

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

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Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90691
Folder ID Number: 90691-003

Folder Title:
Tuesday, June 23, 1992 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	1	7	0



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992
6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

NATIONAL

PEROT INVESTIGATIONS NOT VERY 'AMERICAN,' BUSH SAYS --

President Bush, whose surrogates have sought to portray Ross Perot as bizarre and dangerous to democracy, gingerly hinted it himself Monday, noting that investigations Perot launched into his business affairs and record as Vice President were not very "American."

(Washington Post, New York Daily News, Washington Times)

BUSH SIGNS \$1 BILLION URBAN AID BILL -- President Bush signed a \$1 billion bill Monday to finance 414,000 summer jobs for youths and underwrite rebuilding efforts after riots in Los Angeles and floods in Chicago.

(USA Today)

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. WARNS OF SECURITY THREAT IN YUGOSLAV WAR --

In a signal that the Bush Administration is inching toward possible military intervention in Yugoslavia, Brent Scowcroft said Monday that the conflict in the Balkans could soon become a threat to the security of the U.S. and its European allies. (Los Angeles Times)

END FIGHTING IN MOLDOVA, U.S. URGES -- Faced with intensifying conflict in an area of great sensitivity to Russia, the U.S. Monday called on all parties to the fighting in Moldova to stop immediately and resolve their disputes by peaceful means.

(Washington Post)

NETWORK NEWS (Monday evening)

BUSH RESPONDS TO INVESTIGATIONS --

After weeks of taking hits from Ross Perot, George Bush landed one of his own.

NEW AMERICA PLAN -- President Bush has signed the law authorizing more than a billion dollars in emergency aid for Los Angeles and Chicago.

HATE CRIMES/SUPREME COURT --

The Supreme Court ruled that laws against symbols of hate are unconstitutional.

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-9

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

EDITORIALS.....C-1

FOREIGN MEDIA.....C-3

NATIONAL NEWS

PEROT INVESTIGATIONS NOT VERY 'AMERICAN,' BUSH SAYS

President Bush, whose surrogates have sought to portray Ross Perot as bizarre and dangerous to democracy, gingerly hinted it himself Monday, noting that investigations Perot launched into his business affairs and record as Vice President were not very "American."

Monday, asked about a report Sunday in the Washington Post that described the investigations, Bush allowed as how such investigations are "not very pleasant." He added, "I feel a little tense about it.... I don't think that's particularly American."

Vice President Quayle joined in the criticism, telling a news conference in San Diego that Perot "apparently has a compulsion to investigate people," Reuter reported. "Imagine Ross Perot having the IRS, the FBI and the CIA under his control," Quayle said. He predicted Perot's popularity will fade because "a lot more will come out about Ross Perot" and said the Bush Administration regards Clinton as its main opponent.

In a speech to the National Sheriffs Association, Quayle continued his "values" theme, targeting "big business." Quayle continued his attack on Time-Warner for producing a record he said promotes killing police officers and criticized other companies for boycotting the Boy Scouts in their refusal to allow gay members.

(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A12)

Bush Calls Perot Not 'Particularly American'

Ignoring his own decision to refrain from criticizing Ross Perot, President Bush on Monday blasted Perot as not "particularly American" for trying to dig up dirt on him in the mid-1980s.

Bush told reporters it was o.k. to investigate the Vice President, "but I feel a little tense about it... if the reports are true of investigating my children, my family.... I don't think that's particularly American." In an interview taped Monday for ABC's "20/20" for broadcast Friday, Bush told Barbara Walters that investigating his children was "beyond the pale." Bush told Walters he did not recall Perot telling him, "The world is full of lions and tigers and rabbits, and you are a rabbit."

Ron Brown called the disclosure "alarming" and predicted that Perot "is going to wear very thin on the American people." Torie Clarke said Perot was "wacky with a capital 'W.'"

The White House also disclosed that Perot once threatened to "get" ABC's Sam Donaldson unless he retracted a story Perot regarding U.S. military who were missing in action. Donaldson told the Daily News that Perot called him after the report aired. "He didn't like the thrust of the story, but he didn't threaten me," Donaldson said. Donaldson added he got the impression that Perot was unhappy with the White House response to his mission, not to the way Donaldson had reported it. Perot spokesman James Squires denounced the White House's "hysterical attempt to mischaracterize Ross Perot and create fear of him in the public mind."

(Maureen Santini, New York Daily News)

Perot's Probes 'Sick'

President Bush complained bitterly Monday that Ross Perot's reported investigations of him and family members were un-American and go "beyond the pale."

The July 6 issue of New Republic reports Perot even had his own children followed as part of what the author called a preoccupation over plots to discredit, humiliate and destroy him.

In an outburst Monday in the Cabinet Room Bush said, "There's something sick about this... something that I don't think's particularly American."

An article by Sidney Blumenthal in the July 6 New Republic says Perot frequently speaks about plots to assassinate him and fears that his children will be taken hostage.

"According to a reliable eyewitness, he has had his children followed systematically by a small brigade of private investigators, off-duty policemen and company employees," the article says. It reports that he forced his children to break off relationships with acquaintances he didn't approve of. It also accuses him of "personally threatening to ruin the lives of certain friends he didn't like." (Frank Murray, Washington Times, A1)

**BUSH TEAM CAPITALIZES
ON PEROT'S PROBE CRISIS**

The White House, sensing the first scratch on Ross Perot's political Teflon, is sending strong messages of fear and anger over Perot's reported investigations of President Bush's past. Behind the denunciations is the belief that fear of the unknown may be their best weapon against Perot.

"In the end, it's going to be are you afraid of Ross Perot or not," said Perot spokesman James Squires. "The whole thing in politics is fear. We always vote for who we are most comfortable with. So you try to make the world afraid of Barry Goldwater, afraid of Mike Dukakis, afraid of Ross Perot."

Rep. Gingrich said Perot must address the allegations in a news conference. "How would any American like the idea of private investigators possibly trailing your children," Gingrich asked.

"Sounds like the free ride is over," said political analyst Charles Cook. "This is the first crisis of the Perot candidacy. How he handles this will tell us a lot... The rule about character tests is that they are particularly tough ones.... Bush has gone through this. Clinton has gone through it in the primaries. Now it's Ross Perot's turn. We'll see." (Election '92, USA Today, 5A)

**BUSH AIDES TRY TO PAINT PEROT
AS A THREAT TO LIBERTIES**

Seeking to weaken a presidential rival who has sometimes seemed immune to criticism, the Bush campaign is starting to emphasize what it sees as a trait in Ross Perot that most concerns voters: an authoritarian streak that threatens their liberties.

In comments this weekend and again Monday, White House and campaign aides trained streams of adjectives at Perot to assail his well-documented practice of investigating the private and business lives of people with whom he disagrees.

"We made a decision a couple of weeks ago that it would be fine for the surrogates to dust him up a little bit," Charles Black said in an interview Monday. "People don't know much about him, and he doesn't have any particular negatives right now."

With the first euphoric response to Perot's maverick candidacy now cresting, they say, voters are beginning to look more closely at their hero and are spotting some warts. In particular, Black and others say, average citizens whom the Bush campaign assembles for interviews in "focus groups" are starting to spontaneously worry whether Perot has enough patience with the grind of democratic processes to be trusted with the enormous power of the presidency.
(Michael Wines, New York Times, A18)

**BUSH AND CLINTON SAG IN SURVEY;
PEROT'S NEGATIVE RATING DOUBLES**

The two major party candidates show remarkable weakness in the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll. President Bush's handling of the economy is now as unpopular as President Carter's ever was, while only a third of American voters see strong leadership qualities in Bill Clinton. Ross Perot is faring better with this disgruntled electorate, but even his apolitical allure is showing its limits.

Discontent with Bush runs throughout this poll, which was based on telephone interviews with 1,315 adults. Only 34% approved of the way Bush was doing his job, down from 39% in early May. Seventy-eight percent disapproved of the way he was handling the economy, surpassing the 74% who disapproved of Carter's stewardship in June 1980.

Charles Black said, "It's clear that no matter what the economic statistics show, voters still do not feel the economy is getting better."

Bush gets far better marks on foreign policy, with an approval rating of 46%. And in the afterglow of the visit of Boris Yeltsin, 69% said they approved of Bush's handling of relations with the Russians.

In a three-way race, 32% of the registered voters said they preferred Bush, 30% Perot and 24% Clinton. Since the last Times/CBS Poll, conducted in early May, both Bush and Clinton have slipped and Perot has gained.

The poll showed Bush viewed favorably by just 29%, unfavorably by 44%. Regarding Perot, in late April, 21% viewed him favorably, 9% unfavorably. In the new poll, 26% viewed him favorably, 20% unfavorably.
(Robin Toner, New York Times, A1)

**GINGRICH DECRIES BUSH CAMPAIGN,
FEARS VOTERS WILL 'GAMBLE' ON PEROT**

Rep. Gingrich has fired his sharpest public criticism yet at President Bush, charging that he has failed to provide the country with "consistent, clear leadership for change."

Gingrich expressed deep frustration that Bush has not taken the offensive against the Democratic-controlled Congress, and he warned that if the President does not act soon, the voters are ready to support "a total outsider" such as Ross Perot in November.

Gingrich also attacked the President's Treasury Department, and by implication Secretary Brady's policies, blaming them for the sluggish economy. "Supply-siders are so disgusted and so fed up with the way the Treasury has mismanaged this economy that the supply-siders are beside themselves over the current lack of economic growth," he said in a weekend interview with the Washington Times.

Gingrich voiced his strongest fears to date over the way the Bush re-election campaign is being run. "It doesn't just worry me, it frightens me," he said. "The American people, if they are frustrated enough, will gamble on a total outsider about whom they know little."

(Donald Lambro, Washington Times, A4)

**MOSBACHERS ACCEPTED FLIGHT FROM
SUGAR COMPANY HEAD, STATEMENT SHOWS**

When he was Commerce secretary, Robert Mosbacher accepted a flight to the Caribbean from the head of a sugar company that has settled fines for alleged labor violations and is negotiating another with the government. Mosbacher flew with his wife Georgette from Palm Beach, Fla., to the Caribbean island of Antigua at the expense of Jose Pepe Fanjul, according to Mosbacher's financial disclosure statement, released Friday.

Spokesmen for Fanjul and Mosbacher said Monday there was no impropriety. They noted that the two have been social friends for around 20 years. "Raising money for President Bush does not give people any influence or access to the President as far as their dealings with the government," said Tony Mitchell, a spokesman for the Bush/Quayle campaign speaking on behalf of Mosbacher.

(Marcy Gordon, AP)

BUSH SIGNS \$1 BILLION URBAN AID BILL

President Bush signed a \$1 billion bill Monday to finance 414,000 summer jobs for youths and underwrite rebuilding efforts after riots in Los Angeles and floods in Chicago.

The funding is seen as the first bounce of what is certain to be a political football as the White House and Congress compete for control of a longer-range program to create enterprise zones in several big cities. Battle lines already are being drawn. Bush has recommended \$1.8 billion. But the House tax-writing committee has scheduled action on a \$2.5 billion enterprise zone bill for Wednesday. Senate tax writers have postponed action until sometime in mid-July. "That's very dangerous," said Howard University political scientist Ronald Walters. "You could have a very hot summer. And there's going to be a tendency to... politicize this."

(Jessica Lee, USA Today, 5A)

SEN. GRAMM DEFIES BUSH
ON BALANCED-BUDGET EFFORT

In a sign of President Bush's weakening control over Republican congressional leaders, Sen. Phil Gramm refused a direct presidential request last week to put aside his campaign for a balanced-budget amendment to allow the Senate to take up a top White House priority, an aid package for Russia. Administration officials expressed frustration with Gramm's stance. "This is not one of the President's Senate leadership team. This is Phil Gramm. He has decided in his wisdom what is best politically for party and President and the only one who is going to be embarrassed here is the President," said one senior Administration official. "has decided he wants the Republicans to score political points in a moot exercise of having the Senate Democrats vote against a balanced budget amendment right before their convention."

(Ann Devroy & Helen Dewar, Washington Post, A12)

KEMP CALLS ON MAYORS
FOR 'AUDACIOUS' EFFORT

HOUSTON -- Secretary Kemp met with the nation's mayors Monday and called for an "audacious, dramatic effort" to restore economic growth, educational opportunity and, particularly, homeownership for poor people. Speaking at the 60th annual U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting here Kemp challenged the predominantly Democratic crowd to support the Bush Administration's enterprise zone proposal pending before Congress and the homeownership program created by the National Affordable Housing Act, for which President Bush has asked \$1 billion in funding this year.

"Can anyone doubt that an alliance between a radical, bleeding-heart, progressive-conservative HUD secretary and equally activist mayors from across the political spectrum would be unbeatable?" Kemp asked the mayors. Kemp also asked the mayors to put partisanship aside and pressure congressional leaders to swiftly pass the enterprise zone initiative and to put the urban agenda ahead of a balanced budget. Kemp's remarks, for the most part, were warmly received by the mayors, some of whom said the enterprise zone and homeownership programs could help alleviate poverty in their cities. "It's an excellent beginning. Let's empower the people instead of the bureaucracies. That's the major difference between the two political parties," said Victor Ashe, Republican mayor of Knoxville, Tennessee. (William Claiborne, Washington Post, A19)

HOUSING PLAN TOO MODEST FOR PROBLEM, CRITICS SAY

BOSTON -- Under just the right circumstances, the housing policy promoted by President Bush and Secretary Kemp might help a tiny fraction of the urban poor sometime in the mid-1990s, according to housing experts and advocates familiar with the plan.

But Project HOPE is viewed as being oversold. Skeptics say that it is a modest program where a vast one is needed. And those closest to the problem of affordable housing fear that it is an ideological attempt to show concern while doing very little.

"It's not that it's a bad idea. It's just a small idea," said William Apgar, executive director of the Joint Center for Housing Studies at Harvard. "What we are getting is a modest, gimmicky set of proposals that doesn't have the scope to address the problem."

Apgar points out that government figures indicate there are 33.6 million individuals living below the poverty line in the U.S. and only 1.2 million units of public housing nationwide. Thus, the vast majority of poor people are already in the private housing market or homeless. (Christopher Daly, Washington Post, A19)

RAIL CONTRACT TALKS APPEAR AT A STANDSTILL

Negotiators reported little progress Monday in efforts to head off a crippling railroad strike that could shut down freight and passenger service from coast to coast and strand hundreds of thousands of commuters in the heavily-populated Washington-New York-Boston corridor.

Five railroad unions involved in three different contract disputes are free to strike virtually every major railroad after midnight Tuesday night. All of the emergency provisions of federal labor law that have prevented a strike would be exhausted at that time, and Congress would have to enact special legislation to end a walkout.

Secretary Card said it was possible for labor and management to settle their contract disputes, but said: "I haven't seen any sign it is likely to happen." He indicated the White House would support legislation to end any strike.

"Here we have an economy that is moving into recovery," Card said in an interview. "A strike would have a dramatic and immediate impact on that recovery. If all else fails, it is up to Congress to step up to the plate and meet its responsibilities."

(Frank Swoboda & Don Phillips, Washington Post, A1)

FBI LOSES ITS APPEAL OVER LENNON FILES

A California history professor locked in a nine-year legal fight to obtain secret FBI files on John Lennon won a key preliminary round Monday. The Supreme Court, over one dissenting vote, turned down an FBI appeal aimed at squelching Jonathan Wiener's 1983 lawsuit seeking the bureau's files on Lennon.

Monday's action left intact a ruling that forces the FBI to give Wiener more detailed explanations of why it believes major portions of the files are exempt from release under the Freedom of Information Act.

(AP, Washington Times, A6)

**PRIORITY DEBATE MAY SHOOT DOWN
EARLY 'STAR WARS'**

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. -- A Pentagon dispute with Congress over the direction of SDI "very well could" derail the multibillion-dollar effort to deploy an anti-missile system this decade, Henry Cooper, director of the SDI Organization, said Monday.

"The whole thing could come apart," Cooper said in an SDI briefing for reporters at the Army's missile defense office. "The coming weeks are a make-or-break time period for our program."

Cooper acknowledged a "communication problem" with Sen. Nunn. Nunn has accused Cooper of defying Congress' wishes by emphasizing space-based defense work at the expense of more easily attainable ground-based defenses. Cooper said he was bewildered by the dispute but hopeful of resolving it soon. He said he remained worried that the fragile alliance in the Senate that permitted passage of the 1991 Missile Defense Act was in danger of unraveling.

Cooper said he was disappointed that the U.S.-Russian summit last week did not produce an agreement to rewrite the ABM Treaty. Unless an agreement is reached on treaty revision by the end of this year, Cooper said, the Pentagon probably will have to commit itself to putting a limited anti-missile system near Grand Forks, N.D., instead of proceeding with a more capable multisite system that would not include Grand Forks. (AP, Washington Times, A5)

**SUPREME COURT OVERTURNS
LAW BARRING HATE CRIMES**

The Supreme Court Monday unanimously struck down a St. Paul, Minn., hate crimes law, casting doubt on the constitutionality of scores of other state and local laws and on campus speech codes that punish students for offensive remarks.

The five-justice majority, led by Antonin Scalia, adopted a far-reaching approach that experts said might be used to invalidate other laws that prohibit cross burning -- in place in 15 states and the District -- or to strike down other statutes that impose stiffer penalties on crimes such as vandalism, arson and assault when they are motivated by racial, religious or other bias.

