive key federal environmental laws to allow clear-cutting on 4 million acres of ancient forest in Oregon and Washington, habitat for the owl, salmon and nearly two dozen threatened or endangered species.

Salmon would absorb some of the worst impacts. Clear-cutting includes removal of shade trees along stream banks and the loss of downed trees in streams, which provide salmon with in-stream pools and side channels used for shelter, rest and protection.

The Bush plan, if executed, would pose a serious threat to forests, fish and families that rely on the non-timber bounty of the ancient forests.

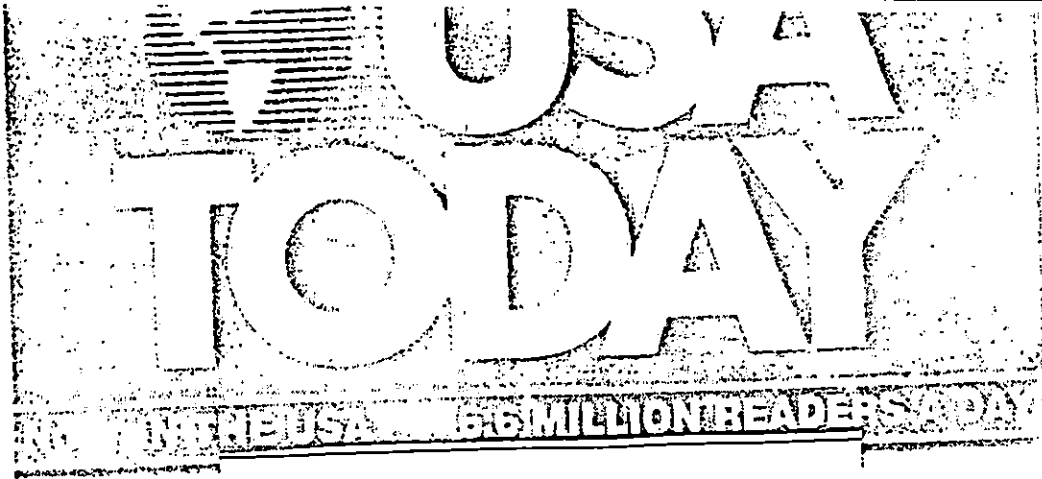
The dilemma over ancient forest protection long ago lost its two-dimensional character. What is now at stake is the survival of a total ecosystem that embodies a variety of values and benefits that typify the Pacific Northwest's unique quality of life.

The watersheds that provide habitat for salmon are also the source of clean water for hundreds of Northwest communities and thousands of businesses. They offer recreational opportunities forming the backbone of a multibillion-dollar tourism industry in the region.

Fortunately, we still have time to act to protect the ancient forests. A scientific panel chartered by Congress identified 137 watersheds in the west-side ancient forests that should be protected. The House Agriculture Committee already has approved its version of a bill to protect the Pacific Northwest ancient forests, and the House Interior Committee should issue a bill soon. Any version of the legislation put before the House should urge reduced logging and road building to protect 90 fish stocks identified as at risk of extinction in the ancient forest ecosystem. A strong bill must be passed to ensure the survival of the forests and fish.

By establishing permanent protection for the last 10% of the ancient forests, we create an opportunity to repair an ecosystem and chart a course for sustainable economic development in the region. New ways must be found to cope with the increasingly complex problems facing the ecosystems in our public lands.

Protection of the ancient forests and watersheds, and all of their jewels, such as salmon, is not a choice but an



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OPINION: USA

Mourn all the innocent who died in L.A.

COMMENT

Settling a score in the heat of the riot: a man and two teens dead. It's time to strike down more of the post-riot myths.

LOS ANGELES — Less than two hours after white truck driver Reginald Denny was severely beaten on the afternoon of April 29, the day rioting broke out in Los Angeles, the most brutal crime of the five-day civil disturbance occurred.

Just a few blocks from where Denny was pulled from his truck — an attack that was videotaped by a news crew and beamed around the world — two teen-age boys and a man, all black, were cut down in a hail of bullets in the middle of a rampaging crowd of looters and onlookers.

They were victims of a single gunman, who was out to settle a score in the midst of the worst riot of this century.

But while the nation's attention remains riveted on Denny's compelling story, homicide detectives in South Central Los Angeles go about the tedious work of trying to solve a crime far more chilling — a crime media organizations have given only fleeting attention to while covering virtually every aspect of the Denny case.

According to what police have been able to determine, the victims of this triple killing were part of a crowd of people who gathered in the Vermont Square Shopping Center's parking lot in the early evening of April 29.

While some in the crowd looted and burned a building full of discount vendors, others just stood by and looked on.

One of those who allegedly joined in the looting, homicide detective Oscar Lamarque says, was 18-year-old Louis Watson. It was a fatal mistake.

A popular guy, Watson earlier had rejected several invitations to join a neighborhood gang, angering its members.

And so when two gang members spotted him in the crowd outside the looted building, eye-



By DeWayne Wickham, a columnist for Gannett News Service and USA TODAY.



WRONG PLACE, WRONG TIME: Reginald Denny, a white man who was pulled from his truck and beaten, wasn't the only innocent victim of Los Angeles' riot violence.

witnesses told police, one of them passed a gun to the other and ordered him to kill Watson. By the time the young gunman emptied the clip of the automatic pistol, Watson lay dying on the sidewalk and two others — whom police believe were hapless onlookers — also were mortally wounded.

Like Watson, Dwight Taylor, 42, and Gregory Davis, 15, died within minutes of the shooting.