Four justices -- White, Blackmun, O'Connor and Stevens -- agreed with the result but blasted the majority's reasoning, calling it "folly" that threatened to undermine rather than cement free speech protections. (Ruth Marcus, Washington Post, A1)

**FOUR WOMEN CAUGHT IN
JUDGESHIP FIGHT**

Earlier this month, the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee was faced with a rare sight: four nominees for the federal bench, all of them women. The committee voted unanimously in favor of the four, and it appeared that the women were well on their way to winning confirmation from the full Senate.

But their fates have since become entangled in the controversy over another judgeship nomination, that of Alabama prosecutor Edward Carnes to the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Questions about Carnes have effectively clogged the federal judicial confirmation process.

The Judiciary Committee voted 10 to 4 in favor of Carnes' nomination early last month, but the vote had been delayed for several weeks at the urging of Sen. Metzenbaum. Since the May 7 committee vote, several Democrats have thrown procedural stumbling blocks in the way of the Carnes nomination's progress to the Senate floor.

Last week, supporters of Carnes apparently decided that if the door was still shut on their man, then no one else was going to be allowed through. Holds have now been placed on the four women whose nominations were reported out of the Judiciary Committee June 11.

(John Wagner, Washington Post, A19)

**SEN. WIRTH URGES RTC TO REASSIGN
COUNSEL PENDING PROBE OF DEALINGS**

Sen. Wirth Monday called on the RTC to place the agency's general counsel, Gerald Jacobs, on administrative leave or reassign him to other duties until questions about his past business dealings with S&Ls are answered.

With said he believes Jacobs should step down from his sensitive position. "Reports that Mr. Jacobs worked for a firm that defaulted on loans and was a defaulting borrower himself are troubling," Wirth wrote in a letter Monday to Albert Casey, the RTC's chief executive. "The revelations contribute to a public perception that the people who are now guiding the cleanup could be the same ones that caused the thrift debacle."

(Susan Schmidt, Washington Post, D1)

EXECUTIVE PAY RULES READIED

NEW YORK -- The SEC plans to propose major new rules Tuesday to force companies to disclose more clearly how much they pay top executives and why, and to make it easier for shareholders to talk to each other about companies in which they own stock.

The proposed regulations, which were described by sources familiar with them, are less exacting than earlier versions discussed at the SEC, in part because of successful lobbying by the business community, according to agency sources.

But the rules, if adopted, would require companies to publish charts showing how much the chief executive and the four other most highly paid executive officers received. The board of directors' compensation committee also would have to provide a rationale for the pay.

(Robert McCartney, Washington Post, D1)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

U.S. WARNS OF SECURITY THREAT IN YUGOSLAV WAR

In a signal that the Bush Administration is inching toward possible military intervention in Yugoslavia, Brent Scowcroft said Monday that the conflict in the Balkans could soon become a threat to the security of the U.S. and its European allies.

"It's already out of control...", Scowcroft said of the war among the former Yugoslav republics. "As the conflict goes on and defies attempts at solution, the risks of it directly impinging on the interests of the Euro-Atlantic community increase."

Scowcroft, addressing a forum of U.S. and European officials and experts, said the U.S. still hopes that the Serbs and Bosnians fighting around Sarajevo will agree to a cease-fire and allow a U.N. peacekeeping force to secure the city. And he refused to forecast what the Administration would do if it becomes clear that no cease-fire is possible.

But his comments reflected a gradual shift in the thinking of Administration officials, who earlier insisted that the fighting in the former Yugoslavia did not affect U.S. national security interests and virtually ruled out military action, even as part of a multinational force.

(Doyle McManus & Michael Ross, Los Angeles Times, A1)

DOLE BLASTS NATO FOR LACK OF ACTION IN YUGOSLAVIA

Sen. Dole criticized the Bush Administration and European leaders Monday for failing to stop the increasingly bloody ethnic fighting in what was Yugoslavia and called on NATO to use military force, if necessary, to stop the bloodshed.

"We -- and I speak here both of my own country and of NATO - we are already late into this game," Dole told a conference of the Eurogroup and the Atlantic Council. "We have been too late in speaking out, too late with strong diplomacy, too late with our economic sanctions, too late to help thousands and thousands who have died, or face imminent death from war and starvation."

Dole proposed that NATO use its forces to stop the fighting in Bosnia and Kosova, to stop the Serbian air force from flying over the threatened regions, to protect convoys with food and medical supplies trying to get into Sarajevo and issue an ultimatum to Serbian strongman Milosevic "to end his aggression and pull back his forces or face the consequences." (Otto Kreisher, Copley)

**END FIGHTING IN MOLDOVA,
U.S. URGES**

Faced with intensifying conflict in an area of great sensitivity to Russia, the U.S. Monday called on all parties to the fighting in Moldova to stop immediately and resolve their disputes by peaceful means.

Monday's statement by Margaret Tutwiler called on the Russian government "to enter into discussions with Moldova aimed at implementing President Yeltsin's earlier agreement to withdraw the 14th Army from the area." Reports from Moscow raised doubt about the seriousness of Yeltsin's withdrawal promise, which was made during a public appearance on a tour of Siberia.

"We believe that the Moldovan and Trans-Dniester authorities (the Russian separatists) should seek a negotiated peaceful solution within the framework of an independent and sovereign Moldova which ensures that the rights of ethnic minorities are protected in practice as well as law," Tutwiler said.

State Department officials conceded there is little the U.S. can do at this stage other than counsel patience and caution.

(Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post, A18)

**MOLDOVA ACCUSES RUSSIA OF
WAGING 'UNDECLARED WAR'**

MOSCOW -- Russian and Moldova moved closer to direct confrontation Monday as fighting intensified in a breakaway ethnic Russian region of Moldova that has become a rallying point for nationalist sentiment here.

As heavily armed troops from Russia's 14th Army, based in Moldova, openly provided military support to their separatist brethren in the continuing battle for control of the city of Bendery, Moldovan President Mircea Snegur accused Russia of having begun an "undeclared war" against Moldova.

President Yeltsin, when asked Monday whether he would try to meet with Snegur to discuss the fighting in the breakaway Dniester Republic, said, "No," and added without elaboration that "measures will be taken."

(Margaret Shapiro, Washington Post, A1)

**U.S. HELPS RUSSIANS SEARCH
FOR MISSING IN AFGHANISTAN**

The U.S. is helping Russian and other former Soviet republics track and identify POWs held in Afghanistan by Afghan guerrillas who fought the Soviet Army from 1979 to 1989, officials said Monday.

American officials visiting Kabul recently stopped in Moscow and Kiev on the way home to deliver photographs of prisoners obtained from the Afghans, along with other information on POW cases. These officials say they believe that Afghan militias hold 30 to 50 former Soviet soldiers, most of them from Russia or Ukraine.

Washington, while observing events in Kabul to determine at what point the U.S. can safely reopen an embassy, has also been helping the Afghan interim leadership find about 500 children taken to the Soviet Union in the 1980's by the KGB or the Soviet military.

(Barbara Crossette, New York Times, A3)

**BUSH UPGRADES TRADE RELATIONSHIP
WITH ROMANIA**

President Bush, citing progress in diplomatic relations with formerly Communist Romania, issued a proclamation Monday that extends "non-discriminatory treatment" to Romania's products.

The proclamation accompanied a letter in which the President urged Congress to approve a trade agreement reached with Romania in April. When the treaty is ratified by both countries, Romania will have MFN status with its tariff advantages.

(Harry Rosenthal, AP)

**PERU THREATENED SECOND U.S. PLANE,
OFFICIALS SAY**

Peru recently threatened action against a U.S. military plane it said had invaded its airspace, U.S. officials disclosed Monday. The action came less than two months after the Peruvians shot down a U.S. surveillance plane.

A U.S. KC-135 tanker plane on a "routine" June 8 flight from Panama to Argentina was traveling 100 nautical miles off Peru's coast when Peruvian officials radioed orders to leave or face military action, U.S. diplomats and defense officials said. The pilot of the U.S. Stratotanker complied.

"This is just further evidence that the Administration's response to the Peruvian government for its attack on the U.S. aircraft was not sufficient," said Rep. Torricelli. "The Peruvians obviously don't understand the gravity of their actions."

Some analysts suggested Monday that the Peruvians may be retaliating for the U.S.'s suspension of \$164 million in economic and military aid after the April 5 executive coup by Alberto Fujimori.

(Christopher Marquis, Knight-Ridder)

BUSH BALKS AT HEARING ON IRAQ

The White House is digging in its heels on the House Judiciary Committee investigation of the Administration's pre-Gulf-War relations with Iraq.

Citing "longstanding practice," President Bush refused to send several staff members -- including Boyden Gray and Robert Mosbacher -- to a committee hearing Tuesday. But the Administration would agree to private talks.

"I firmly believe that violations of federal criminal laws have occurred," said Rep. Rose. (Marilyn Greene, USA Today, 5A)

**JORDAN PLAYS DOWN REPORTS OF RIFT WITH U.S.
OVER SMUGGLING TO IRAQ**

AMMAN, Jordan -- Officials here are playing down reports of a fresh crisis in U.S.-Jordan relations over allegations that Jordan has helped strengthen the Iraqi regime by violating the terms of a 1990 U.N. trade embargo against Iraq.

"Smuggling is not condoned here and is certainly against our policy," a senior Jordanian official said in Amman. He said this was a studied campaign against Jordan.

A U.S. Embassy official, conceding that smuggling had taken place, said: "We will continue to work with the (Jordan) government to achieve verification of its sanctions enforcement and improve it. We are actively seeking ways for the sanctions to be more effective."

U.S. officials, while conceding that the contraband had reduced the effectiveness of the sanctions against Iraq, say Jordan-U.S. relations and U.S. aid policy had not been affected.

(Leila Deeb, Knight-Ridder)

**FUTURE OF U.S.-ISRAEL TIES
HANGS ON OUTCOME OF VOTE**

Israeli voters choose more than a new government Tuesday -- they also choose what direction strained U.S.-Israeli relations will follow.

The once-cordial relationship has been frosty for months, ever since Prime Minister Shamir rejected U.S. demands to halt settlements in the occupied territories. The Bush Administration responded by blocking Israel's request for \$10 billion in loan guarantees to build housing for recent arrivals from Russia.

A victory Tuesday by Shamir and his Likud Party means a likely continuation of the standoff. A win by Labor candidate Rabin, who says he'll negotiate the issue, could get money flowing.

Bush has invited the next Israeli prime minister to his estate in Kennebunkport to reopen the issue.

(Marilyn Greene, USA Today, 6A)

**TAYLOR ASKS U.S. AID
FOR LIBERIAN PEACE PROCESS**

The man accused of stalling free elections in Liberia has asked President Bush for assistance in implementing a peace process, according to a letter released Monday.

Charles Taylor, who heads the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), made the appeal in a letter to Bush, which was released by Taylor's U.S. publicist, Bob Neuman.

In the letter, Taylor said "our central concern is the demobilization of our men leading up to general elections, hopefully on Aug. 30, 1992."

Attaching great importance to this element of the peace process, Taylor said that under demobilization some former combatants will return to civilian life while others will elect to join various branches of the national security forces. (Reuter)

NETWORK NEWS

(Monday evening, June 22)

PRESIDENT RESPONDS TO PEROT INVESTIGATIONS

NBC's Jane Pauley: After weeks of taking hits from Ross Perot, George Bush landed one of his own today following reports that Perot had Bush under investigation. Bill Clinton, meanwhile, mapped his economic plan today.

NBC's John Cochran: The President spoke out today after some of his friends told him last week that he should stop acting like a gentleman with Ross Perot and should start mud wrestling now, before it's too late.

(TV coverage of President Bush in cabinet room.)

Bush could not pass up the opportunity to exploit an alleged chink in Perot's armor: a Washington Post report that in the 1980s Perot so disliked and distrusted Bush that he investigated not only the then-Vice President but two of his sons.

(President Bush: "We'll, I am -- better count to ten. There's something not very pleasant about all this. Let me tell you this: It's fine to investigate on one's own the Vice President of the United States with no evidence to support any investigation. But I feel a little tense about it when they -- if the reports are true of investigating my children, my family. It's something -- I don't think that's particularly American.")

Dan Quayle accused Perot of having a compulsion to investigate.

(Quayle: "We know that he's investigated employees of his and former employees of his. Imagine Ross Perot having the IRS, the FBI and the CIA under his control. Who would be investigated next?")

Perot wasn't responding today, but his top media adviser, Jim Squires, says the Republican strategy is obvious: make voters afraid of Ross Perot. "The whole thing in politics is fear. We always vote for who we are most comfortable with." The news media are also honing in on questions about Perot's character. This is new. In the past the media have mostly focused on Perot's reluctance to offer specific proposals and programs. Perot has managed to finesse questions so far about his lack of specifics. But now he must lay to rest a potential killer issue: questions about his character.

(NBC-2)

ABC's Peter Jennings: We're going to begin tonight with the strongest language that President Bush has yet used against Ross Perot. There was a story over the weekend that Mr. Perot hired a Washington law firm four years ago to dig up information about Mr. Bush and his dealings with the oil industry. Some of what the lawyers discovered was leaked to the Washington Post. There was nothing illegal about the investigation, and it apparently didn't turn up anything improper. But today Mr. Bush took it as an opportunity to have a go at Mr. Perot.

ABC's Ann Compton: The President's strategy of silence about Ross Perot broke down today when he was asked about reports Perot undertook a private investigation of him as Vice President.

(President Bush: "Better count to ten. I prefer not to take that question right now, frankly.")

But the President did answer, calling it not particularly American for Perot to investigate the Bush family. A story this weekend said Mr. Bush dismissed warnings from Perot years ago that two Bush sons might be involved in improper activities. The President sounded even angrier in an interview with Barbara Walters for this Friday's edition of "20/20."

(President Bush: "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. Now, I'm just saying if that's true. I don't know if that's true. But that is beyond the pale, and I'm sick about it if it's true. And I think the American people will reject that kind of tactic: to go around investigating a family of the President of the United States or then-Vice President or any other American.")

White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater opened yet another front, saying about the time of Perot's investigation of the Vice President, Perot was making angry calls about news coverage of his efforts to search for Americans missing in Vietnam. "He called me from the airplane," Fitzwater said, and told me that he was "going to get Sam Donaldson unless I could take care of it." Perot demanded a retraction from ABC White House correspondent Sam Donaldson, who reported in February of 1987 that Perot came to the White House to get cooperation for a mission to Hanoi.

(Sam Donaldson, then-White House correspondent: "White House officials say they've tried to cooperate with Perot for some time on the MIA issue, but they say there are strong disagreements.") Fitzwater said he ignored Perot's complaint. At Perot's Dallas headquarters this afternoon his spokesman, James Squires, called the Fitzwater story another hysterical attempt to mischaracterize Ross Perot and create fear of him in the public mind. Creating fear of Perot is indeed the Bush campaign strategy. It wants to paint Ross Perot as unproven and compulsive. (ABC-Lead)

CBS's Dan Rather: President Bush personally is stepping up his attacks on independent Ross Perot.

(TV coverage of President Bush meeting in cabinet room.)

And the President through surrogates is unloading a drumbeat of negative campaign accusations against Perot. (CBS-14)

NEW AMERICA PLAN

Jennings: In Washington today President Bush has signed the law authorizing more than a billion dollars in emergency aid for Los Angeles and Chicago -- Los Angeles because of the riots, Chicago because of the recent flooding.

(TV coverage of President Bush signing the bill in the Rose Garden.)

Among other things, the new urban aid law is supposed to create thousands of summer jobs. (ABC-3)

CLINTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN

ABC's Jackie Judd reports Clinton outlined his economic plan to big city mayors [at their annual meeting]. Clinton promised them a big chunk of the \$50 billion he would spend annually on revitalizing the economy. Clinton scaled down the size of the middle-class tax cut he had been promising for months, saying the country can't afford more. Clinton seemed to make some converts. Newark mayor Sharp James seemed impressed.

(James: "One has a plan. One talks about empowerment for all of us in this room, and that has been Bill Clinton.")

Clinton today chided both Ross Perot and President Bush.

(Clinton: "They're now alleging that Mr. Perot has spent a lot of time trying to investigate President Bush. And we know that Mr. Bush and the Republicans spend a lot of time investigating everybody. And I just spend my time trying to investigate these problems.")

And that's the image that Clinton is trying to project: that he is the candidate of substance while his rivals are resorting to politics as usual. (ABC-2)

NBC's Andrea Mitchell reports Bill Clinton told the annual meeting of the nation's mayors that he would spend \$20 billion a year rebuilding the cities. People of taxable income of more than \$140,000 a year would pay a new top rate of 35% or 36%. Millionaires would pay a surtax on top of that. People earning more than \$125,000 a year would pay higher Medicare taxes. His plan avoids some tough political choices: no Social Security tax increase for the rich, no gas tax, and some of his spending cuts like the line-item veto are iffy. Clinton got raves from the mayors.

(Mayor Flynn of Boston: "I think it's up to Mr. Bush and I think it's up to Mr. Perot now to come forward and offer the people of America's cities how they're going to put people back to work.") Rep. Panetta told NBC News that Clinton must still do more to reduce the deficit. But Panetta praised Clinton for being much more specific than either Bush or Perot. (CBS-13, NBC-3)

HATE CRIMES/SUPREME COURT

Rather: The U.S. Supreme Court ruled today in a unanimous ruling that laws against cross-burnings, swastikas and other symbols of hatred are unconstitutional. (CBS-Lead)

Pauley: The Supreme Court ruled unanimously today that free speech means free speech even when it comes to highly provocative expressions -- so-called hate crimes: burning crosses, wearing swastikas and other deliberate displays of bias. The ruling strikes down a St. Paul, Minnesota, law, but its effect will be felt beyond that. (NBC-Lead)

NBC's Bob Kur reports in its ruling today the Supreme Court seems to be saying that if a school allows any kind of discussion about blacks, Jews or homosexuals, then all such remarks, positive or negative, must be tolerated.

(Lawrence Tribe, Harvard professor: "You cannot pick and choose based on point of view -- a politically correct point of view.")

Harvard professor Lawrence Tribe says campus speech codes are now in danger. Some believe hate speech codes are both constitutional and necessary to maintain a proper learning environment on increasingly diverse campuses, but others see the restrictions as censorship.

(President Bush, University of Michigan commencement, May 4, 1991:

"The notion of political correctness has ignited controversy across the land. Throughout history attempts to micro-manage casual conversation have only incited distrust. They've invited people to look for an insult in every word, gesture, action.")

Where Bush spoke, at the University of Michigan, the code prohibited even ethnic jokes until a lower court ruled that unconstitutional. (NBC-8)

AIDS/NEW DRUG

Jennings reports the FDA has approved a new drug which it hopes will slow down the onset of full AIDS in those people which are HIV-positive. The approval process took only 8 months instead of the usual two years. This drug is called DDC. The government has been under constant pressure to get drugs onto the market quickly. The approval is conditional; if DDC doesn't show results the FDA says it'll be pulled. (CBS-3, NBC-6, ABC-7)

MOLDOVA FIGHTING

Rather says in Moldova fighting raged between government forces and ethnic Russians backed by elements of the Russian Army. The U.S. called on Boris Yeltsin to withdraw his troops from Molodova. (CBS-9)

YUGOSLAVIA CARNAGE

Jennings says in Sarajevo the shooting stopped. A lot of desperate people went outside to look for food. And then, without warning, the Serbian militia started shelling the city again. This time at least eight people were killed and 80 others were wounded. (CBS-8, NBC-4, ABC-10)

PHILIPPINES' ELECTION

Jennings reports the results of the elections are finally official. The country's new president will be Fidel Ramos. (CBS-6, NBC-11, ABC-13)

SOUTH AFRICA

Jennings reports Nelson Mandela appealed to the U.N. Secretary General for help in stopping the bloodshed there. (CBS-5, NBC-13, ABC-11)

-End of B-Section-

EDITORIALS/COLUMNISTS

U.S.-RUSSIA SUMMIT

Arms Accord -- "Credit Mr. Yeltsin for taking glasnost to new heights and simply admitting that with so many Russians below the poverty line, his country could no longer afford to maintain the backbone of its nuclear arsenal.... Likewise, Mr. Bush should be credited for meeting Mr. Yeltsin halfway by agreeing to numbers far below what the Administration had ever contemplated. Getting down to 3,500 warheads means cutting drastically into U.S. nuclear missiles based on submarines, which the U.S. has resisted for years."
(Dallas Morning News, 6/18)

U.S.-Soviet Arms Plan Is Historic Breakthrough -- "Even if your eyes normally glaze over at the very mention of arms control, you should feel a twinge of excitement over the nuclear weapons agreement of the U.S. and Russia reached yesterday. If this were an earthquake, it would be the Big One.... Regrettably, the Bush Administration still hasn't given up on the idea of a global missile defense system.... And blessedly, Bush was right when he said yesterday that 'the threat of a nuclear nightmare is more distant now than at any time since the dawn of the nuclear era.'"
(New York Newsday, 6/17)

Nuclear Arms Pact Is Huge Achievement -- "In short, the accord for the first time in the nuclear age defuses the balance of terror by removing the means of a first-strike capability by either side. It is worth noting that Bush and Yeltsin in private talks ironed out final obstacles to the pact, details on which their negotiators had been snagged. Before the inevitable carping begins from critics, let us credit Presidents Bush and Yeltsin for lifting arms reduction talks to this historic level."(Chicago Sun-Times, 6/18)

One Giant Step -- "Presidents Bush and Yeltsin have every reason to be proud of their historic accomplishments in arms control.... The agreement can be seen as a major victory for President Bush. For one thing, it requires the Russians to give up far more than the U.S.... An arms control accord helps to enhance Mr. Bush's stature; it makes the man who has been looking like a bumbler of late once again look very presidential.... Whatever the domestic fallout, President Bush should realize that this agreement can be the beginning of a new nuclear order in this country and abroad. This is the perfect time for President Bush to support a ban on nuclear testing, which the Russians are already observing -- and to abandon Star Wars. He must also urge other nuclear powers, such as China, Britain and France, to freeze or reduce their nuclear arsenals."
(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/18)

New Day On Nuclear Arms -- "George Bush is the first American president to hold a summit with a Russian leader who has not come to Washington as an adversary. The President has clearly obtained an important triumph, a victory, as he correctly noted, that 'recedes the nuclear nightmare.'... The President rightly expressed passionately support for the multibillion-dollar U.S. aid package to Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Congress's Democrats should avoid the temptation of holding it up merely to deny the President a deserved triumph."

(Miami Herald, 6/18)

Making The World A Safer Place -- "Among the many statements issued in the wake of the new arms reduction agreement between the U.S. and Russia, one stood out. It was Boris Yeltsin's blunt admission that Russia could no longer afford the arms race. As a result of the battle for strategic parity, said Yeltsin, half of his country's population was 'living below the poverty line.' Nonetheless, this arms agreement -- the most sweeping of the nuclear age -- was not foreordained. The Bush Administration can justifiably take pride in negotiating it."

(New York Daily News, 6/18)

Waving Goodbye To Dr. Strangelove -- "President Yeltsin...seems to have concluded that not just the arms race but even the effort to maintain the reduced level and approximate nuclear parity envisioned in the START treaty has become unaffordable, politically no less than economically. President Bush, for his part, proved willing to move beyond the previous U.S. position opposing any significant changes in American submarine-based missiles. The result is a triumph of commonsense statesmanship that is likely, and justifiably, to be remembered as one of the great positive achievements of the Nuclear Age."

(Los Angeles Times, 6/18)

Sheathing The Nuclear Sword -- "Historians may someday conclude the Cold War ended not with a bang but a news conference in the White House Rose Garden. The agreement on strategic nuclear missile reductions announced there by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin ushers in a new era.... Congress must now do its part [pass the aid package].... For his part, Bush must use the presidency to exert true leadership -- to educate Americans about their profound stake in the survival of a democratic Russia. At certain moments in history, vision and prudence become indistinguishable. This is one of those moments."

(Boston Globe, 6/18)

Beating Nukes Into Plowshares -- "Bush and Yeltsin both deserve praise for their courage and foresight. They had hoped to shore up their sagging images and political fortunes at home with significant summit achievements; they did it in spades. President Bush once again seemed a sure-footed leader of a superpower, maneuvering deftly in the foreign affairs arena that he knows so well. President Yeltsin, using his wit and warmth as rapiers, cut through any residual hostility and boosted his stature as a dedicated reformer and a world leader."

(Chicago Tribune, 6/19)

FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION

U.S.-RUSSIA SUMMIT

"In signing a series of documents with the Russian president, George Bush showed his satisfaction. Marked by a disarmament agreement largely favorable to the U.S., this summit was for him, five months before the elections, an indisputable political success -- after a week in which, in Rio and Panama, his performances on the international stage had been very poor."

(Le Monde, France, 6/19)

"The Washington agreement between George Bush and Boris Yeltsin must be saluted as a giant step on the way to nuclear disarmament. However, it would be naive to ignore its limits and its missing parts. First, this agreement aims at the year-2000 horizon. In eight years, many things can change -- for better or for worse.... We should not reach a conclusion as quickly as George Bush about the end of the 'nightmare' for this generation and the one to come.... It is an illusion to think that all worries have been replaced by serenity."

(Le Quotidien, France, 6/18)

"The sensational diplomatic success scored by George Bush will certainly boost his re-election campaign, at least for a few weeks. The nuclear weapons agreement announced in Washington will enable both the U.S. and Russia to save huge economic resources.... It also paves the way to an effective global policy to prevent nuclear proliferation and it will convince minor nuclear countries -- China, Great Britain and France -- to take the road of disarmament.... The nuclear nightmare really seems to be over."

(La Stampa, Italy, 6/18)

"There is no doubt that President Bush has harvested the last fruits of the U.S. victory in the Cold War.... Russia was forced to give up its strategic missiles -- the pride of the former USSR -- in order to obtain indispensable economic assistance."

(Il Giornale, Italy, 6/18)

"Both presidents have rightly spoken of an 'historic' agreement.... The accord is a great success for Bush, who repeatedly had pointed out the danger of an enormous nuclear weapon arsenal in such an unsteady situation as the one prevailing in Russia. Less than six months now before the presidential elections he now can make further cuts in defense, which will not hurt his badly tarnished image."

(Gazet va Antwerpen, Belgium, 6/18)

"The world has become a better and safer place to live. It's not an exaggeration to use such words after...Bush and...Yeltsin...concluded the atomic age's most wide-reaching disarmament agreement."

(Berlingske Tidende, Denmark, 6/18)

"Praise is also in order for Bush for his ability in wringing a concession from his Russian counterpart, which seemed unimaginable only a few years ago. Such praise will undoubtedly be merited if the world feels itself to be safer."

(Adevarul, Romania, 6/18)

-End of News Summary-

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Tuesday, June 23, 1992

Volume 28, Number 101

Today in Congress

House Floor: The House will take up the fiscal 1993 spending bill (HR 5428) for military construction. The \$8.6 billion bill includes \$2 billion to close down or combine more than 100 obsolete military bases.

The boost in funding to shut down bases means that less money is available for construction projects, which would be cut by \$1.7 billion from the current level of \$4.2 billion.

Appropriators earmarked \$444 million to clean up hazardous wastes at bases that will be closed.

Senate Floor: The Senate will take up legislation (S 2733) that would establish an office within the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to oversee the activities of government-sponsored entities (GSEs), such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac which provide secondary markets for home mortgages.

The office would be responsible for ensuring that GSEs, which have the implicit backing of the government, operate on a sound fiscal basis.

The president would appoint a director of the new HUD office, who would be subject to Senate confirmation.

Aid to Ex-Soviets. The Senate may begin consideration of legislation (S 2532) that would provide economic and technical assistance to 12 republics of the former Soviet Union.

The bill would remove many prohibitions on helping the former communist states.

It also includes a \$12 billion increase in the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund, which could be used for loans to Russia and other independent states that are struggling to establish capitalist economies.

Solid Waste: The House Energy and Commerce Committee will resume its markup of a bill (HR 3865) to reauthorize the nation's main garbage disposal law.

The committee began action on the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) reauthorization last week, taking up a scaled-back version of the bill. The full committee markup vehicle does not include sections of the bill that regulate the disposal of hazardous wastes; it instead focuses solely on stemming the nation's trash problem.

At the core of the bill are new requirements for greater recycling efforts, state solid-waste management plans and state permits for landfills.

A host of amendments have been submitted for consideration, and the markup may take several more days.

One amendment would establish a nationwide deposit system for bottles and cans. A similar amendment failed during the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee's consideration of a RCRA bill (S 976) last month.

Another anticipated amendment would require that new federal regulations be drawn up for non-hazardous industrial wastes. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, 7.6 billion tons of unregulated industrial waste is produced every year. The amendment would require that such waste be held to disposal standards similar to municipal waste, which is generally less dangerous.

China Trade Status: The House Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee will mark up legislation (H J Res 502) disapproving President Bush's extension of most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status for China.

The president notified Congress June 2 that he planned to renew MFN status for another year. The renewal is automatic unless both chambers pass legislation of disapproval. The measure is subject to veto by the president.

China has enjoyed MFN status, which allows most Chinese exports to enter the

Hill News

HOUSE FLOOR: Coast Guard authorization tracks Bush request.

The House yesterday passed, 304-22, legislation (HR 5055) that would reauthorize the Coast Guard for fiscal 1993.

The authorization level of \$3.6 billion, which is about the amount requested by President Bush, is nearly \$200 million higher than fiscal 1992 appropriations.

Of the total amount, \$2.6 billion would be authorized for operating expenses. Another \$519.7 million would go for retirement benefits, and \$419 million would be authorized for acquisition and construction projects.

Members approved, by voice vote, an amendment that would direct the Coast Guard to limit the opening of the Woodrow Wilson Bridge, which connects Maryland and Virginia, to non-peak times for automobile traffic.

WIC Program. Beneficiaries of the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) feeding program would receive coupons to purchase fresh fruit and vegetables under a bill (HR 3711) the House passed by voice vote yesterday.

Congress in 1988 established a demonstration program to provide matching grants to states that give WIC participants coupons to buy farmers' market produce.

The measure would make the program permanent and authorize \$3 million for fiscal 1992, \$6.5 million for fiscal 1993 and \$8 million for fiscal 1994. Each WIC participant would get coupons worth between \$10 and \$20 a year, providing a family of four with up to \$80 annually.

URBAN AID bill signed by Bush as broader package readied.

President Bush yesterday signed into law a \$1.1 billion fiscal 1992 supplemental appropriations bill (HR 5132) after needling congressional Democrats for seeking almost double the amount in-

See NEWS on p. 3

In This Issue

NEWS FROM THE HILL.....	1
TODAY	
Today in Congress.....	1
Committee Listings.....	3
News & Campaign Events.....	6
FUTURE	
Senate Committees.....	8
House Committees.....	11
Conference Committees.....	16
Joint Committees.....	16
Other Events.....	17
Campaigns & Elections.....	18
STATUS CHARTS	
FY93 Appropriations.....	19
House & Senate Floor.....	20

See TODAY on p. 3

Status of Major Legislation

102nd Congress

(as of June 22, 1992)

Bill and Background	House	Senate	Final
Abortion Counseling. (HR 3090, S 323) Both bills would overturn the administration's ban on abortion counseling and referrals by federally funded clinics. The House bill also would reauthorize the federal family planning program under Title X of the Public Health Service Act. President Bush has vowed to veto the bill.	HR 3090 passed as S 323 4/30/92	S 323 passed 7/17/91	
Cable Television Reregulation. (HR 4850, S 12) The bills would strengthen regulation of cable operators' basic rates and services. The Senate bill also would allow broadcasters to charge cable operators for use of their signals and bar cable programmers from refusing to sell shows to competitors such as satellite operators and wireless cable.	Energy & Commerce approved HR 4850 6/17/92	S 12 passed 1/31/92	
Fiscal 1993 Defense Authorization. (HR 5006) The bill would authorize \$270 billion in defense spending (\$11 billion less than President Bush requested), including \$1 billion to cushion the economic impact of defense cuts. The bill would authorize completion of 20 B-2 bombers, as Bush requested, but only if certain conditions are met. It would authorize \$4.3 billion of the \$5.4 billion that Bush sought for the Strategic Defense Initiative, stripping the program of space-based missile interceptors called Brilliant Pebbles.	HR 5006 passed 6/5/92		
Elementary and Secondary Education Grants. (HR 4323, S 2) The bills, designed to respond to President Bush's "America 2000" plan, would create a federal grant program for states to help fund education improvements in elementary and secondary schools. The House measure does not include a top Bush priority: a school choice plan providing subsidies to enable parents to choose whether to send their children to public or private school. The Senate bill would allow choice only among public schools.	Education and Labor approved HR 4323 5/20/92	S 2 passed 1/28/92	
Higher Education Reauthorization. (HR 3553, S 1150) The House-Senate compromise bill would reauthorize, through fiscal 1998, the 1965 Higher Education Act, which governs all federal grants and loans to post-secondary students. The bill would open the loan and grant programs to more students from middle class families and create a new "direct loan" demonstration program that would bypass banks.	HR 3553 passed as S 1150 3/26/92	S 1150 passed 2/21/92	Conference completed 6/16/92
National Energy Policy. (HR 776, S 2166) Both bills seek to promote increased domestic energy production, wider use of alternative fuels and adherence to national conservation goals. Both bills contain provisions to expedite the licensing of nuclear power plants and to expand coastal drilling bans.	HR 776 passed 5/27/92	S 2166 passed 2/19/92 Finance Committee approved tax portions of HR 776 6/16/92	
Resource Conservation and Recovery Act Reauthorization. (HR 3865, S 976) Both bills would revise the solid waste law that governs the disposal of garbage and the storage of hazardous waste. The House bill stresses recycling, the regulation of interstate waste shipments and the disposal of ash from municipal solid waste incinerators. The Senate bill would allow states to block dumping of out-of-state garbage but would not force states to recycle bottles and cans.	Energy subcommittee approved HR 3865 3/26/92	Environment approved S 976 5/20/92	
Aid to Former Soviet Republics. (HR 4547, S 2532) The measures would provide broad authorization for President Bush's proposed aid to the former Soviet Union. The measures, which anticipate \$24 billion in multilateral aid to Russia this year, would also authorize a \$12.2 billion increase in the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund.	Foreign Affairs approved HR 4547 6/10/92	Foreign Relations approved S 2532 5/13/92	
Unemployment Benefits. (HR 5260). The House-passed version of the bill would provide \$5.8 billion to extend until approximately January 1993 federal unemployment benefits (up to 20 or 26 weeks) for workers who exhaust their regular benefits. The current program expires July 4. The House bill also would make permanent changes so that extended benefits would automatically kick in during periods of high unemployment. The \$5.4 billion Senate-passed version would provide 26 or 33 weeks of extended benefits through March 6, 1993, as long as unemployment remains above 7 percent. The Senate bill would make fewer permanent changes in the unemployment system.	HR 5260 passed 6/9/92	HR 5260 passed 6/19/92	

NEWS from p. 1

cluded in the measure.