That this triple homicide has gotten little media attention is due in part to the confusion surrounding the initial reports as to the locations where each was shot — but also to the widespread lethargy of media orga-

nizations that put little effort into reporting in detail stories about black riot victims.

"Nobody seems very interested in what happened to the innocent blacks who were killed during the riot," complains Norma Johnson, a victim-assistance coordinator for the city of Los Angeles. In addition to handling claims for Denny, she is working with the families of five blacks who died as a result of riot-related violence.

Detective Lamarque, a Mexican-American who grew up in South Central Los Angeles, says that solving this case might have been made easier had the killings gotten a lot more media

attention. As it is, he and his partner are conducting their investigation without the massive local and federal support that's been assigned to the Denny case.

And that's too bad.

Last week, this and other newspapers struck down one post-riot myth when they reported that most of those arrested for riot-related crimes were not black.

Now, media organizations can knock down another myth — that the most seriously injured riot victims were white — simply by telling the stories of the innocent people who were killed during this civil disorder.

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Today's debate is on **ENCOURAGING VOTING**
and whether making registration easier would help.

Expand democracy with the 'motor-voter' bill

OUR VIEW Here's an easy way
to drive up voter-
registration totals for this No-
vember's presidential election.

President Bush is being handed a wonderful opportunity this month to counter with a pen stroke those critics who charge him with elitism.

All he need do: Sign the National Voter Registration Act, which Congress sent his way last week. The so-called "motor-voter" bill would order states to allow voter registration by mail or when people seek driver's licenses, welfare, unemployment or disability benefits.

The bill would create a simple, uniform way to register voters nationwide — a welcome change from practices in parts of the country that still discourage participation by offering voter registration only in tough-to-reach sites at inconvenient hours — or through confusing registration forms.

One result of such discouraging practices: Four in 10 of those eligible to vote haven't yet signed up to do so.

The motor-voter bill could get three of those four on electoral rolls, say backers: Of the 65 million people who are eligible

to vote but not registered, almost 90% drive. If registered, many of them would vote, says the League of Women Voters, which led 60 groups backing motor-voter registration.

Critics say the measure could encourage fraud. But it just hasn't worked that way in the 32 states that already have some form of motor-voter registration and the 29, including California, now letting voters register by mail.

Nor should opening up voter rolls automatically aid Democrats, a concern in the White House, where Bush's advisers are urging him to veto the bill. Says Oregon Sen. Mark Hatfield, one of the few Republicans voting for the bill: "I have seen studies that show both parties will benefit greatly."

Ruy Teixeira, who wrote *Why Americans Don't Vote*, says studies also show non-voters would have cast their ballots in much the same way as voters did. What non-voting will do, he says: Let special interests get their own way much more easily.

That's in no one's interest. Anyone who thinks differently should remember this one immutable fact: Democracy is not, and never will be, a spectator sport.

Veto the 'auto-fraudo' bill

OPPOSING VIEW This plan will
increase vote
fraud, cost millions and single out
certain groups for registration.

The so-called "National Voter Registration Act," or the "motor-voter" bill — so named because it registers people to vote as they renew driver's licenses — should be vetoed by President Bush because it has serious flaws.

This bill really should be called the "auto-fraudo" bill because not only will it increase voter fraud, but it also will cost millions of dollars and it singles out only certain unregistered voters for registration.

The bill does not include necessary safeguards against fraud, such as requiring periodic verification of voter addresses to prevent

"ghost voting" by people who have died or moved.

The House just passed this bill, which forces states to undertake a costly registration program, without providing them the funding. Congress failed to pass a balanced budget amendment to control federal spending, and now it again avoided its responsibility by telling states to handle a new job without giving them the millions to do it.

This bill also tells states to register certain select groups, such as eligible welfare and unemployment applicants, but excludes other equally important people who have contact with other government agencies such as schools, libraries and marriage bureaus.

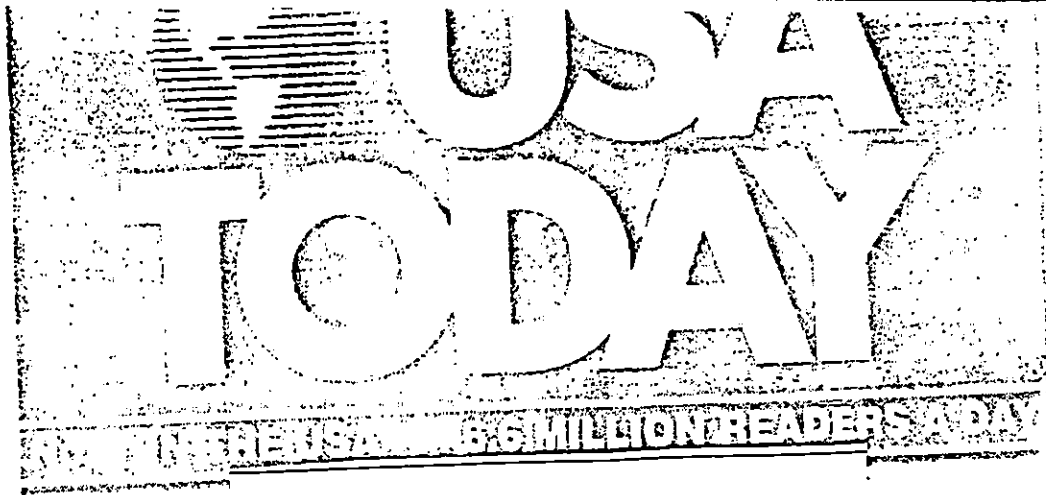
We all want voter registration to be easier as well as honest for all Americans.

There is still time for Congress to pass more responsible legislation to increase the number of voters on the rolls that contains effective safeguards against fraud.

Free and fair elections are the building blocks of a democratic society. should all work toward that goal.



By Rep. Bill Thomas, R-Calif., ranking minority member of the House Administration Committee, which has jurisdiction over election laws.



MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992



COMMENT

There he is, Mr. President

Bill Clinton plays a mean sax on Arsenio Hall and, I have to admit, I feel better about the guy. Now, we wait breathlessly for the next shoe to drop. Does George Bush have a hidden talent he will reveal to the world on Today? Magic tricks, perhaps? Is Ross Perot secretly boning up on a dramatic monologue for Donahue?

And that's when it hit me: Stomping around the country talking in person about ideas, shaking hands and kissing babies has finally succumbed before the electronic beast. And in the void, media-savvy contenders for the presidency have a definite advantage while old pros struggle before the house band just as surely as did the silent stars before the microphone.

Instead of fighting evolution, let's go with it — a new procedure for electing the president.

America's Electoral College should sponsor the first annual American President's Pageant. Modeled on Miss America-style competitions, the American President's Pageant will include a talent competition and an issues segment with contenders drawing a tough question formulated by a panel of journalists from a glass bowl.



By Carol Orsborn, San Francisco writer and author of *Inner Excellence: Spiritual Principles of Life-Driven Business*.

There will be choreographed patriotic group numbers (partially to illustrate the concept of teamwork and the viability of the American way, partly to entice the electorate to stay tuned through the boring issues part) and, of course, a bathing-suit competition.

The latter will be done tastefully, with exploitative racing-style suits banned in favor of modest boxer trunks. Viewers will watch avidly: If Ross, George or Bill can pull off a walk down the runway in boxer shorts with style and grace, it will say a lot about the ability to handle the pressure of the presidential office.

Now the practical considerations. Instead of allowing Iowa and New Hampshire to use their early caucuses and primary to tell the rest of the country who we will be voting for at election time, each state will select its own candidate.

To vote, viewers will be equipped with an electronic button on their cable TV channel (benefiting the economy through a bonanza of cable "election-day specials").

And, as an added bonus, the stations will compete, Olympic-style, for the right to carry coverage. The money for rights will go directly to the Treasury to help pay off the national debt.

When Bill Clinton blew his sax on national TV, he was sounding the death knell for elections as usual. The American President's Pageant is the logical medium for today's electorate. And George, Bill and Ross — I suggest you start practicing.



MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Mayors misfire

On another topic, USA TODAY says mayors' linking foreign aid and urban aid is foolish.

The USA's cities are in trouble. But the nation's mayors are flat wrong to try to buoy them by scuttling a chance for lasting peace.

The mayors at their annual conference in Houston this weekend attacked aid to the former Soviet states. How, they ask, can we afford to help them when our cities are in crisis?

The answer: We can't afford not to.

All foreign aid amounts to only half the \$35 billion the mayors want from Uncle Sam. And the package for ex-Soviet states is mostly credit, not cash.

Thus, wiping it out won't save the cities. But it could lead to the ex-Soviets financing their renewal by selling what they have in abundance — military arms and nuclear know-how.

Then, a potential \$100 billion in an-

nual savings on defense spending would be a dream. And state and local governments would see drastic cuts in the \$200 billion in federal grants they now get.

The cities' real enemies aren't efforts to promote democracy and peace abroad; they are domestic:

► Exploding health costs. Federal support for state Medicaid has jumped 60% in two years — accounting for \$31 billion of the \$47 billion increase in federal aid to state and local government.

► Billions wasted on administrative costs and for pork-barrel programs.

► A government divided between a Congress that wants to spend more and an administration that wants to make reforms but skimp on resources.

The mayors need a sensible plan to break those logjams and save their cities. But they make a fool's bargain when they try to buy domestic tranquillity by shortchanging world peace. For success means they'll get neither.

USA TODAY

NO. 1 IN THE U.S. 66 MILLION READERS A DAY

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

EDITORIAL PAGE



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

The New York Times

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Fair Juries, in Black and White

Six years ago, striking down prosecutors' race-based challenges to prospective jurors, the Supreme Court began a needed cleansing of America's criminal justice system. Now, in a Georgia case, the Court applies the same principles to prevent the defense, too, from striking jurors for purely racial reasons. This steady progress toward nondiscriminatory jury selection, while not free of problems, has written a bright chapter in the high court's history.

Ordinarily, lawyers can refuse a certain number of potential jurors by using peremptory "strikes," which do not have to be justified. Racial discrimination in jury selection has been a Federal crime for more than a century, yet lawyers have long managed to create one-race juries with discretionary strikes beyond a judge's scrutiny.

In 1986, in *Batson v. Kentucky*, the Court cut through the pretense. It told trial judges to demand an explanation when they see prosecutors engaging in a pattern of racial exclusion and, if necessary, to seat the challenged jurors.

Race-neutral jury selection is also necessary to protect jurors as well as defendants. When a court, an arm of the state, honors a private citizen's racial bias — a lawyer's bias, for example — that's a state-sanctioned racial insult to a prospective juror that violates the 14th Amendment.

As Justice Harry Blackmun made clear for this week's 7-to-2 majority, the harm to citizens and to public justice is the same, "be it at the hands of the state or the defense, if a court allows jurors to be excluded because of group bias."

In the case before the Court, lawyers for three

white men accused of assaulting a black couple in Albany, Ga., argued for the unimpeded right to strike black jurors; they had enough peremptory strikes to insure an all-white jury. But the Court now says that if the lawyers attempt wholesale strikes of black jurors when the case goes to trial, the judge may ask questions and ultimately seat some of those rejected jurors.