"I turned aside efforts by some in the Congress to spend more simply for the sake of spending more," Bush said at the White House signing ceremony.

The measure includes \$276 million for the Small Business Administration and \$300 million for the Federal Emergency Management Agency to help rebuild riot-damaged Los Angeles and provide disaster payments to Chicago businesses damaged in flooding in April. It also includes \$500 million for a program that sponsors say will provide jobs for more than 400,000 teenagers this summer.

Democrats had added another \$925 million in aid they said cities desperately needed but cut the funding when Bush said he would veto the measure.

Bush called the bill "only a beginning" and urged Congress to pass a measure that would create tax-free enterprise zones in cities to lure business investment. The House Ways and Means Committee is scheduled to take up a draft urban aid bill on Wednesday.

SUPREME COURT'S abduction decision draws Hill criticism.

Lawmakers and constitutional scholars yesterday lambasted the Supreme Court's decision last week that upheld the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration's abduction of a Mexican doctor suspected of helping to murder one of its agents.

At a hearing before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Ralph G. Steinhardt, a law professor at George Washington University, said the decision was a "stunning endorsement of lawlessness" that could only damage relations with Mexico.

The high court ruled in *United States v. Alvarez-Machain* that an extradition treaty between the United States and Mexico did not bar DEA agents from kidnapping a Mexican citizen and transporting him to the United States for trial.

The doctor, Humberto Alvarez-Machain, was abducted in April 1990, about three months after being indicted on charges of kidnapping and murdering DEA agent Enrique Camarena-Salazar.

Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., criticized the Bush administration for not requesting Alvarez-Machain's extradition before initiating the abduction.

But Abraham D. Sofaer, the State Department's legal adviser from 1985 to 1990, said he doubted the decision was made by top administration officials. Sofaer has been critical of the abduction policy but yesterday disagreed with Schroeder and Rep. Craig Washington, D-Texas, that Alvarez-Machain should be returned. "It doesn't make sense to punish society for the errors of a constable," he said.

TODAY from p. 1

United States at the lowest prevailing tariff rates, since a trade agreement was negotiated in 1980. The agreement has been periodically renewed since then.

But after the brutal suppression of pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square in 1989, Congress began an effort to link continued MFN status to an improvement of the human rights policies of the Chinese government.

In 1990, 1991 and earlier this year, the House has overwhelmingly supported measures to impose sanctions on China if human rights conditions do not improve. The bills have either failed to clear the Senate or been vetoed.

H J Res 502 is expected to be easily approved by the subcommittee and is scheduled for full committee action later this week.

Hispanics in Congress**House (13)**

Arizona: Ed Pastor, D.

California: Edward R. Roybal, D; Matthew G. Martinez, D; Esteban E. Torres, D.

Florida: Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R.

New Mexico: Bill Richardson, D.

New York: Jose Serrano, D.

Puerto Rico: Antonio J. Colorado, Pop. Dem.

Texas: E. "Kika" de la Garza, D; Henry B. Gonzalez, D; Albert G. Bustamante, D; Solomon P. Ortiz, D.

Virgin Islands: Ron de Lugo, D.

Committee Meetings Today**Senate Committees****■ URBAN PROBLEMS****Senate Banking Committee**

The full 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; Anthony Robinson - president, Minority Business Legal Defense Fund; Dee Carroll - president, Computer Temporaries, Inc.; Deepak Bhargava - legislative representative, ACORN

NTIA REAUTHORIZATION**Senate Commerce Committee**

Communications Subcommittee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) 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

PUBLIC LANDS**Senate Energy Committee**

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) will hold hearings on pending legislation.

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

Agenda:

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

★ New listing

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

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■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

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

■ LONG-TERM CARE INSURANCE**Senate Finance Committee**

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

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

Witnesses scheduled:

Janet Shikles - director of health financing and policy issues, General Accounting Office

William McCartney - director of insurance, State of Nebraska and president, National Association of Insurance Commissioners

PANEL: Mildred McCauley - member, Board of Directors, American Association of Retired Persons; Gail Shearer - manager for policy analysis, Consumers Union; Joshua Wiener - Brookings Institution

PANEL: Robert DeCoursey - president, Association of Health Insurance Agents; Ronald Hagen - vice president, AMEX Life Assurance Co.; Susan Van Gelder - associate director, Health Insurance Association of America

START TREATY**Senate Foreign Relations Committee**

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

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. **June 23**

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

FOREIGN RELATIONS NOMINATIONS**Senate Foreign Relations Committee**

The full committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will hold a confirmation hearing on pending nominations.

2:30pm SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. **June 23**

Agenda: William Clark Jr. to be assistant secretary of State

■ HEALTH-CARE FRAUD**Senate Governmental Affairs Committee**

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

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

LACK OF CONSUMER DISCLOSURE IN THE LIFE INSURANCE INDUSTRY**Senate Judiciary Committee**

Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Metzenbaum, D-Ohio) 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

LEGAL SERVICES**REAUTHORIZATION****Senate Labor Committee**

The full 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**

House Committees**AGRICULTURE****REORGANIZATION****House Agriculture Committee**

The full 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

DEPT.**■ SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING & MARKUP: WELFARE & FOOD STAMPS****House Agriculture Committee**

Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations and Nutrition Subcommittee (Chairman Tallon, D-S.C.) 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; Cheryl Hayes - National Commission on Children; Virginia Mustain - National Association of Eligibility Workers; Jane Kitchel - American Public Welfare Association; Ellen Cantor - National Association of Counties; Richard Tellkamp - South Carolina Hospital Association

REGULATORY BURDENS**House Banking Committee**

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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:**RCRA****House Energy Committee**

The full 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

■ U.S. POLICY TOWARD**KENYA & MALAWI****House Foreign Affairs Committee**

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

1pm 2172 Rayburn Bldg. **June 23**

Witnesses scheduled: Rep. Kennedy Jr., D-Mass.; Herman Cohen - assistant secretary of State; John Healy - executive director, Amnesty International; Binaifer Nowrojee - Lawyer's Committee on Human Rights; Randall Robinson - TransAfrica; Michael Lescault - African/American Labor Center, AFL-CIO; Raila Odinga - Forum for the Restoration of Democracy; Vincent Kapoya - professor, Oakland University; Hussein Bulhan - president, Basic Health Management; Kamuti Kiteme - City University of New York; Enok Chihana - son of a Malawian Political Prisoner; Timothy Johnston - former Peace Corps Volunteer; George Kanyanya - United Front for Multiparty Democracy

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 16.

DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE**House Foreign Affairs Committee**

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

10am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. **June 23**

Witness scheduled: Thomas Niles - assistant secretary of State

BANKING AND FINANCE**House Government Operations Committee**

Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Barnard, D-Ga.) 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**House Government Operations Committee**

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

Witnesses scheduled: Allan Burman - administrator, Office of Federal Procurement Policy;

House continued...

Raymond DeCarli - assistant inspector general, Department of Transportation; L. Nye Stevens - General Accounting Office; Ted Dahlberg - Army Corps of Engineers; Richard Hopf - associate administrator, General Services Administration; Harold Tufti - Society of American Value Engineers

ADMINISTRATION BUSINESS**House Committee on House Administration**

The full committee (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) will meet to discuss pending business.
2pm H328 Capitol Bldg. June 23

Background: One of the bills scheduled for markup, HR 5269, would expand the jurisdiction and law enforcement authority of the Capitol Police. The bill would allow officers when on duty to make arrests on the Capitol grounds. Currently, officers can only make an arrest if they are defending a member. The measure would also expand police jurisdiction approximately six blocks beyond current boundaries.

Agenda:

H Con Res 328 - Concurrent resolution providing for the printing of the book entitled "Year of the American Indian, 1992: Congressional Recognition and Appreciation" as a House document.

HR 5269 - Add to the area in which the Capitol Police have law enforcement authority.

HR 1628 - Authorize the construction of a monument in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor Thomas Paine

HR 5059 - Extend the boundaries of the grounds of the National Gallery of Art to include the National Sculpture Garden.

H J Res 271 - Authorize the Go for Broke National Veterans Association to establish a memorial to Japanese American Veterans in the District of Columbia or its environs

Consideration of additions to the Approved List of Equipment.

Authorize Wide Area Data Communications services to the U.S. House of Representatives

STERLING FOREST**House Interior Committee**

Energy and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Kostmayer, D-Pa.) 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

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL: Reps. Gilman, R-N.Y.; Roukema, R-N.J.; Torricelli, D-N.J.

PANEL: Allen Schacht - U.S. Forest Service

PANEL: Robert Thomson - Sterling Forest Corp.; John Humbach - Sterling Forest Coalition; Robert Pirani - Regional Plan Association; Ella Filippone - Passaic River Coalition

PANEL: Barnabas McHenry - Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, New York State; Clara Sauer - Scenic Hudson

PANEL: Annette Dorozynski - Town of Tuxedo; Joseph Ramp - Town of Warwick; Renee Shaker - Sterling Forest Resident's Association; Louis Mills - Orange County Planning Board; Richard McGrady - Tuxedo Chamber of Commerce

PANEL: JoAnn Dolan - N.Y.-N.J. Trail Conference; Ed Morley - Sierra Club; Jennifer Melville - Appalachian Mountain Club

PUBLIC LANDS**House Interior Committee**

National Parks and Public Lands Sub-

★ New listing

committee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) will hold hearings on pending legislation.

10am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

Agenda:

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

Witnesses scheduled: Gaylord Nelson - Wilderness Society; Richard Roldan - Deputy Assistant Secretary of Interior; Donald Doros - U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service; David Moffitt - National Park Service; Dale Robertson - U.S. Forest Service; William Worf - Wilderness Watch; James Ratz - National Outdoor Leadership School; Max Peterson - International Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies; Gene Persha - Edina, Minn.; John Hende - College of Forestry, Wildlife and Range Sciences at the University of Idaho; Glen Haas - Department of Recreation Resources and Landscape Architecture at Colorado State University; Marty Sorensen - Sierra Club; David Simmonds - Idaho Conservation League

INDEPENDENT COUNSEL TO INVESTIGATE IRAQ AID**House Judiciary Committee**

The full 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

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

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS**House Post Office Committee**

Census and Population Subcommittee (Chairman Sawyer, D-Ohio) 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

Witnesses scheduled: 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

APPALACHIAN DEVELOPMENT**House Public Works Committee**

Economic Development Subcommittee (Chairman Kolter, D-Pa.) 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

Witnesses scheduled: Mike Gellespie - chairman,

Madison County Commission, Huntsville, Ala.; Robert Paciocco - Mideast Commission, Washington N.C.; Joseph James - director, Office of Economic Development, Richmond, Va.; Daniel Tabor - councilman, Inglewood, Calif.; Stuart Bendelow - Park and Planning Commission, State of Md.; Don Michalove - mayor, Hendersonville, N.C.; Michael Reese - executive director, Mohawk Valley Economic District, Mohawk, N.Y.

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 14.

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.

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

Agenda:

HR 5368 - Foreign Operations Appropriations

OPPORTUNITIES IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**House Science Committee**

Science Subcommittee (Chairman Boucher, D-Va.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR4726), the Opportunities in Science and Technology Act of 1992.

10am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. June 23

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Robert W. Brown - deputy associate administrator, Office of Human Resources and Education, National Aeronautics and Space Administration; Luther S. Williams, assistant director, Education and Human Resources, National Science Foundation; Richard E. Stephens - associate director, Office of Energy Research, Energy Department

PANEL II: Jeffrey Rudolph - Association of Science-Technology Centers; Fran Rooker - chairman, Fund Raising Committee, Council for Community Enrichment; George Boggs - incoming president, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges

SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATION**House Science Committee**

Technology and Competitiveness Subcommittee (Chairman Valentine, D-N.C.) 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

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Skelton, D-Mo.; Ireland, R-Fla.; Poshard, D-Ill.

PANEL 1: George J. Galasso - associate director, Extramural Research, National Institutes of Health; Robert Wrenn - director, Small Business Innovation Research Program, Defense Department; Robert M. Simon - principal deputy director, Office of Energy Research, Energy Department; Ray J. Arnold - deputy assistant administrator, Office of Commercial Programs, National Aeronautics and Space Administration

PANEL 2: Howard J. Gobstein - vice president, Association of American Universities; Richard J. Blattner - secretary, Academy of Technology Entrepreneurs and Innovators

MONEY LAUNDERING**House Ways and Means Committee**

Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman, Pickle, D-Texas) will hold a hearing to review the effectiveness of the Treasury Depart-

■ Revised listing

House continued...

ment's programs to address money laundering and related federal tax evasion.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. **June 23**

Agenda:

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

TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP**House Ways and Means Committee**

Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gibbons, D-Fla.) 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

News Events continued...

371-5064

Highlights

12:30pm: Luncheon address by General Motors Chairman Robert Stempel on "The End of the Age of Mass Production." Hall C

2:30pm: Panel discussion on "Arms Control in a Changing World" featuring former Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman William Crowe and Rep. Dave McCurdy, D-Okl. Room 20

News & Campaign Events Today

--from Reuters

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

TECHNOLOGY SYMPOSIUM

The White House Council on Competitiveness and the Foundation for the National Technology Medal hold a one-day symposium to discuss issues affecting U.S. technology development. Participants, which include winners of the prestigious National Medal of Technology, government officials and corporate chiefs, address such issues as the technology industry budget and tax/trade policies.

8am Willard Hotel, 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. (except where noted) **June 23**

Contact: Rob Reh, 202-371-0200, or the hotel, 202-628-9100

Highlights

8:15am: Panel discussion featuring Sen. Al Gore, D-Tenn., and Rep. George Brown, D-Calif. Crystal Room

9:15am: Panel discussion featuring Counsellor to the President for Domestic Policy Clayton Yeutter. Crystal Room

10:15am: Panel discussion featuring Assistant to the President for Science and Technology D. Allan Bromley and Commerce Undersecretary for Technology Robert White. Crystal Room

11am: Media reception with medal winners. Ballroom

1:35pm: President Bush hands out medals to winners at a Rose Garden ceremony. White House

FREE TRADE CONFERENCE

Citizens for a Sound Economy sponsors a conference on "Prospects for Free Trade in an Election Year."

8:30am Hyatt Regency on Capitol Hill Hotel, 400 New Jersey Ave. N.W. **June 23**

Contact: Christopher Ullman, 202-863-7608, Brian Riley, 202-488-8200, or the hotel, 202-

★ New listing

737-1234

Highlights

8:30am to 9am: Keynote address by former senator William Brock

9am to 9:45am: Panel discussion on "Free Trade and the U.S. Economy" with Center for the Study of American Business research fellow Arthur Denzau, Sandra Masur of Eastman Kodak Co., and Economic Strategy Institute President Clyde Prestowitz.

10am to 10:45am: Panel discussion on "Free Trade vs. Fair Trade" with Reps. Jim Kolbe, R-Ariz., and Ralph Regula, R-Ohio.

11am to 11:45am: Panel discussion on "What Does the Trade Deficit Mean?" with American Enterprise Institute resident scholar Claude Barfield, Institute for International Economics senior fellow William Cline, and Made in the USA Foundation Executive Director Brian Flood.

AIDS CONFERENCE

The Congressional Task Force on International HIV/AIDS, co-chaired by Reps. James McDermott, D-Wash., and Ted Weiss, D-N.Y., sponsors a "Congressional Forum on the HIV/AIDS Pandemic." Panel discussions examine international efforts to curb the spread of the blood-borne disease featuring representatives from the World Health Organization, World Bank economists, and public health specialists. First of three days.

8:50am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. (except where noted) **June 23**

Contact: David White or Chris Phillip, 202-223-8700

Note: The location changes each day for this event

Highlights

8:50am: Rep. James McDermott, D-Wash., and Mike Merson, director of WHO's Global Program on AIDS, deliver introductory remarks

9am: House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash., delivers the keynote address

Noon: Congressman McDermott releases a GAO study that evaluates the U.S. Agency for International Development's efforts to fight AIDS in developing countries. Rayburn Building, Foyer

ARMED FORCES**COMMUNICATIONS CONFERENCE**

The Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association holds its annual convention and exhibit show. First of three days.

9am Washington Convention Center, 10th and H streets N.W.

Contact: Shawn McKinley, 703-631-6189, or the press room at the convention center, 202-

SPENDING NEWS CONFERENCE

Reps. Harris Fawell, R-Ill., and Timothy Penny, D-Minn., co-chairmen of the Porkbusters Coalition, hold a news conference to call on the House Rules Committee to permit free and open debate on all appropriations bills. Fawell and Penny are joined by other coalition members, as well as representatives from Citizens Against Government Waste and Citizens for a Sound Economy. Coalition members plan to offer amendments to the bills.

10:30am The Capitol, House grassy triangle **June 23**

Contact: Kristin Jacobson, 202-225-3515

BOARDER BABIES NEWS CONFERENCE

House Narcotics Committee Chairman Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., and Rep. Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, join officials from the National Association of Public Hospitals and the Child Welfare League at a news conference to announce the results of a study on the rising costs of boarder babies. The report, "The Youngest of the Homeless," surveyed 21 hospitals in 12 U.S. cities and found the cost of caring for drug-addicted babies was almost \$4 million a day. Rangel will be joined by David Liederman of CWLA and Larry Gage of NAPH.

11am B-352 Rayburn Bldg. **June 23**

Contact: James Alexander, 202-226-3040, or Joyce Johnson, 202-638-2952

HUNGER NEWS CONFERENCE

Rep. Leon Panetta, D-Calif., and members of the House Select Committee on Hunger hold a news conference to discuss the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act. Joining the congressmen will be corporate leaders who will be here urging members of Congress to support the bill.

11:30am EF-100 Capitol Bldg. **June 23**

Contact: Barry Toiv, 202-225-7290

NBA NEWS CONFERENCE

Sens. Paul Simon, D-Ill., and Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., hold a news conference to settle their wager on the National Basketball Association championship series.

2:15pm Capitol Bldg. **June 23**

Contact: David Carle, 202-224-7115

POWS/MIAS NEWS CONFERENCE

Sen. Bob Smith, R-N.H., holds a news conference to discuss matters relating to the POW/MIA issue.

3pm Senate Radio-TV Gallery, Capitol Bldg.

June 23

Contact: Lisa Stocklan, 202-224-8759

■ Revised listing

News Events continued...**FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSION**

The Atlantic Council of the United States holds a panel discussion on the topic, "Facing America's Foreign Policy Future," with Atlantic Council Chairman Andrew Goodpaster and President Rozanne Ridgway, Steven Muller of the 21st Century Foundation, and Stanford University professor Condoleezza Rice.

4pm National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW, Ballroom **June 23**

Contact: 202-347-9353 ext. 6840

**Campaign:
General****WOMEN CANDIDATES
NEWS CONFERENCE**

The Women's Campaign Fund and the National Association for Female Executives hold a news conference to announce the "Seat at the Table Campaign," a nationwide effort to encourage women to support female candi-

dates. Speakers include Rep. Susan Molinari, R-N.Y., actress Blair ("Days and Nights of Molly Dodd") Brown, and Elizabeth Furse, Democratic candidate for Congress from Oregon.

10am National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW, Lisagor Room **June 23**

Contact: Jane Danowitz, 202-544-4484

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

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 23

In Houston, Texas

9:30am: Addresses the U.S. Conference of Mayors. Westin Galleria Hotel, 5060 West Alabama St., Houston

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 "Breakfast with Bill Clinton" conversation with former surgeon general C. Everett Koop, Spelman College President Johnnetta Cole, Harvard Medical School psychiatry professor Dr. Alvin Poussaint and American Enterprise Institute scholar Norman Ornstein. ABC Studios, 24 West 67th St., New York City. Contact Cathy Rehl, 212-456-6190

RON Washington, D.C.

REPUBLICANS**Pat Buchanan**

Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292

June 23 (indefinitely)

In Washington, D.C.

No campaign-related events are scheduled.

Bush-Quayle

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

June 23-26

PRESIDENT BUSH

No campaign events scheduled

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.

Time and room TBA 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. courts.

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

Armed Services

224-3871

★ DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION

Senate Armed Services Committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing to discuss the committee's impending markup of the defense authorization bill and to review pending nominations, including nominations that may be affected by the Navy's "Tailhook" scandal.

9:30am SR-222 Russell Bldg. closed June 25

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

224-7391

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

★ New listing

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

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 26

★ SEAFOOD INSPECTION

Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee (Chairman Hollings, D-S.C.) and the National Ocean Policy Study (Chairman Kerry, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2538) to establish a comprehensive program to ensure the safety of fish products intended for human consumption and sold in interstate commerce.

10am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 30

PUBLIC B'CASTING 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

Energy & Natural Resources

224-4971

PUBLIC LANDS

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

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

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

June 23:

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

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

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

S 2006 - Establish the Fox River National Heritage Corridor in Wisconsin

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

HR 2444 - Revise the boundaries of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument

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

June 25:

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

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

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

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

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

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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 24

Agenda:

HR 2896 - Minute Man National Historical Park

HR 3359 - Amend the Geothermal Steam Act of

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

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 - 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

Finance

224-4515

COMPETITIVENESS

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

Time TBA SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. add dates TBA

★ New listing

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: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witness

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: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for nominee

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

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

Governmental Affairs

224-4751

HEALTH-CARE FRAUD

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

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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

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

Agenda:

S 1958 - Authorize functions and activities under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, to amend laws relating to federal procurement

S 2624 - Authorize appropriations for the Inter-agency Council on the Homeless, the Federal Emergency Management Food and Shelter Program

S 2553 - Amend the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 to increase authorization for the Trust Fund under the Act

S 2566 - Establish partnerships involving department of Energy laboratories and educational institutions, industry, and other federal agencies, for purposes of development and application of technologies critical to national security and scientific and technological competitiveness

S J Res 282 - Provide for the expeditious disclosure of records relevant to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy

S 2766 - Provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the federal government

S 20 - Provide for the establishment and evaluation of performance standards and goals for expenditures in the federal budget

HR 2263 - Respect to certain programs under which awards may be made to federal employees for superior accomplishments or cost savings disclosures, and for other purposes

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

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

★ BUY INDIAN

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on buying Indian-made products.

2:30pm Russell Bldg. July 2

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...**■ 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. **July 21**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 24.

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

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 and room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 13.

★ New listing

Labor & Human Resources

224-5375

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.

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 Debieen - 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 Moorer - 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**

★ ELECTRONIC INFORMATION**Joint Hearing**

Senate Rules and Administration Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) and House Committee on House Administration (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) will hold a joint hearing on pending legislation.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. **July 23**

Agenda:

S 2813 - Establish in the Government Printing Office an electronic gateway to provide public access to a wide range of federal databases containing public information stored electronically.

HR 2772 - Establish in the Government Printing Office a single point online public access to a wide range of federal databases containing public information stored electronically.

Veterans' Affairs

224-9126

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. **June 24**

Agenda:

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

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

- 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 schedule for June 17.

SEXUALLY ABUSED WOMEN VETERANS

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

10am SD-G50 Dirksen Bldg. June 30

WOMEN VETERANS HEALTH CARE

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

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. July 2

House continued...**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

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**SURPLUS FOOD COMMODITIES**

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman

★ New listing

225-2171

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: SOVIET AID

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

Appropriations

225-2771

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 APPROPRIATIONS BILLS

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

9:30am 2360 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

Time and Room TBA June 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 and room TBA date TBA

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 D.C. APPROPS

District of Columbia Subcommittee (Chairman Dixon, D-Calif.) of House Appropriations Committee will mark up its fiscal 1993 spending bill.

Time and 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 and room TBA date TBA

■ Revised listing

House continued. . .

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 and 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

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs

225-4247

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

★ New listing

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

Time and room TBA date TBA

Energy & Commerce

225-2927

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: RCRA

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

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

Agenda:

HR 3865 - National Waste Reduction Recycling and Management Act

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

Time and room TBA date TBA

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

■ Revised listing

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

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

Time and 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 and 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 and room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 9.

Foreign Affairs

225-5021

FOREIGN AFFAIRS MARKUP

House Foreign Affairs Committee (Chairman Farnsworth, D-Idaho) 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

★ New listing

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 and room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 17.

**Government
Operations**

225-5051

**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.

**Interior &
Insular Affairs**

225-2761

PUBLIC LANDS

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

10am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. 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

Judiciary

225-3951

**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

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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

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**

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**

★ New listing

Witnesses Scheduled: Ernest Corrado - president, American Institute of Merchant Shipping; George Chandler, III - chairman, Carriage of Goods Committee, Maritime Law Association of the United States; Geoffrey Jones, chairman, Liability Committee, American Institute of Marine Underwriters; Roger Wigen - manager, Transportation Policy & Industry, 3M Corporation; Gloria Bartholomew - executive secretary, American Shippers for Hamburg Alliance; William Augello, executive director and general counsel, Transportation Claims and Prevention Council, Inc.

OCEANOGRAPHY AND GREAT LAKES 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 Bldg. **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.

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP 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**

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

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: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

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 23 & 28: U.S. educational system, U.S. workforce trends

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**

■ FULL COMMITTEE BUSINESS

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

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. **July 1**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 24.

■ CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRE

Census and Population Subcommittee (Chairman Sawyer, D-Ohio) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a hearing on the possibility of changing the census questionnaire.

1:30pm 311 Cannon Bldg. **July 1**

★ POST OFFICE SHOOTING

Postal Operations and Services Subcommittee (Chairman McCloskey, D-Ind.) and Postal Personnel and Modernization Subcommittee (Chairman Hayes, D-Ill.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a joint hearing on the shooting deaths of five people in the Royal Oak, Mich., Post Office in November 1991. The hearings will focus on safeguards intended to prevent repeated episodes.

■ Revised listing

House continued...

sodes of violence in U.S. Postal Service facilities.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. July 23

**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

**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; July 9

Witnesses scheduled:

June 23: Mike Gellespie - chairman, Madison County Commission, Huntsville, Ala.; Robert Paciocco - Mideast Commission, Washington N.C.; Joseph James - director, Office of Economic Development, Richmond, Va.; Daniel Tabor - councilman, Inglewood, Calif.; Stuart Bendelow - Park and Planning Commission, State of Md.; Don Michalove - mayor, Hendersonville, N.C.; Michael Reese - executive director, Mohawk Valley Economic District, Mohawk, N.Y.

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 3537 - Direct the Secretary of Transportation to establish a Civil Tiltrotor Development Advisory Committee in the Department of Transportation

★ New listing

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— - Enhance airline competition

HR— - Impose penalties for violations of aviation regulations

**Science, Space &
Technology**

225-6371

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

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

10:30am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. June 24

Agenda:

HR 5231 - Amend the Stevenson-Wylder 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 emissions and improved fuel economy.

Time and room TBA date TBA

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

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 19.

Small Business

225-5821

**■ FULL COMMITTEE 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

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

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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

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

Note

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

Joint Committees

Joint Economic

HOSPITAL INDUSTRY IN 21st CENTURY

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

★ JOBLESS AID EXTENSION

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 5260) to extend the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Program and to revise the trigger provisions contained in the extended unemployment compensation program.

Time and room TBA date TBA

CALIF. WATER PROJECT

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

Time and 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 and 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 and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Kennedy; Metzenbaum; Simon; Hatch; Thurmond

House conferees: Ford, Williams, Perkins, Andrews, Oliver, Goodling, Gunderson, Henry

FAMILY PLANNING

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

Time and 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 and 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 and 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 and 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: Fasel, 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,

■ Revised listing

Conference continued...

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 and 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 and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Har-kin, 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 and 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 and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Burdick, Baucus, Moynihan, Mitchell, Lautenberg, Chafee, Simpson, Durenberger, Warner

House conferees:

From the Energy and Commerce Committee for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Dingell, Swift, Eckart, Slattery, Sikorski, Lent, Ritter, Schaefer

As additional conferees from the Armed Services Committee, for consideration of section 113 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Ray, Hochbrueckner, Saxton

As additional conferees from the Judiciary Committee, for consideration of section 2(a) of the House bill, and section 103(a) of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Brooks, Frank of Mass., Gekas

As additional conferees from the Merchant Marine Committee, for consideration of section 304(a) of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Jones of N.C., Studds, Davis

As additional conferees from the Public Works Committee, for consideration of sections 102, 109, and 115-119 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Nowak, Hammerschmidt

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

PRICE FIXING

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

Time and 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 and 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, Oakar, Wylie, Leach, McCollum, Roukema

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

Other Events

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

HEALTH ISSUES

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

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

Contact: 202-785-3910

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

HEALTH FORUM

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

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

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

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

WGR

1325 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.

Suite 510

Washington D.C. 20005-4171

TELECOMMUNICATIONS, ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY ISSUES

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

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

Contact: Patti Jo Baber at 703-960-3011

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

American League of Lobbyists

P.O. Box 30005

Alexandria, Va. 22310

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.

Other continued...

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.

Campaign Future Listings

--from Reuters

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

Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 23

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 "Breakfast with Bill Clinton" conversation with former surgeon general C. Everett Koop, Spelman College President Johnnetta Cole, Harvard Medical School psychiatry professor Dr. Alvin Poussaint and American Enterprise Institute

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

scholar Norman Ornstein. ABC Studios, 24 West 67th St., New York City. Contact Cathy Rehl, 212-456-6190

RON Washington, D.C.

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 23 (indefinitely)

In Washington, D.C.

No campaign-related events are scheduled.

Bush-Quayle

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

June 23-26

PRESIDENT BUSH

No campaign events scheduled

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 25

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 102-555
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
	H Rpt 102-585

INTERIOR

House: 225-3081; Senate: 224-7233

House subcmte hearings completed:	May 27
House subcmte markup completed:	June 18
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 22

Monday, June 22:

- HR 5055 Coast Guard reauthorization passed 304-22
Under suspension of the rules:
- HR 1624 Provide for the establishment of a memorial on federal land within the District of Columbia to honor members of the armed forces who served in World War II, and to express the sense of congress concerning the U.S. participation in that conflict passed by voice
- 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 passed by voice
- HR 5412 Authorize the transfer of certain naval vessels to Greece and Taiwan passed by voice
- S 2703 Authorize the president to appoint General Thomas C. Richards to the Office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration passed by voice
- 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" passed by voice
- 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" passed by voice
- 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" passed by voice

Tuesday, June 23:

- HR 5428 Military Construction appropriations begin consideration
- Under suspension of the rules
- HR 4398 Remove outdated limitations on the acquisition or construction of branch buildings by Federal Reserve banks which are necessary for bank branch expansion if the acquisition or construction is approved by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

- begin consideration
- HR 3654 Provide for the minting of commemorative coins to support the 1996 Atlanta Centennial Olympic Games and the programs of the U.S. Olympic Committee begin consideration
- HR 2448 Provide for the minting of coins in commemoration of Benjamin Franklin and to enact a fire service bill of rights begin consideration
- HR 5126 Direct the secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the protection of Civil War battlefields begin consideration
- HR 1623 Require the secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the U.S. involvement in World War II begin consideration

Note: The House make take up the president's veto message of legislation reauthorizing the National Institutes of Health (HR 2507) if it is received during the legislative day. At 6pm Monday evening the president had not yet vetoed the measure, but he had announced his intention to do so.

Wednesday, June 24 & Balance of the Week:

- HR 5368 Foreign operations appropriations begin consideration
- HR 5427 Legislative branch 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

Friday, June 19:**HR 5260 Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 1992**

[Continued from June 18]

FINANCE COMMITTEE substitute amendment, as amended, agreed to by voice vote

PACKWOOD, R-Ore. (for BOND, R-Mo.), amendment no. 2434, to the above FINANCE COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to ensure that ex-service members and reservists are not denied trade adjustment assistance because they are fulfilling their active duty requirements, agreed to by voice vote

DOLE, R-Kan., substitute amendment no. 2435, to the above FINANCE COMMITTEE substitute amendment, rejected by voice vote

HR 5260 as amended, passed Senate by voice vote

BENTSEN, D-Texas, unanimous consent that the Senate insist on its amendments and request a conference with the House, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees, agreed to by unanimous consent

Week of June 22

Monday, June 22:

Not in session

Tuesday, June 23:

S 2733 Improve the regulation of government-sponsored enterprises begin consideration



CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



A Publication of

Congressional Quarterly Inc.
1414 22nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

CONGRESS IN PRINT



Tuesday, June 23, 1992

Volume 16, Number 24

SENATE COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS

AGING COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **Older Women and Employment: Facts and Myths**
Full Committee. August 2, 1991. Serial No. 102-10.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12696-1
Price: \$4.30
- **Continuing Long-Term Care Services**
Full Committee. February 10, 1992 in
Lauderhill, Fla. Serial No. 102-17.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12639-2
Price: \$3.00

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

- **SRpt 102-296** Special report entitled "Allocation to Subcommittees of Budget Totals from the Current Resolution for Fiscal Year 1992"

BUDGET COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **Causes and Implications of Insurance Company Failures**
Full Committee. February 18, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12621-0
Price: \$14.00
- **The Fair Credit Reporting Act**
Consumer and Regulatory Affairs Subcommittee. October 22, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12617-1
Price: \$12.00

BUDGET COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 1993, Volume I**
Full Committee.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12640-6
Price: \$14.00
- **Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 1993, Volume II**
Full Committee.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12690-2
Price: \$20.00
- **Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 1993, Volume III**
Full Committee.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12675-9
Price: \$6.00

COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **S 22, Interstate Greyhound Racing Act of 1991**
Full Committee. August 1, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12694-5
Price: \$2.00
- **Competitiveness of the U.S. Software Industry**
Full Committee. November 13, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12668-6
Price: \$3.75
- **Nomination of Mary S. Galt to be a Commissioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission**
Full Committee. November 14, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12659-7
Price: \$1.00
- **Developments in Automotive Fuel Economy Technology**
Consumer Subcommittee. October 29, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12660-1
Price: \$2.00

ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **Linda G. Stuntz Nomination**
Full Committee. May 7, 1992.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12661-9
Price: \$2.00

ENVIRONMENT & PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **Resource Conservation and Recovery Act Amendments (S 976) Part 3**
Environmental Protection Subcommittee.
March 5, 1992; March 12, 1992 in Helena, Mont.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12620-1
Price: \$11.00
- **Water Resources Infrastructure: Needs and Impacts**
Water Resources, Transportation, and Infrastructure Subcommittee. March 4, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12615-5
Price: \$2.75
- **Water Resources Development Act of 1992**
Water Resources, Transportation, and Infrastructure Subcommittee. March 18, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12695-3
Price: \$2.75

FINANCE COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **HCFA Regulation Restricting Use of Medicare Provider Donations and Taxes (S 1886)**
Full Committee. November 19, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12664-3
Price: \$3.50
- **Oversight of the Uruguay Round**
Full Committee. November 20, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12663-5
Price: \$3.25
- **Middle-Income Tax Cuts (S 11, 955, 1009, 1014, 1411, 1846, 1865, 1875, 1924 & 1984)**
Full Committee. November 25; December 12 & 13, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12704-6
Price: \$19.00

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **The START Treaty**
Full Committee. February 6, 19, 25, 27 & 28; March 3, 5, 10, 11 & 17, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12705-4
Price: \$19.00

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- **Adequacies of Programs for Civilian Employees and Local Communities Affected by Base Closings and Realignment**
Federal Services, Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee. February 20, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12686-4
Price: \$11.00
- **Asian Organized Crime**
Investigations Subcommittee. October 8;

Senate continued...