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor forthrightly acknowledged in her dissent that "conscious and unconscious racism" can determine verdicts. But she argued that the action of private defense attorneys could not be deemed government action violating the Constitution. Justice Antonin Scalia's tendentious dissent calling the government action concept "terminally absurd" scarcely deserves serious attention.

There's more merit in a cautionary concurring opinion by Justice Clarence Thomas, who cited the concerns of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund. He said that black defendants, denied the chance to win a better balance by striking white jurors, "will rue the day the Court ventured down this road that inexorably will lead to the elimination of peremptory strikes."

Despite these and other potential problems, minorities have much to gain and less to lose from the new rules. Black Americans have long suffered from the striking of black jurors; minorities can't win peremptory strike battles in the long run.

This cleanup of a racial blemish on justice would be welcome at any time. But it's especially welcome given this Court's grudging attitude on racial issues.

Editorial Notebook

Convention as Theater

They're getting Madison Square Garden ready for the Democratic National Convention, now just three weeks away, and the talk is of which network lucked out and got the best

sky box (CNN), whether the curved podium will look better than the angled ones of old (yes) and who will get to speak during "super prime-time" (not known yet).

What about the Garden's purple and aqua seats? Should they be slipcovered in red, white and blue? (Definitely.) And where should Hillary Clinton sit? (Hint: where the TV cameras can't miss her.)

If all this seems unduly concerned with theatricality, consider the mission of the party conventions. They're not held to nominate candidates any more. It's been 40 years since a nominee failed to win easily on the first ballot. This year Bill Clinton sewed up his nomination three weeks ago and George Bush's was never in question.

The elaborate planning for the Democratic convention simply plays out the new function of this colorful, corny old institution. Now that politics, like wars and riots, takes place on television, the shape of the podium and color of the slipcovers do matter. The carpenters, electricians and designers rushing toward July 13 are building one big stage set, aimed at getting America to pay attention to politics. In a multimedia era, that demands some non-political skill.

"My focus is primarily in taking sort of the prime-time hours of the convention, the time that gets the most media attention, and orchestrating the best use of that time," says Gary Smith, producer of this year's \$40 million Democratic convention. Mr. Smith, of Smith-Hemion Productions in Hollywood, caused a stir at the 1988 Democratic convention in Atlanta when he replaced the traditional color scheme with salmon, eggshell and azure. "I softened

The Goal Is to Win Viewers, Not Delegates

it to give a better TV appearance. I think that the consensus of opinion was we went too far." Red, white and blue is back.

Mr. Smith's favorite feature this time is a video screen 17 feet high and 23 feet wide, made up of 57 video cubes on a wall behind the podium. "I don't think I'm talking out of school to say that other than a few wonderful moments, conventions are considered to be fairly dull," he said. "We think this video wall will add a tremendous amount of energy."

He's certainly right about the dull part. Party leaders strive for a smooth, upbeat, conflict-free event, which doesn't make for much excitement. Controversies are smoothed over, and the most interesting politicking goes on far from the TV cameras. But conventions can take a turn toward the spontaneous no matter how exquisite the planning.

People may long for the old days of Lincoln-Douglas debates and silver-tongued orators, but picking nominees in primaries surely improves on smoke-filled rooms. And how many people ever got to hear the Lincoln-Douglas debates, anyway? Television lets hundreds of millions glimpse a semblance of real politics, even if it's only a politician delivering a rousing speech someone else wrote.

"One sits through long sessions wishing heartily that all the delegates were dead and in hell," H. L. Mencken wrote in 1924. "And then suddenly there comes a show so gaudy and hilarious, so melodramatic and obscene, so unimaginably exhilarating and preposterous that one lives a gorgeous year in an hour."

The carefully orchestrated Madison Square Garden convention isn't likely to yield such an hour, but if it does, it will be Live! From New York! with millions watching.

JOYCE PURNICK

Good Health — and Good Politics

Speaker Thomas Foley is committed to bringing health care reform to a House vote before next month's Democratic convention. Standing in the way of his election-year strategy is a fractured membership, split between contradictory approaches to reform.

But consensus may not be as far out of reach as it looks. Many Democrats have taken a hard second look at the approach called managed competition and like what they see. Managed competition, which has always seemed the best idea for insurance reform on the merits, may now become the best approach for political reasons as well.

The Democratic leadership has split over how to deal with the crisis in health care. Medical costs are rising three times faster than inflation, and almost 40 million Americans are uninsured.

Some members of Congress favor "play-or-pay," an approach that would preserve private insurers. Employers would enroll workers in private plans or else pay a tax to enroll them in a public backup plan. Other members favor single-payer plans, like Canada's. These would eliminate private insurers and enroll everyone in a single Government plan.

Play-or-pay appeals to members who fear turning health care over to government; single-payer appeals to those who want a universal system into which everyone pays for the same basic coverage. Democrats are coming to realize that, with managed competition, they can have it all.

John Garamendi, California's insurance commissioner, has proposed a plan, now working its way through the State Legislature, that provides the best of both worlds. Employers and employees would pay a payroll tax to a regional authority, or sponsor. The sponsor would contract with private

insurers to offer basic coverage, defined by the government, to any applicant at no additional cost. The sponsor would also contract with private insurers to offer members more generous plans. But buyers would have to pay for the entire additional cost, a useful brake on skyrocketing premiums.

Because the Garamendi plan builds in competition among private insurers, it appeals to some advocates of play-or-pay. And because the plan taxes everyone for identical basic coverage, it appeals to some single-payer advocates. The tax, in effect, imposes a global budget on basic health care without imposing the heavy hand of price controls.