November 5 & 6, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12703-8

Price: \$17.00

- **S. 2279, The Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1992**

Oversight of Government Management Subcommittee. March 26, 1992.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12681-3

Price: \$8.00

**INDIAN AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE**
HEARINGS

- **San Carlos Indian Irrigation Project Divestiture Act of 1991 (S 1869 & HR 1476)**

Full Committee and Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. October 29, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12680-5

Price: \$8.00

- **Federal Court Review of Tribal Courts Rulings in Actions Arising under Indian Civil Rights Act**

Full Committee. November 20, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12682-1

Price: \$10.00

**JUDICIARY
COMMITTEE**

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

HEARINGS

- **Confirmation Hearings on Federal Appointments, Part 4**

Full Committee. June 5 & 20; July 11 & 19, 1991. Serial No. J-102-7.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12628-7

Price: \$29.00

- **Confirmation Hearings on Federal Appointments, Part 5**

Full Committee. July 24, 29 & 31: September 26, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12626-1

Price: \$21.00

- **Confirmation Hearings on Federal Appointments, Part 6**

Full Committee. October 2; November 5, 14 & 20, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12706-2

Price: \$24.00

**POW-MIA AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE**
HEARINGS

- **POW/MIA Policy and Process, Part I**

Full Committee. November 5, 6, 7 & 15, 1991.

Congress in Print lists all publications released for public distribution in recent days by congressional committees. It lists all committee hearings, prints, reports, calendars, and public laws. Editor: Jeanne Ponessa.

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GPO Stock No. 552-070-12627-9

Price: \$25.00

- **POW/MIA Policy and Process, Part II**

Full Committee. November 5, 6, 7 & 15, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12635-0

Price: \$38.00

**RULES &
ADMINISTRATION
COMMITTEE**
REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

- **SRpt 102-297 to S J Res 221, A joint resolution providing for the appointment of Hanna Holborn Gray as a citizen regent of the Smithsonian Institution**

- **SRpt 102-298 to S J Res 275, A joint resolution providing for the appointment of Wesley Samuel Williams Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution**

- **SRpt 102-299 to S J Res 259, A joint resolution providing for the appointment of Barber B. Conable Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution**

**VETERANS' AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE**
HEARINGS

- **Readjustment Problems of Persian Gulf War Veterans and Their Families**

Full Committee. July 16 & 25, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12619-8

Price: \$12.00

**HOUSE COMMITTEE
PUBLICATIONS**
AGING COMMITTEE**HEARINGS**

- **Alcohol Abuse and Misuse Among the Elderly**

Health and Long-Term Care Subcommittee. February 4, 1992. Comm. Pub. No. 102-858.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12671-6

Price: \$5.50

- **Left at the Gate: The Impact of Bank-**

- **ruptcy on Employee and Retiree Benefits**

Human Services Subcommittee and Labor Management Relations Subcommittee of House Education and Labor Committee. March 9, 1992. Aging Committee Pub. No. 102-859. Education and Labor Comm. Pub. No. 102-92.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12678-3

Price: \$6.50

**APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE**
HEARINGS

- **Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 1**

Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12708-9

Price: \$31.00

- **Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 2**

Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12632-5

Price: \$34.00

- **Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 3**

Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12647-3

Price: \$23.00

- **Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 4**

Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12633-3

Price: \$36.00

- **Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary and Related Appropriations for 1993 — Part 1A**

Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12707-1

Price: \$37.00

- **Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary and Related Appropriations for 1993 — Part 1B**

Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12709-7

Price: \$36.00

- **Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary and Related Appropriations for 1993 — Part 2B**

Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary

House continued...**Subcommittee.**

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12649-0

Price: \$36.00

•Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary and Related Appropriations for 1993 — Part 3

Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12651-1

Price: \$37.00

•Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary and Related Appropriations for 1993 — Part 6

Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12654-6

Price: \$37.00

•Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations for 1993 — Part 3

Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12646-5

Price: \$20.00

•Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 8

Interior Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12691-1

Price: \$34.00

•Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 2

Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12710-1

Price: \$40.00

•Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 3

Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12692-9

Price: \$40.00

•Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 4

Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12650-3

Price: \$36.00

•Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 5

Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12636-8

Price: \$38.00

•Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 6

Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12657-1

Price: \$42.00

•Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 7

Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12656-2

Price: \$38.00

•Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1993 — Part 2

Legislative Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12652-0

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House Document Room
B-18, House Annex No. 2.
Washington, D.C. 20515

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Government Printing Office
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Washington D.C.

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Government Printing Office
Congressional Sales Office
Washington D.C. 20402-9315

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For questions and information on congressional hearings and prints call (202) 512-2470 or 2471.

Price: \$36.00

•Military Construction Appropriations for 1993 — Part 5

Military Construction Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12645-7

Price: \$20.00

•Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1993 — Part 1

Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12655-4

Price: \$38.00

•Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1993 — Part 4

Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12648-1

Price: \$32.00

•Department of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 4

VA, HUD and Independent Agencies Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12634-1

Price: \$38.00

•Department of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 6

VA, HUD and Independent Agencies Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12630-9

Price: \$34.00

•Department of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations for 1993 — Part 8

VA, HUD and Independent Agencies Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12653-8

Price: \$36.00

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

•HRpt 102-555 to HR 5373, A bill making appropriations for energy and water development for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes. •HRpt 102-556, Report on the subdivision of budget totals for fiscal year 1993, and for other purposes. •HRpt 102-579 to HR 5427, A bill making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes. •HRpt 102-580 to HR 5428, A bill making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes

House continued...

- HRpt 102-585 to HR 5368, A bill making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes.
- HRpt 102-577 to HR 5132, CONFERENCE REPORT: A bill making dire emergency supplemental appropriations for disaster assistance to meet urgent needs because of calamities such as those which occurred in Los Angeles and Chicago, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1992, and for other purposes

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- A-12 Acquisition
Investigations Subcommittee. April 9, 18; July 18, 23 & 24, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12699-6
Price: \$11.00

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

- HRpt 102-544 (Part II) to HR 5095, Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993

BANKING, FINANCE & URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Existence of a Credit Crunch in the Southeast
General Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee. November 15, 1991. Serial No. 102-83.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12688-1
Price: \$15.00
- HR 4731 and the Economic Impact of Insurance Company Insolvencies
Policy Research and Insurance Subcommittee. April 29, 1992. Serial No. 102-116.
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HEARINGS

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GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

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Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee. November 22, 1991.
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Environment, Energy and Natural Resources Subcommittee. June 13, 1991.
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Legislation and National Security Subcommittee. May 16; October 1, 1991.
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HEARINGS

- The Future of Humanitarian Assistance in

Iraq

International Task Force. March 18, 1992.
Serial No. 102-22.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12670-8
Price: \$4.50

INTERIOR & INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- U.S. Holocaust Museum: 50th Anniversary of the Wannsee Conference
Energy and the Environment Subcommittee. February 5, 1992. Serial No. 102-21.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12669-4
Price: \$4.50
- Proposed Legislation to Authorize a Political Status Referendum in Puerto Rico
Insular and International Affairs Subcommittee. March 12, 1990. Serial No. 101-81.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12631-7
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- Insular Areas Budget Request for Fiscal Year 1991
Insular and International Affairs Subcommittee. February 6, 1991. Serial No. 101-80.
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National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee. July 20, 1989. Serial No. 101-89.
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REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

- HRpt 102-562 to HR 4999, A bill to authorize additional appropriations for implementation of the development plan for Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House
- HRpt 102-563 (Part I) to HR 2660, A bill entitled "Authorization of appropriations for the United States Holocaust Memorial Council"
- HRpt 102-576 (Part I) to HR 5099, Central Valley Project Improvement Act

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

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Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee. May 22; June 27; July 17, 1991. Serial No. 39.
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MERCHANT MARINE & FISHERIES COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Santa Clara I Dumping Incident
Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee and Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee. February 27, 1992. Serial No. 102-

House continued...

70.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12667-8

Price: \$3.75

Seamen Documentation and Towboat Manning

Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee and Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee. March 17, 1992. Serial No. 102-67.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12685-6

Price: \$11.00

Rocky Mountain Arsenal National Wildlife Refuge Act of 1991

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee. September 9, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12700-3

Price: \$11.00

Review of the Administration's Proposal to Promote Dolphin Protection

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee. March 18, 1992. Serial No. 102-72.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12701-1

Price: \$14.00

REPORTS*Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.***HRpt 102-564 to HR 5055, Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1992****HRpt 102-565 to HR 4310, National Marine Sanctuaries reauthorization and Improvement Act of 1992****HRpt 102-570 to HR 4484, A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for the Maritime Administration****POST OFFICE &****CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE****HEARINGS****Proposed Regulations of the Office of Government Ethics for the Standards of Conduct of Executive Branch Employees**

Human Resources Subcommittee. October 22, 1991. Serial No. 102-30.

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PRINTS**A Post Office Tragedy: The Shooting At Royal Oak**

Full Committee. June 15, 1992.

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Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee. October 30, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12616-3

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RULES COMMITTEE**REPORTS***Note: Reports are available from the Document Rooms***HRpt 102-557 to H Res 479, RULE GRANTED: Resolution waiving all points of order against the conference report on S 1306, to amend title V of the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend certain programs, and for other purposes, and against the conference report****HRpt 102-558 to H Res 480, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for consideration of S 250, an act to establish national voter-registration procedures for federal elections, and for other purposes.****HRpt 102-559 to H Res 481, RULE GRANTED: Resolution waiving certain points of order during consideration of H Con Res 192, to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress.****HRpt 102-560 to H Res 482, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of HR 5005, a bill to authorize appropriations for the Coast Guard for fiscal year 1993, and for other purposes.****HRpt 102-561 to H Res 483, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of HR 4996, a bill to extend the authorities of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and for other purposes.****HRpt 102-571 to H Res 485, RULE GRANTED: Resolution waiving certain points of order during consideration of HR 5373, a bill making appropriations for energy and water development for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes****HRpt 102-572 to H Res 486, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of HR 5009, a bill to provide for the restoration of fish and wildlife and their habitat in the Central Valley of California, and for other purposes****HRpt 102-573 to H Res 487, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of HR 3247, a bill to establish a National Undersea Research program within the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration****HRpt 102-574 to H Res 488, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of HR 4310, a bill to reauthorize and improve the national marine sanctuaries program, and to establish the Coastal and Ocean Sanctuary Foundation****HRpt 102-575 to H Res 489, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of HR 4996, a bill to extend the authorities of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and for other purposes****HRpt 102-582 to H Res 493, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of the bill HR 4484, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for the Maritime Administration****HRpt 102-583 to H Res 494, RULE****GRANTED: Resolution providing for consideration of the bill HR 2637, to withdraw lands for the waste isolation pilot plant, and for other purposes. •HRpt 102-584 to H Res 495, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of the bill HR 5095, to 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, and for other purposes****•HRpt 102-578 to H Res 491, RULE GRANTED: Resolution providing for the consideration of the conference report and amendments reported from conference in disagreement on the bill HR 5132, making dire emergency supplemental appropriations for disaster assistance to meet urgent needs because of calamities such as those which occurred in Los Angeles and Chicago, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1992, and for other purposes****SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE****HEARINGS****The SP-100 Space Reactor Power System Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee. March 12, 1992. No. 109.**

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12684-8

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Renewable Energy and the National Energy Strategy

Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee. April 30, 1991. No. 110.

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House continued...**SMALL BUSINESS
COMMITTEE****HEARINGS**

- **Cross Border Transport of Solid Waste**
Full Committee. October 21, 1991. Serial No. 102-48.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12662-7
Price: \$2.50
- **Minorities and Franchising**
Full Committee. November 21, 1991. Serial No. 102-55.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12666-0
Price: \$3.75
- **Increasing Small Business Participation in SBA and Eximbank Export Financing Programs**
Exports, Tax Policy and Special Programs Subcommittee. July 9, 1991. Serial No. 102-31.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12683-0
Price: \$10.00
- **Rural Development in Eastern North Carolina**
Procurement, Tourism and Rural Development Subcommittee. October 28, 1991. Serial No. 102-52.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12672-4
Price: \$6.00
- **Small Business Administration and Rural Development**
Procurement, Tourism and Rural Development Subcommittee. October 31, 1991. Serial No. 102-49.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12693-7
Price: \$1.75
- **The Safety and Effectiveness of the Abortifacient RU486 in Foreign Markets: Opportunities and Obstacles to U.S. Commercialization**
Regulation, Business Opportunities and Energy Subcommittee. December 5, 1991. Serial No. 102-56.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12618-0
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**WAYS & MEANS
COMMITTEE****HEARINGS**

- **Tax Treatment of Intangible Assets**
Full Committee. October 2 & 29, 1991. Serial No. 102-76.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12641-4
Price: \$15.00
- **Tax Aspects of Government-Assisted Savings and Loan Acquisitions**
Full Committee. February 11, 1992. Serial No. 102-78.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12679-1
Price: \$7.50
- **Administration and Enforcement of U.S. Export Control Programs**
Oversight Subcommittee. April 18; May 1, 1991. Serial No. 102-72.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12629-5
Price: \$31.00

PRINTS

- **Overview of Entitlement Programs — 1992 Green Book**
Full Committee. May 15, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-06807-8
Price: \$36.00

**JOINT COMMITTEE
PUBLICATIONS****JOINT ECONOMIC
COMMITTEE****HEARINGS**

- **Global Economic and Technical Change**
Technology and National Security Sub-

committee. May 16; June 28, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12642-2
Price: \$16.00

**JOINT PRINTING
COMMITTEE****HEARINGS**

- **Annual Review of GPO Activities**
Full Committee. January 30, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12676-7
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**ARMS OF CONGRESS
PUBLICATIONS****COMMISSION ON SECURITY
AND COOPERATION
IN EUROPE**

- **Implementation of the Helsinki Accords**
Full Committee. January 9, 1992.
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PUBLIC LAWS

- **S 2783 = PL 102-300 106 Stat. 238, Medical Device Amendments of 1992**
Signed by the president June 17, 1992

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Congressional Quarterly Inc.
1414 22nd Street, N.W.
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--- Tuesday --- June 23, 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

DOUBLE NEGATIVES?

CBS/N.Y. TIMES poll finds Perot's negatives nearly double in six weeks; Bush ties Perot in both 3- and 2-way. Clinton seen as saying the most on "issues." (#13)

SHOULDA CALLED IT BRUNCH

GMA's "Breakfast with Bill" runs over a half-hour. (#5)
Eco-plan hit with Mayors. (#4)

LUCE ON DEFENSIVE

Calling the investigation story "distortions," Luce is loose with Larry King; tense with NBC's Gumbel. (#2)

ABORTION: PITCHING PUP TENTS

GOP conventions in WA and TX establish "strict" pro-life planks. TX platform says GOPers must support a Constitutional amendment banning abortions. (#12)

SENATE WATCH

ID: Kempthorne internal poll has him 8-points ahead of Stallings. (#10)

CA "A": Independent candidate Kopp-out. (#11)

SPOTLIGHT

SILLY (OR MEAN) SEASON?

If nothing else, the primary campaigns of '92 served to raise the unfavorable ratings of all involved. Now the press gets a crack at the guy who sat out the warm-up.

After TIME cover and W. POST expose, Team Bush smells blood. Bush breaks his disciplined silence to lash out in defense of family, American way. GOP speaks as one on Perot as someone to fear. (#1)
CBS/NYT poll -- Perot's UNFAV at 20%, double that of 5/92, but it also shows he gained in 3-way. (#13)

Does Perot benefit from hostile media, or will the process eventually turn voters off? CLUE? CBS/NYT finds voters satisfied with choices down 10% in 6 weeks to bare 51% majority. (#13)

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

"It's my life the guy is probing.

My life, my dad, my brothers! You bet!"

-- George W. Bush, asked if he takes personally reports of Perot investigating him, KDFW-TV (Dallas), 6/22. (#1)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Sen. Wirth's office credits Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell for breaking CO wilderness bill impasse.

FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Author E.D. Hirsh's remedy for declining student achievement: core knowledge curriculum.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: Abortion is in the presidential election spotlight, but opinion is split on voter impact.
FROM TODAY'S HEALTH LINE: NJ GOPers say they have commitment to Medicaid refund; this a.m. HCFA has no official response.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

PEROT: Bush takes opportunity to join the attack. (#1)
PEROT: Campaign on defensive; Luce on TV offensive. (#2)
PEROT: MIA panel "at war with itself." (#3)
CLINTON: Mayors give economic plan a boost. (#4)
CLINTON: "Breakfast with Bill" on "GMA." (#5)
J. BROWN: "Can't [he] have his own party?" (#6)
BUSH: Convention update. (#7)
QUAYLE: Where the non-elite meet and greet. (#8)

ISSUES '92

ABORTION: WA and TX GOPs create small puppets. (#9)

SENATE WATCH

ID: Kempthorne steals lead from Stallings. (#10)

CALIFORNIA CABLE

SENATE "A": Kopp-out. (#11)

ON THE HOUSE

HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS (#12)

POLL UPDATE

CBS/N.Y. TIMES: Perot unfavorable doubles. (#13)

TV MONITOR (#14)

???? OVERLOOKED ???? ?

"[Perot] would make an awful president."

-- Sam Donaldson, "This Week with David Brinkley," ABC, 4/19/92

"I was at a party with Sam Donaldson.

Sam says, 'Once I get Perot, I'll destroy him.'

I said, 'Sam, if you destroy him, he'll go up 20 points.'"

-- Larry King, according to W. POST's Kurtz, 5/5/92

"[Perot is] defining himself for the American people, not for Sam Donaldson or Tim Russert."

-- Perot spokesman James Squires, N.Y. TIMES, 5/9/92

-- FROM THE HOTLINE DATABASE ... (See also #1)

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

*1 PEROT: BUSH TAKES OPPORTUNITY TO JOIN THE ATTACK

"Ignoring his own decision to refrain from criticizing Ross Perot," Pres. Bush "blasted [him] as not 'particularly American' for attempting to dig up dirt on him in the middle 1980s," as reported in Sunday's W. POST (Santini, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 6/23). ABC's "World News Tonight" and "GMA" showed a preview from Bush's interview with Barbara Walters, to be broadcast 6/26 on "20/20." Bush, on reports Perot investigated his family in search of improper business dealings: "If that's true -- I don't know if

it's true -- but that is beyond the pale. And I'm 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 a President of the United States, or then Vice President, or any other American" ("GMA," 6/23). Bush: "Leave my kids alone, I say" (ABC, 6/22). N.Y. POST's Furse writes of the "20/20" statements, "Bush shifted from genteel annoyance to all-out anger

... Later Bush switched back to his kinder, gentler tack, suggesting [Perot] is not temperamentally suited for the White House and that it's too much of a gamble to put the country in his hands." Bush, in the Cabinet Room: "Well, I better count to 10. ... I prefer not to take that question right now, frankly." He went on to say if the reports are true, "I feel a little tense about it. I don't think that's particularly American. ... I've probably said too much here." During the "20/20" interview, Bush at one point excused himself to take a drink of water: "I'm getting a little hot when you bring this up" (6/23). NBC's John Cochran: "The President spoke out ... after some of his friends told him last week that he should stop acting like a gentleman with Ross Perot and should start mud wrestling now, before it's too late. Bush could not pass up the opportunity to exploit an alleged chink in Perot's armor" (6/22).

GOP GUNS BLARING: N.Y. TIMES' Wines reports the Bush campaign "is starting to emphasize what it sees as a trait in Ross Perot that most concerns voters: an authoritarian streak that threatens their liberties." WH press sec. Marlin Fitzwater "managed to cram three scare words into one sentence ... in describing his reaction to the reports": "It's shocking and frightening to see that kind of bizarre behavior on the part of a presidential candidate." Bush adviser Charles Black: "The thing that gives people some hesitancy is his M.O. -- he's authoritarian; his use of investigation; the appearance that he's not very tolerant of dissent" (6/23). W. POST's Devroy notes Bush is echoing his surrogates seeking to portray Perot "as bizarre and dangerous to democracy" (6/23). VP Quayle, in San Diego: "Imagine having the IRS, the FBI and CIA under his control. Who would be investigated next?" (NBC, 6/22). Bush statements were the "strongest attack" on Perot yet by Bush and "reflected the judgment of Bush aides that reports of Mr. Perot's penchant for investigations will damage [him] politically by making him appear dangerous" (W.S. JOURNAL, 6/23). ABC's Ann Compton: "Creating fear of Perot is indeed the Bush campaign strategy. It wants to paint Ross Perot as unproven and compulsive" (ABC, 6/22). House Min. Leader Bob Michel: "If that's the kind of investigatory machination that we would be experiencing [if Perot won] I think we'd have to have some real concern about him." House Min. Whip Newt Gingrich: "How would any American like the idea of private investigators possibly railing your children?" (AP/PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/23). Bush spokesperson Torie Clarke: "The stuff's out there, and it's up to the people to sort it out. I'm really glad my parents never had me followed" (W. TIMES, 6/23). First Son George W. Bush: "You just say to yourself, 'What makes this guy think he can do that? And what would he be like as President?'" Bush TX chair Jim Oberwetter: "Perot should personally answer questions of why he has been doing this and is this the way he would do business if he got to be President?" KDFW-TV Richard Ray: "George W. ... believes Perot may have planned to use what he found as political blackmail." Ray: "You're taking this personally?" George W.: "Absolutely! It's my life the guy is probing. My life, my dad,

my brothers! You bet!" (KDFW, 6/22).

JUST LOOKING OUT FOR SAM: Fitzwater "did manage to drop a tickler when he was asked whether he knew of any conflict between Perot and Bush" over Vietnam POW/MIAs during Bush's tenure as VP. Fitzwater, then VP Bush's press sec., recalled Perot called him and "threatened to get" ABC's Sam Donaldson over a story Donaldson did on MIAs. Fitzwater "said the call 'scared me to death' because 'I don't get many calls from guys flying around in their private planes'" (Rosenthal, AP/PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/23). Fitzwater's "accusation was timed to take advantage" of recent reports of Perot's "purported penchant for waging vendettas" (Hosler, Balto. SUN, 6/23). Perot spokesperson James Squires: "Perot did once call Marlin Fitzwater and asked him to please correct, if he could, a story that Sam Donaldson had run. Mr. Perot never tried to 'get' Sam Donaldson. If he wanted to complain to Sam, he'd do it directly." Donaldson "appeared to confirm the Squires version": "We're both Texans so we understand one another. I would have certainly have understood him if he said he was going to kick my hide." Donaldson added Perot "never threatened me" (Malone, COX/ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 6/23). Donaldson "said that far from threatening him, Perot had called him to complain about 'what a bunch of bums the White House guys were.'" Squires called Fitzwater's statements "another hysterical attempt to mischaracterize Ross Perot and create fear of him in the public mind" (L.A. TIMES, 6/23). CNN's Bierbauer reported Donaldson "says he recalls talking to Ross Perot both before and after" the MIA report. "[Donaldson] says he did not feel threatened by Ross Perot and suggested that the White House might just be doing a little politicking" (CNN, 6/22).

*2 PEROT: CAMPAIGN ON DEFENSIVE; LUCE ON TV OFFENSIVE

Perot campaign chair Tom Luce "said the [W. POST] story and previous reports linking Perot to investigations of private residents were based on 'distortions' that amount to 'character assassination.'" Luce said the inquiry reported in the W. POST into a \$48M tax deduction obtained by Pennzoil "was prompted by a tip Perot got and it used public documents, not private investigators." Luce: "What are you supposed to do when you are presented with evidence of what appears to be a highly questionable transaction, ignore it?" (Jackson, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/23). Perot spokesperson James Squires said the "inquiries were initiated when [W. POST] editor Bob Woodward had called Perot in 1988 in the course of his investigation of Bush's personal finances": "It was Woodward's investigation, not Perot's" (L.A. TIMES, 6/23). Luce appeared on CNN's "Larry King Live" and called the W. POST story "flat wrong." Asked if the story would hurt Perot: "I don't think it will. ... The American people know what kind of man Ross Perot is." On the alleged investigations: "I can't remember a time when Ross Perot asked me to hire a private investigator to investigate someone" (6/22). Luce also appeared on NBC's "Today" and received pointed questioning from Bryant Gumbel. Luce on the W. POST story: "What we have here was a simple situation of Mr. Perot sitting at his desk, received a highly questionable tax transaction and turned it over to Mr. Woodward. There were no investigations, no detectives. That's all distortion in the political process by the people who are saying we'll do whatever it takes to win. ... I've represented this man for about twenty years, I've been in every major event and scrape in this man's life, he has never asked me to hire a private detective. This is the distortion

that goes on in the presidential selection process, and in effect partly ... the reason why we have the Perot phenomenon." Gumbel: "Why is his past so littered with so many contacts, with so many retired FBI officials, retired intelligence officials, private detectives who acknowledge dealings with Mr. Perot." Luce: "It's very simple. Let's take his humanitarian effort in connection with the POWs and the MIAs ... In course of working on that project, he is contacted by someone who says he has vital information pertaining to this, what is he supposed to do say don't bring it to me" ("Today," NBC, 6/23). W. TIMES and USA TODAY quote Perot from his U.S. NEWS profile: "In my whole life, I can just think of three or four times I've used private investigators. I never wiretapped anybody. It's a feeding frenzy by the press" (6/23).

"A POTENTIAL KILLER ISSUE": NBC's John Cochran: "Now [Perot] must lay to rest a potential killer issue, questions about his character" (6/22). Analyst Charles Cook: "This is the first crisis of the Perot candidacy. How he handles this will tell us a lot. ... Bush has gone through this. Clinton has gone through it in the primaries. Now it's Ross Perot's turn" (USA TODAY, 6/23). ST. PETE TIMES' Debenport writes Perot's "effort to dig up dirt on George Bush is typical of [him] and won't surprise anyone familiar with Perot's life before politics. ... Perot sees people who dispute him on minor points as simply wrong, maybe lying. He sees those who disagree on major points as evil, maybe part of a conspiracy" (6/23). W. TIMES editorial: "it's hard to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Perot has a certain, well, obsession with [Bush] ... It's all enough to make Oliver Stone look like an apologist for the Warren Commission" (6/23). CBS began the first of a five-part investigation into Perot, focusing on his roots. The piece included a lengthy quote from Perot in 1969: "I honestly believe I would make one of the worst elected officials in the history of this country." CBS' Eric Engberg: "In this the year of the outsider, the elusive Perot is playing up his maverick side. A staggeringly self-confident super-salesman vying for the sale of a lifetime." Tonight's report will focus on Perot's interest in covert operations, conspiracies and conspiracy theories (6/22).

***3 PEROT: MIA PANEL "AT WAR WITH ITSELF"**

W.S. JOURNAL's Greenberger reports the added intensity of the MIA issue -- long "a magnet for charlatans, hucksters and hustlers ... rife with scams and ruses." The story includes details of a 5/92 classified Senate panel on evidence of U.S. servicemen "in captivity in Vietnam and Laos as late as 1989." The special Senate committee chaired by Sen. John Kerry (D-MA), "now is at war with itself." Cmte vice-chair Sen. Bob Smith (R-NH) "contends that Sen. Kerry is proceeding too cautiously," and last week threatened to resign. Smith has scheduled a press conference for today (6/23). CNN's Bernard Shaw: "There appears to be a serious disagreement growing between Ross Perot and Senator John Kerry." CNN's Wolf Blitzer: "Committee sources say, that if Perot backs out, they'll subpoena him" ("Inside Politics," CNN, 6/22).

REACH THE BEACH: Perot's 24-boat flotilla (representing Baltimore and MD's 23 counties) will reach the Annapolis, MD City Dock at noon tomorrow with "facsimiles" of more than 140,000 signatures to put him on the ballot; the real petitions were delivered to county election boards 6/22. The press release from the Perot campaign in Dallas mistakenly referred to Baltimore as

the capital of MD (Smith, Balto. SUN, 6/23). SUN's Olesker, applauding Perot's refusal to answer in sound-bites questions that would take an hour to answer, then recounts a phone call from Perot MD organizer David Green offering an interview. "'How much time can you give me with him?' I ask. 'Four minutes,' declares Green" (SUN, 6/23).

OTHER LOOKS: CHICAGO TRIBUNE's Steve Daley looks at DC's worry about Perot. Dem consultant Brian Lunde: "When people say they're not concerned, it's just a cloak they throw over their panic." Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL), asked about the view of Perot on the Hill: "Fear and loathing. I think there is a general sense of doom this guy could really do it" (6/22). Balto. SUN examines Perot's stint at the Naval Academy, with words like respect, opinionated, leadership, political, and confidence that "bordered on the obnoxious" (Waldron, 6/23). W.S. JOURNAL continues their focus groups with 15 Kalamazoo, MI "middle-income swing voters," conducted by pollster Peter Hart. Despite mixed reaction to Perot, "One thing almost all agree on: They're glad he's in the race" (6/23). ST. PETE TIMES' Debenport notes advice from Perot's favorite book, "Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun": "You must recognize and accept that your greatness will be made possible through the extremes of your personality." Debenport adds, "Attila, like Mr. Perot, sends conflicting signals on how willing he is to tolerate diversity" (W. TIMES, 6/23).

*4 CLINTON: MAYORS GIVE ECONOMIC PLAN A BOOST

"Cheered on by a claue of big-city mayors," Clinton "seized the political offensive" and took "an initiative that offers a sharp contrast with silence on key issues" of Bush and Perot. Clinton's appearance at the U.S. Conference of Mayors "evoked an outpouring of support from [Dem] mayors that, although predictable, gave at least the appearance of momentum to a campaign that has been struggling for attention" (Germond, Balto. SUN, 6/23). Council pres./Boston Mayor Ray Flynn (D), "who in recent days had suggested he might lean toward" Perot: "It is time for Mr. Bush and Mr. Perot to let the country know what they will do. As far as I'm concerned, the presidential campaign is getting started today." Knoxville Mayor/GOP mayors chief Victor Ashe (R): "I liked parts of what he said. He is helping to focus the debate." Newark Mayor Sharpe James (D): "We've sat with him one on one, and he clearly has indicated, I want to work with you. ... I met with Perot -- polite -- but did not have a plan" (CNN, 6/22). Elkhart Mayor Jim Perron (D): "Bush has given us nothing and Ross Perot has given us nothing. This is something. We'll take it" (Black, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/23). Houston Mayor Bob Lanier (I): "I think he helped himself -- some. ... At least here's one candidate who's come up with a definite plan for something" (N.Y. TIMES, 6/23). Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson (D) called Clinton's strategy "a watershed day in the campaign": "Bush does not care. Perot does not know. But Clinton knows if we save America, we save Americans" (COX/ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 6/23). Conference "sources" said Jackson was "instrumental in lining up the unanimous" Dem support although Jackson "sought to play down his role": "These mayors have seen everything and heard everything. They flocked around him because the plan is sound" (Claiborne, W. POST, 6/23). HUD/Sec. Jack Kemp "provided a [GOP] perspective" and characterized himself as Bush's "radical HUD secretary": "You can't balance the federal budget until you put this economy back to work" (Kelley, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 6/23). Kemp, who attended the conference: "While Bill Clinton wants to

raise taxes, George Bush wants to cut the rate" (CNN, 6/22). Quayle said Clinton "is going along with Walter Mondale and Dukakis proposals ... flip-flopped on his own economic package" (USA TODAY, 6/23).

EDITORIAL COMMENT: N.Y. TIMES editorial under header, "Now, Where's Their Beef?" states Clinton's plan gave "sound answers to every important question": "At least Mr. Clinton addresses problems which is more than can be said of his opponents. ... Bush won't even make promises. He renews tiresome calls for pending legislation. ... For the moment alas, it's the sound of one hand clapping, and voters are left waiting to hear the other two" (6/23). W. POST: "[Clinton] has unfortunately" chosen to focus on the "investment gap" rather than the budget deficit. "His plan is far better than [Bush or Perot's]. But it doesn't address the basic problem or accept the need for the unpopular solution. We wish it did" (6/23). N.Y. DAILY NEWS calls Clinton's plan "a welcome attempt to raise the presidential debate above the level of a rap video": "He is third in the opinion polls but Bill Clinton is now first in what should be a vital test of a presidential candidate: laying out an extensive plan to rebuild and revitalize America" (6/23). USA TODAY: "Voters, who repeatedly say they've been left with no choice, have one now" (6/23). Balto. SUN looks at the contrast of Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson's approval of Clinton's plan and Jesse Jackson's complaints of Clinton's "sneak attack": "Mayor Jackson's honey was as welcome as Reverend Jackson's bile" although Clinton's "popularity with black office-holders like Mayor Jackson [aren't] likely to silence Reverend Jackson. Democrats will be Democrats" (6/23).

OTHER REAX: Nat'l Taxpayers Union spokesperson Peter Sepp: "It's politically deficient and economically wrongheaded." Bush strategist Charles Black said the plan was "further evidence" Clinton was "turning to the left" (Oman, ARKANSAS-DEMOCRAT GAZETTE, 6/23). Economic Strategy Inst. pres Clyde Prestowitz: "It was a positive statement. It reflects a harder look at what the [U.S.] needs to do to kind of shake itself" (COX/ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 6/23). N.Y. TIMES' Greenhouse writes, Clinton's plan "Seeks to do far more than outline his vision of a reborn American economy. It also aims to force his main opponents to replace their vague economic rhetoric with specific plans" (6/23). W. POST's Balz: "Once the middle-class tax cut had served its political purpose, Clinton largely quit talking about it. ... His new plan reflects the opponents he now faces" (6/23). L.A. TIMES' Lauter & Fulwood report the plan "reflects weeks of intensive debate" in the Clinton camp and the "eventual product reflects the views" of longtime advisers and friends Robert Reich, RI businessman and consultant Ira Magaziner, Occidental College prof. Derek Shearer, DLC senior staffer Rob Shapiro and new staff members ex-Cuomo economic aid adviser Gene Sperling and speechwriter David Kusnet who recently published a book on Dems reaching out to the working class" (6/23).