Unable to win consensus for comprehensive reform, Democrats like Chairman Dan Rostenkowski of the tax-writing committee back piecemeal measures. They at least want to curtail repugnant practices like discriminating against applicants with certain medical conditions.

Such reform would surely be welcome but is not enforceable if imposed piecemeal. Telling insurers to enroll AIDS victims at fixed rates in effect tells the companies to lose money. That compels insurers to find loopholes. The Garamendi plan, however, would allow sponsors to reimburse insurers who enroll disproportionate numbers of people who have costly chronic illnesses.

The longer the House looks at managed competition, the better it looks. The leadership has already decided to put a managed competition bill, sponsored by the Democrats Jim Cooper of Tennessee and Michael Andrews of Texas, up for vote next month along with play-or-pay and single-payer. That's welcome news.

It's still unlikely that Congress can complete reform legislation this year, even though the crisis in health care costs obviously roils the public. But now, at least, the House seems to be finding a path through the wilderness.

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Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Baker's Guilty Knowledge

WASHINGTON
A Foreign Service officer named Frank Lemay ought to be a hero. He was the first to warn his bosses at the State Department that Saddam Hussein was using U.S.-backed grain loans to build a nuclear bomb.

In his memorandum of Oct. 13, 1989, he recounted a conversation with four nervous Department of Agriculture officials who had been briefed on a probe into Iraq's multi-billion dollar abuse of the Lavoro bank's Atlanta branch.

"Payments required by Iraq of exporters ... may have been diverted into acquiring sensitive nuclear technologies," Mr. Lemay wrote to his superiors two and a half years ago. He reported Agriculture's Inspector General to be concerned that "commodities were bartered in Jordan and Turkey for military hardware" and that the U.S. Attorney in Atlanta (a former C.I.A. man) had indicated that diverted funds "were used to procure nuclear related equipment."

But Frank Lemay is a pariah, not a hero, at State because his memo — made public by Representative Henry Gonzalez — proves that State policy makers possessed the guilty knowledge of Saddam Hussein's unlawful use of American financing.

Despite that written notification of likely diversion, Secretary of State Baker leaned on Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter to extend an additional \$500 million to Saddam Hussein. And despite Yeutter's 1989 pledge to the Senate Agriculture chairman, Patrick Leahy, not to issue new credits until suspicions of corruption were resolved, Secretary

Of Saddam's plot to build a bomb.

Yeutter — under heavy Baker pressure — rushed the "grain" financing to Saddam.

Mr. Lemay is one of the witnesses scheduled to testify this week before the House Judiciary Committee, as it decides whether to request that the Attorney General determine in 30 days if evidence exists of high-level malfeasance requiring a court-appointed independent counsel.

Why is Secretary Baker allowing the young F.S.O. to appear, when the White House has refused to let higher-ups testify? The answer is provided me by a colleague of his at State: "Because Frank is being set up to be discredited by the cover-up crowd at Agriculture, who have already lied to Congress. And because Frank does not know to this day what happened after his memo went upstairs."

What did happen to the Lemay warning at State? Copies went to his boss, Undersecretary for Economic Affairs Richard McCormack, who has left Government, as has then-Counsel Abraham Sofaer; to Sam Hoskinson, who has gone to C.I.A.; to State's "Mr. Iraq," Jack Covey of the Near East Bureau, and to four participants in the meeting at Agriculture.

My mid-level State source believes that McCormack took his assistant's red-hot memo to James Baker and read sections of it aloud. Amazing

result: the economic oversight was taken away from Economic Affairs and assigned to "Baker's man," Robert Zoellick. From that point on, the troublesome Lemay was out of the loop.

What motivated Baker, a lawyer of legendary caution, to ignore the written report of the way our money was being diverted to Saddam's nuclear program?

A better-placed source, who keeps my essays dated 11/30/89 and 3/19/90 in his or her desk drawer, says: "At the time, this was Saddam's only ready source of major cash. And it was the only string we had on him."

String to do what? To become, in President Bush's words, a respected member of the family of nations?

"That's extremely classified. All I can say is we were asked by foreign officials at the highest levels for help on a particular matter. There was a task we wanted Iraq to accomplish and this C.C.C. program was the only way we had to pay for it."

"Our goal," he adds, "was honorable; maybe it was a fool's errand, but it was worth a try."

Who else knows the Bush-Baker motive for knowingly allowing a dictator to divert a half billion dollars in supposed grain credits to military and nuclear use?

My source will say only that the motive was "sufficiently compelling" and the men closest to Baker, then and now, were in on it. But nobody that the Bush Administration is sending to the Judiciary Committee knows the secret motive for corrupting our export program to pay off Saddam Hussein. □

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

Hear, O Islam

JERUSALEM

Walking through the overwhelming quiet of Yad Vashem, you remember what this election, what every Israeli election, what Israel itself, is all about. This silent memorial to the victims of Hitler's mass murder of European Jewry and the world's indifference to their fate reminds you that in Israel the issue is always survival and security.

Here, it is easy to understand hard-liners. They have reason to react to Arab hatred by building Israel's military power, being tough and giving nothing. To Israeli hard-liners, the uncaring of nations to Jewish survival is not history — it is life.

Here doves are generally different than their counterparts elsewhere. Most Israeli doves have no illusions

Arab fantasies and Israeli fears.

about their adversaries. Like hard-liners, they believe Arabs would like to drive Jews into the sea and destroy Israel. Unlike hard-liners, they still would compromise with their sworn enemies.

For Israel to seek peace with the Arabs entails grave risks. But hard-headed Israeli doves are convinced their nation must try, very carefully — for the sake of its humanitarian soul and for the certainty that the present course promises only more war.

Rabbi David Hartman and Yehoshafat Harkabi, both of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, are two such realistic doves.

"Islam doesn't recognize coexistence as a basic doctrine," said Mr. Harkabi, a former chief of military intelligence. "Coexistence goes against Islam's sense of world order. And Arabs came to the conclusion that the world would be a nicer place without Jews and Israel."

Yet, continued this tiny man who exudes enormous sadness, "Arabs now realize they can't achieve this goal. They are not ready for war, and they do not want war."

But if terms cannot be negotiated with Syria, Mr. Harkabi believes Damascus will fight — even if it knows defeat to be certain. And if Israel cannot compromise with Palestinians, he sees the far more dangerous

Islamic Brotherhood gaining power in the occupied territories.

Rabbi Hartman has the same worries. His ears still burst with the sounds of Palestinians cheering as Iraqi Scuds landed on Tel Aviv. "Arabs have not learned to live with the reality of Israel," the transplanted, genial Brooklynite explained. "The Palestinians talk peace but wish we were dead."

Faced with such hatred, the rabbi argued that "Israelis are right that you can't trade land for peace. That's why many people don't trust the Left here." This from a man of the Left himself.

"Israelis can't trust language, promises, United Nations resolutions," he went on. "These are just words, the currency of Western universalism," and they do not suit the dark realities of the Middle East. "Some better way than words must be found to test the transformation of Arab attitudes."

But what way? How to establish enough trust to take risks for peace when there is only hatred?

Israelis and Arabs are not easy people — one consumed by fear, the other by fantasy. In Jerusalem's extraordinary Israel Museum, one can find the Dead Sea Scrolls, the written remains of a Jewish people destroyed by Rome. And one can also see there a new exhibit on biblical stories in the Koran, in which already imaginative scripture is further romanticized.

To make peace between these two peoples, to reconcile the rememberers and the dreamers, will take time — at least a generation of negotiations. Even Israeli doves believe that to satisfy justifiable Israeli fears, Arabs must submit their fantasies to a prolonged peace process.

Israelis and Arabs will have to engage in a long-term step-by-step process, where next steps depend on the success of prior steps, where only manageable risks are taken at each stage and where Israelis must grant that ends will be shaped by a generation of means.

The means can be ceding of land or sovereignty, exchanges of rights, arms control accords, self-rule arrangements, sharing of water, trade and the like. The ends could be a form of Syrian return to the Golan Heights and a Palestinian homeland.

But all this comes only if both sides honor the meaning of Yad Vashem — security, survival, peace for peace. The alternative is more fear, more fantasy, a mutual suicide pact. □

Reinhold Niebuhr's Long Shadow

By Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Yesterday marked the centennial of Reinhold Niebuhr — preacher, theologian, political philosopher, educator, one of the great Americans of the century. He cast an intellectual spell on my generation; though his Christian realism passed out of fashion in the hippie 60's and 70's and yuppie 70's and 80's, it is enjoying a revival in the disenchanted 90's. Niebuhr is currently a subject of acrid dispute between liberals and conservatives, each claiming him.

He was a minister's son, born in Missouri. Deciding to become a minister, he went to Yale Divinity School, where he felt like "a mongrel among thoroughbreds." He came to Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1928 and taught there for the next third of a century — taught there and taught everywhere. Until he suffered a stroke in 1952, he swept across the country and around the world, delivering sermons, lectures, political speeches, pouring out books and articles on theology, history, foreign policy, politics and culture.

What gave his activities unity and

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. is professor in the humanities at the City University of New York.

power was his passionate sense of the tragedy of life, irony of history and fallibility of humans — and his deep conviction of the duty, even in face of these intractable realities, to be firm in the right as God gives us to see the right. Humility, he believed, must temper, not sever, the nerve of action. Lincoln was his ideal as a statesman because he combined "moral resoluteness about the immediate issues with a religious awareness of another dimension of meaning."

A liberal? A conservative?

I first heard him preach in the winter of 1940-41 in the midst of the bitter national debate between the isolationists and the interventionists. Man was sinful, Niebuhr said. The self cannot always do the good it intends. But even sinful man had the duty of acting against evil in the world. Our sins could not justify our standing apart from the European struggle.

This emphasis on sin startled my generation, brought up on optimistic convictions of human innocence and perfectibility. But nothing had prepared us for Hitler and Stalin, the

Holocaust, concentration camps and gulags. Human nature was evidently as capable of depravity as of virtue. Niebuhr made us think anew about the nature and destiny of man.

Traditionally, the idea of the frailty of man led to the demand for obedience to ordained authority. But Niebuhr rejected that ancient conservative argument. Ordained authority, he showed, is all the more subject to the temptations of self-interest, self-deception and self-righteousness. Power must be balanced by power.

He persuaded me and many of my contemporaries that original sin provides a far stronger foundation for freedom and self-government than illusions about human perfectibility.

Niebuhr's analysis was grounded in the Christianity of Augustine and Calvin, but he had, nonetheless, a special affinity with secular circles.

His warnings against utopianism, messianism and perfectionism strike a chord today. We are beginning in this distraught decade to remember what we should never have forgotten: We cannot play the role of God to history, and we must strive as best we can to attain decency, clarity and proximate justice in an ambiguous world.

Niebuhr the man? He was high-spirited, great-hearted, devoid of pomposity and pretense, endlessly curious about ideas and personalities, vigorous in his enthusiasms and criticisms, filled with practical wisdom and, for

all his robust ego, a man of endearing humility. "I had a few thoughts and a tremendous urge to express myself," he wrote his friend Bishop Will Scarlett. "I spoke and wrote all over the place and now when the stuff is reviewed most of it turns out to be slightly cockeyed and partly askew."

Of all his thoughts, I treasure this the most: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary." □

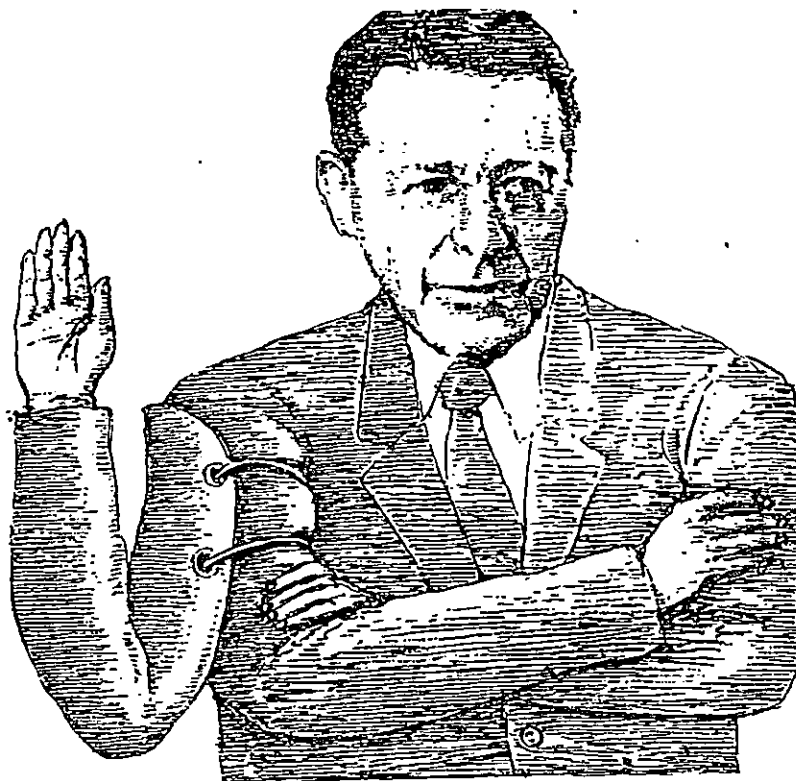
Keep the Special Counsel

By Stuart Taylor Jr.

The indictment last week of Caspar W. Weinberger on charges that he concealed his and President Reagan's knowledge of the Iran-contra affair has fueled conservative attacks on the independent counsel law in general and Lawrence E. Walsh in particular. Bob Dole, the Senate Republican leader, called Mr. Walsh and his aides "assassins." A Wall Street Journal editorial accused the Iran-contra prosecutors of seeking "to criminalize policy differences" — as if lying to evade Congressional oversight and public accountability were a mere "policy difference."

The critics' larger goal, apparently shared by the Administration, is to kill the statute, created in the wake of Watergate, that provides for independent prosecutors in cases of wrongdoing in the executive branch. The law will lapse in December unless Congress re-enacts it. If Congress fails to do so, we will lose an essential safeguard: Recent history is full of examples of executive branch officials lying to Congress to conceal illegal and politically embarrassing activities.

Stuart Taylor Jr. is a senior writer for American Lawyer Media.



Janusz Kapusta

Can the executive branch be trusted?

It's true, and troubling, that Mr. Walsh's investigation has dragged on for more than five years and consumed more than \$30 million. But he deserves praise for refusing in the face of daunting obstacles to overlook evidence of executive branch lying to Congress — a crime against our constitutional system no matter what the motive.

The former Secretary of Defense has a reputation for rectitude and is presumed innocent until proved guilty. But the indictment recites de-

tailed evidence to support the charges that Mr. Weinberger lied repeatedly to members and staff of the Congressional Iran-contra committees in 1987 and to Mr. Walsh's staff in 1990 to conceal his knowledge of important facts and his detailed notes recording those facts.

Among the allegations suggesting a possible high-level cover-up are these:

Beginning in August 1985, Mr. Weinberger, President Reagan and others were told of plans to let Israel send U.S. arms to Iran in exchange for American hostages, despite the Administration's stated policy against ransoming hostages and the laws requiring that Congress be notified of such arms shipments.

Mr. Weinberger opposed the plan as illegal but was overruled by Mr. Reagan. Both knew in advance of a No-

vember 1985 shipment of Hawk missiles by Israel to Iran, the legality of which was especially doubtful because Mr. Reagan did not sign a "finding" authorizing the shipment as required by law until the next month.

In November 1986, when news of the arms-for-hostages dealings began to leak out, Mr. Weinberger attended high-level White House meetings to discuss the unfolding scandal. At a meeting on Nov. 24, Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d told Mr. Reagan, Vice President George Bush, Mr. Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz and others that the shipment may have been illegal but that it had been made without the President's knowledge. The indictment alleges that Mr. Weinberger and others "had contrary information."

It also alleges that nobody corrected Mr. Meese when he asked if anyone had anything to add. This implies that the meeting may have been a charade to get everyone behind a phony story, which the Attorney General recited at a news conference the next day.

Other information supports this interpretation. According to the congressional Iran-contra report, Mr. Shultz had told Mr. Meese two days before the meeting, on Nov. 22, that the President had said he had "contemporaneous knowledge" of the shipment.

Mr. Weinberger pleaded not guilty last week. His task at the trial will be to explain the seemingly stark contradictions between his testimony and his notes. Mr. Walsh may never come up with conclusive evidence that the President and his men sat down in the White House and agreed to put out a false story.

Still, the strength of Mr. Weinberger's indictment is proof of the importance of the independent counsel law. After all, how likely is it that the evidence Mr. Walsh has amassed would have been brought to light by Justice Department prosecutors serving at the pleasure of Mr. Meese and Mr. Reagan? □



THE PRESIDENT

June 22, 1992

Dear Jeannette and Ernest,

Your thoughtful birthday greeting just came across my desk, and I appreciate your kind remembrance.

Barbara and I are grateful for the continued support and friendship from you both.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Petinaud
4923 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20011



THE PRESIDENT

support
June 22, 1992 ✓

Dear Victor,

Your humorous birthday greeting just came across my desk, and I really appreciate it.

Barbara and I are so grateful for the continued support and friendship from both you and Jo Ann.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Victor J. Hancock
2009 Nantucket
Richardson, Texas 75080



THE PRESIDENT

6-22-92

Dear Ed,

Thanks for today's
fax.

There's some weird
stuff out there about

Perot investigating me
and my kids. People
won't like that.

Hang in!
Warm Regards Always

Mr. Edward C. Lawson, Jr.
Lawson Petroleum Company
2100 Philtower Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74103

(in & out)
Zamaria
(2cc)

Jan



THE PRESIDENT

June 22, 1992

Dear Alec,

Your thoughtful birthday greeting just came across my desk, and I really appreciate your kind remembrance.

Barbara and I are so grateful for the continued support and friendship from you, Louise and the whole Courtelis clan.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Alec P. Courtelis
Courtelis Company
Suite 1400
701 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33131-2822

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1992

Dear Mike:

My belated thanks for your kind message.
I appreciate your support, both as a friend
and as a U.S. Commissioner on the International
Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic
Tunas.

Your letter brought back many fond memories,
and your tempting offer to "get away" for a
ballgame sounds great. As you suggest, one of
these days I'll be back in a position to make
such plans without fanfare.

It was nice to hear from you. Best wishes for
1992 and beyond.

Sincerely,



Mr. Michael B. Montgomery
Suite 350
13200 Crossroads Parkway North
City of Industry, California 91746





THE PRESIDENT

June 22, 1992

Dear Michael,

Your thoughtful birthday greeting just came across my desk, and I really appreciate your kind remembrance.

Barbara and I are so grateful for the continued support and friendship from both you and Katrin.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Michael E. DeBakey, M.D.
The DeBakey Medical Foundation
Texas Medical Center
Baylor College of Medicine
1200 Moursund Avenue
Houston, Texas 77005

BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Monday, June 22, 1992

6:30 am	B <u>Depart for White House</u>	Camp David
7:00 am	B <u>Arrive White House</u>	South Lawn
7:00 am (60 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:00 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:15 am (15 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:30 am (2 hrs)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Smith) (TAB A)	Oval Office
10:30 am (45 min)	B <u>Interview with Barbara Walters for 20/20 TV Program</u> (Smith) (TAB B)	Oval Office Veranda
11:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
11:45 am (5 min)	B <u>Photo with Mr. and Mrs. Budge Sperling</u> 11:53 In (Fitzwater) 11:5 (TAB C)	Oval Office
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:15 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:00 pm (2 hrs)	<u>Administrative Time</u> Signing in Rose Garden Paper in front of Tab A.	Oval Office
4:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with House Republicans on Health Care</u> (Calio) (TAB D)	Cabinet Room open 2 waves

11:30
Martin

UNP 06/19/92
5:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/22/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, June 22, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 10/25/2024	OA/ID Number: 90690-007
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

4:30 pm
(30 min)

Meeting with Chief of Staff

Oval Office

5:00 pm

Halrcut

West Basement

7:04 POTUS In
8:03 Howe + (b)(3) In
8:05 Scowcroft In
8:20 (b)(3) Out
8:33 Darman, Teeter, Skinner
Fitzwater, O. Smith, Ailes In
10:04 Darman, Teeter, Fitzwater Out
Skinner Out
10:12 Barbara Walters In
10:19 POTUS Barbara Walters Out to
Horse Shoe Pit.
10:29 POTUS, Barbara Walters In
10:30 POTUS In Cabinet room for
Make up
10:37 Out to Oval
10:40 Begins Interview
11:39 Ends Interview walks on South Grounds
11:53 Photo with Mr + Mrs. Spelling In
11:58 " " " " Out
12:00 ~~POTUS~~ POTUS In Cabinet Room
12:18 POTUS Out to Veranda for Photo with Miss Bush
and Barbara Walters.
12:26 POTUS In
12:34 POTUS In
12:38 Fitzwater, Gray In
12:41 All Out to Mess
1:25 POTUS In
1:28 Skinner In
1:45 Skinner Out
1:54 Skinner, Kilberg In
1:55 Kilberg Out
1:57 Skinner Out
1:58 Skinner In / 1:59 Out
2:00 POTUS Out to Rose Garden for Signing Ceremony
2:08 POTUS In
2:10 Skinner In
2:14 Skinner Out
2:15 Super In
2:48 Gen. Scowcroft In
2:59 Super, Scowcroft Out
3:10 Skinner In
3:16 Skinner Out
3:25 POTUS Out to South Grounds
Fitzwater, Scowcroft, Super (Allying Green)
4:07 POTUS In
4:08 POTUS In Cabinet room
4:55 POTUS Out + In to Oval
4:56 Skinner In
4:58 Skinner Out
5:05 POTUS Out to Helicopt

UNP 06/19/92
5:00 pm