TV: CNN's Dan Blackburn: "Much of the focus was on his rebuild America fund. ... The proposals are provoking considerable discussion. There is no doubt that Clinton is pleased with all the attention." U.S. NEWS' Gloria Borger on the Bush/Perot feud: "For once, Clinton seems to be raising himself above the fracas here." NEWSWEEK's Vern E. Smith: "Just by talking in specifics, Clinton distinguishes himself from both Perot and Bush at this point" (CNN, 6/22). Clinton: "They're now alleging that Mr. Perot has spent a lot of time trying to investigate President

Bush, and we know that Mr. Bush and the Republicans spend a lot of time investigating everybody, and I just spent my time trying to investigate these problems" (ABC, 6/22). Paul Tsongas: "It's a step in the right direction, but it doesn't get where I would like to see it go" (NBC, 6/22). Bush Econ. Advisory chair Michael Boskin: "There are many aspects of it ... that look like warmed-over Dukakis economics and even warmed-over Jimmy Carter economics" ("Crossfire," CNN, 6/22).

VEEP WATCH: U.S. NEWS' Gloria Borger on Cuomo: "If you're looking for electoral votes, you're going to look at New York.

... That would be a very, very interesting ticket" ("Inside Politics," CNN, 6/22). Columnist Ben Wattenberg floats Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-CT), "the only non-liberal on Clinton's reported 'short-list'" (6/23).

CONVENTION: N.Y. TIMES' Ramirez reports the use of cellular phones at the Dem convention "means people with small inexpensive radio scanners both inside and near" Madison Square Garden "could lock onto these phone signals as easily as a motorist turns into a station on a car radio." Convention technology dir. Roger Schneider: "We don't encourage people bringing in their wireless phones, and frankly we don't expect many to bring them." Clinton spokesperson Jeff Eller said only "20 or so" top Clinton aides will use cellular phones: "We aren't going to make a big deal out of it" (6/23). There is "uncertainty" over who will keynote the convention as "some of the party's most prominent speakers" -- Tsongas and Sens. Kerrey and Bradley -- "say they haven't been asked to participate" (Lambro, W. TIMES, 6/23).

CONGRESS: COX' Glass reports House Speaker Tom Foley said Clinton "shelved plans" to meet with Dem Congressional leaders because he "is obsessively concerned over coming too close to the Congress." Foley said Clinton sees himself as the "hammer" shaping policy while Congress is the "anvil." Although Cuomo has suggested the Dem summit to show 'an early accord on an action-oriented agenda," Foley said Clinton, "in a polite way, ignored [Cuomo]. ... There's no indication that he wants to come to Washington to work with us on this. Nor does he want for the [Dem leadership] to traipse to Little Rock" (6/23). Clinton communications dir George Stephanopolous said Clinton still plans to work out some legislative package with Congress "although he was decidedly uncertain about how and when that might happen" (Tash, ST. PETERSBURG TIMES, 6/23).

GREAT WHITE WAY FOR CLINTON: At a star-studded Broadway fundraiser for Clinton, he was interrupted by hecklers protesting AR's sodomy law (N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/23). The event raised \$300,000 (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 6/23).

*5 CLINTON: "BREAKFAST WITH BILL" ON "GMA"

Clinton was scheduled for the first hour, but continued for nearly the full two hours. ABC's Charles Gibson was joined by a panel of ex-surgeon general C. Everett Koop, Spelman College President Johnnetta Cole, Harvard Medical School psychiatry professor Dr. Alvin Poussaint and American Enterprise Institute's Norman Ornstein. Gibson noted that Clinton had previously proposed both a middle-class tax cut and a children's tax credit, but now favored offering a choice of one. Gibson: "Were those just for the primary season? Was that opportunism?" Clinton: "People should choose. Because I think everyone's going to have to make some contribution to reducing this deficit." Clinton noted that the deficit has grown from \$250B to \$400B since he began his campaign. Gibson pointed out that "the promises that

you were making during the primaries ... really have been changed" by his new economic proposal. Clinton: "But I said they would be changed in the primary ... Look, the world is changing. The deficit got bigger. The American people cannot have everything they want ... We've got a President of the United States who's been president for four years who has no program on any of this. We've got a guy who wants to be president who has no program. At least I've given you an idea of what I want to do." Cole asked what "values [are] so fundamental" he would not change. Clinton: "The center of all politics should be people." Clinton emphasized that "we waste the potential of millions of our people" and he would "put education first." Asked by Gibson about his "inspiration," Clinton: "There are two great challenges we have in this country today. One is to make people believe that the system can produce progress again ... The other is to make people believe that we can be part of one community again. That our diversity can be a source of our strength, not an instrument of our undoing ... It's all very well for people to make fun of policy proposals and ideas, but the job of people in public life is not simply to inspire, it is to act, to do, to change lives. Maybe it is laughable to believe that I believe it makes a difference what you do, not just what you say." When Gibson asked about Sister Souljah, Clinton explained his remarks and said, "I fail to see why that is an attack or an inappropriate theme. Let's go back to this conversation we were having [referring to the panel's discussion of the Head Start Program.]" Poussaint returned the conversation to Jesse Jackson and Sister Souljah. Poussaint: "Doing it there with Rev. Jesse Jackson ... what came across was an attack on him or putting him off ... It kind of projects a white-black tension." Clinton: "I did not criticize Jesse Jackson for inviting her there." Ornstein on Clinton's argument that he could raise \$90B over four years by raising the tax rate for the top 2% of incomes: "Everybody that I have talked to suggests that if you try to draw more blood from that group, you can get maybe 20 or 25 billion over four years. Then you've got to move down into categories that don't consider themselves rich at least. So I question the numbers." Clinton said he got his numbers from "the folks in Congress." Clinton called his economic program "the most detailed program ever developed by anybody running for president." Clinton on his first hundred days: "I intend to have a legislative program ready, on the desk of Congress the day after I'm inaugurated. I intend to have an explosive hundred-day action period ... It will be the most productive period in modern history." Clinton cited Reagan's first hundred days as an example. Gibson: "I would point out that Ronald Reagan won an overwhelming victory in 1980. The prospects of any candidate winning an overwhelming victory in 1992 ..." Clinton: "He got 51% of the vote." Ornstein pointed out the Republican gains in Congress in 1980. Ornstein compared Clinton's program to Carter's program that got "fragmented." Poussaint said Clinton's program got "strong, strong support from the mayors of the cities" (6/23).

*6 J. BROWN, CONVENTION GUY: "CAN'T [HE] HAVE HIS OWN PARTY?"

Jerry Brown, "in the uncanny position of being flush with cash while Bill Clinton is scraping to pay his workers, is planning to bankroll his own bash" during the Dem convention in New York in July. Brown received \$1.7 million 6/2 in federal matching dollars based on April receipts, and his treasurer Kevin

McDermott says he continues to pull in about \$3,000 to \$5,000 a day on his 800 number. Federal law says the primary season continues to and includes the party's nominating convention, and by law, Brown "cannot take any of his surplus campaign funds with him to continue his anti-establishment cause after the election. If he still has a surplus after the convention, he will have to return a portion of it to the government for public campaign financing he did not use." Brown & Co. "scrambled" to buy 200 roundtrip tickets from L.A. to New York during the cut-rate \$198 fare wars, and party plans include two volunteer "thank-you" concerts at the Ritz and a political comedy show at the Improv dubbed "Jerry's World." Brown also plans to host a daily cable show from the streets of New York, to publish his own newspaper for distribution at hotels, and may take out ads in city papers. '84 Mondale fund-raiser Mike Berman's reaction: "He may have some extra money, but the bottom line is he lost" (AP/PHILA. INQUIRER/C.S. MONITOR/W. TIMES, 6/23). Brown is speaking today at the Mayors' Conference in Houston in support of the Mayors' seven-point plan for U.S. cities (Brown release, 6/22).

HEADLINES: "Sleeping on Couches Paid Off -- Brown Has Big Surplus" (C.S. MONITOR, 6/23); "Brown a party man till the end" (W. TIMES, 6/23); "Brown plans big bash with surplus funds; As he campaigned, Brown slept on sofas to save money. He's left with \$500,000 to spend -- quickly" (PHILA. INQUIRER; 6/23).

*7 BUSH: PARTY LINES

House Min. Whip Newt Gingrich has "fired his sharpest public criticism yet" at Bush. In a W. TIMES' interview, Gingrich said, "This administration is not currently providing consistent, clear leadership for change," but add voters are ready to "gamble on a total outsider about whom they know little." Most of Gingrich's criticism focused on the economy: "Supply-siders are disgusted and so fed up with the way the Treasury has mismanaged this economy." He claimed conservatives are "beside themselves over the current lack of economic growth," adding "you clearly see significant leaders in the business community now saying that they believe their economic future is better with Ross Perot" (Lambro, 6/23). Sen. Phil Gramm (D-TX) "refused a direct presidential request" to "put aside his campaign for the balanced budget amendment" so the Senate could act on Russian aid. The request was in response to a "deal" worked out by WH officials and Senate Maj. Leader George Mitchell to agree to act quickly on Russian aid. While Gramm has "served notice" that he will try to bring up the balanced budget amendment, Mitchell indicated the Senate will "indefinitely delay" action on Russian aid as long as Gramm "continues to insist on a debate on the budget amendment." Fitzwater "acknowledged" Gramm's position, and "steered clear of any public denunciation" of Gramm. A senior administration official said Gramm "has decided in his wisdom what is best for the party and president and the only one who is going to be embarrassed here is the president" (Devroy/Dewar, W. POST, 6/23).

CONVENTION UPDATE: HOUSTON CHRONICLE's Roth reports "sources confirmed" MA Gov. Wm Weld (R) "is interested" in making the keynote speech at the Aug. convention, and has "submitted a videotape of a recent state of the state address" to the RNC for consideration. Videos of keynote hopefuls are viewed by RNC ychair Rich Bond and other party officials, who "pass their recommendations" to Bush CoS Sam Skinner and press sec. Marlin Fitzwater, who in turn give their choices to Bush for the final decision. While GOP officials "can't say for sure what the

major criteria" are for the position, "they say such factors as geography, ideology, and politics play a role." Roth notes "others speculate" Gramm, who gave the '88 Bush nomination address "wants to give the speech." Gramm spokesman Larry Neal said addressing the convention "is a role he [Gramm] has filled before, and done rather well at it" (6/23)

*8 QUAYLE: WHERE THE NON-ELITE MEET AND GREET

L.A. TIMES' Cathleen Decker reports, "After weeks of trying to define and castigate the 'cultural elite' that he contends is ruining America," VP Dan Quayle "set out Monday to be their opposite number." During his CA trip, he served hot dogs at a San Diego youth center, bought chocolate chip cookies in Mission Valley and bowled in Westchester. After two tries for a total of five pins, a bystander told Quayle, "Just pretend it's Perot." Quayle's next shot was an 8. Quayle kept up his criticism of the "cultural elite," defining it as a "crowd that looks down on America, that thinks they're smarter than anyone else." Asked about Clinton's economic plan, Quayle said it called to mind "the traditional Democratic plans" of Mondale and Dukakis. Quayle also maintained harsh word for rap artist Ice-T for his song "Cop Killer," as well as Time-Warner, Ice-T's record company. "Quayle praised a suggested boycott of Time-Warner projects, but stopped short of actually endorsing the move" (6/23). C.S. MONITOR's Godfrey Sperling compares Quayle to Nixon VP Spiro Agnew: "His theme is much the same as Agnew's, although his target is a little bigger. And he is stirring up a debate over what America's values should be" (6/23).

SPUD WATCH: Speaker Tom Foley "refused" to join bashing Quayle on the potato/potatoe flap, but he did offer one of his rules of politics: "Don't go to spelling bees" (N.Y. POST, 6/23). Foley on Quayle: "He's been banged enough on that one" (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/23). W. POST's Carmody reports animators for FOX-TV's "The Simpson's" are re-working the intro to 6/25's repeat episode. The opening will now show Bart Simpson writing over and over on the blackboard: "potato not potatoe" (6/23).

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*9 ABORTION: WA AND TX GOPS CREATE SMALL PUPTENTS

By the time the WA GOP convention adjourned last weekend, "it had degenerated into shouting matches, walkouts and a bitter division pitting moderates and Reagan Republicans" against "anti-abortion 'rescuers' of the religious right. ... The self-described rescuers won" as their party platform calls for a ban on abortion "under all circumstances." Numerous delegates "promptly walked out to protest the rescuers victory." WA GOP platform chair Kirby Wilbur and King Co. platform chair Brett Bader, who voted against it, said "they would encourage GOP candidates to disavow it" although the GOP's "core" is solidly pro-life. "The victors accused the GOP establishment of caving in to pressure from nervous candidates and the media" (Boren, SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 6/22). At last weekend's TX GOP convention, conservative delegates, who are "firmly in control," passed a platform with a "strict" anti-abortion plank. The new platform calls for overturning Roe vs. Wade and for GOP candidates to "clearly support a constitutional amendment to ban most abortions." The old platform "recognized that Republican candidates could hold different views on the subject and offered some latitude" for pro-choice GOP candidates. Houston delegate Susan Feldman said pro-life conservatives had "captured" 36 of 52 seats on the party's governing body. HOUSTON CHRONICLE's Ratcliffe notes, "That solid majority means party leaders will be sure to recruit anti-abortion candidates to run in future elections" (6/20).

DEMS: At the ID Dem state convention in Lewiston 6/18, a "pro-choice subcaucus" urged their members to include a "strong abortion-rights plank" in its platform, "despite the party's anti-abortion top-of-the ticket candidates." Rep. Richard Stallings (D-02), who is running for the Senate, and state Auditor J.D. Williams (D) who is running for Stallings' seat, are "solidly" pro-life. But the "loudest message" from the convention hearings was "support for a harder pro-choice stand" (AP/Idaho Falls POST REGISTER, 6/19).

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

*10 IDAHO: KEMPTHORNE STEALS LEAD FROM STALLINGS

A Tarrance Group poll, conducted 6/10-11 for Boise Mayor Kirk Kempthorne (R), surveyed 600 RVs; margin of error +/- 4.5%. Tested: Kempthorne and Rep. Richard Stallings (D-02) (Charles Cook, ROLL CALL, 6/22).

	NOW	10/91	ID	FAV / UNFAV
Kempthorne	48%	37%	82%	42% 16%
Stallings	40	41	93	44 32

===== CALIFORNIA CABLE =====

*11 SENATE "A": KOPP-OUT

State Sen. Quentin Kopp (I), citing "shortness of time [and] funds," has decided not to launch an independent bid for the "A" seat against Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-06) and ex-TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn (R). Kopp had said that "Boxer's liberal views and Herschensohn's right-wing philosophy" had left "room for an independent with more moderate stances." Kopp: "The outrageous cost of mounting a statewide campaign and the lateness of date make the success of such a noble effort marginal in probability," adding, "I'm not a wealthy man like Ross Perot" (Roberts, S.F. CHRONICLE, 6/23).

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

*12 HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS

GA 03: With "lesser candidates on the ballot," the "close race" between Rep. Richard Ray (D) and '90 Gingrich challenger David Worley (D) may force a runoff. ROTHENBERG POLITICAL REPORT: "Ray's fate hinges on his ability to appeal to voters in the Atlanta suburbs - voters he has never represented." While organized labor has "rallied behind" Worley, who has six fund raisers scheduled in the next three weeks, "Ray should have a fund raising edge." Worley has hired Cooper & Secrest for polling, Squier, Eskew Knapp for media, Fraioli/Jost for fundraising, and the Campaign Performance Group for direct mail. Ray has hired Fenn & King for media, and Lauer & Lally for polling. Other Dems: former pilot Jim Friday, businessman Robert Hobbs. The winner will "have a tough race" against Dr. Paul Brown (R) or state Sen. Mac Collins (R) (6/19).

GA 06: Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-06) faces "new constituents and an aggressive primary opponent," ex-state Rep. Herman Clark (R). And according to ROTHENBERG POLITICAL REPORT, "that combination sets the stage for a possible upset." LCV and the Sierra Club have endorsed Clark (6/19). A Clark radio ad sung to the tune of "Old MacDonald Had a Farm" has "gotten under the skin" of Gingrich. The jingle begins, "Congressman Newt Gingrich bounced 22 checks, / For more than 26 grand. / With a bounced check here and a pay raise there, / Here a check, there a check, everywhere a bounced check." The ad also notes Gingrich's "\$67,000 chauffeured limousine." Gingrich "dismisses the jingle as a desperate stunt": "I don't think the year of Ross Perot is a year for smear campaigns" (AP/ORLANDO SENTINEL, 6/21).

IN 04: Ex-Allen Co. Dem chair Craig Hartman has "indicated"

he will run as an independent candidate. Hartman: "I've got some business and personal considerations to consider, but I believe this year presents a unique opportunity." In order to qualify for the ballot against Rep. Jill Long (D-4) and Chuck Pierson (R), Hartman would need to garner 3,087 signatures by 7/15 (Brian Howey, Ft. Wayne JOURNAL GAZETTE, 6/19).

VA 06: Under header "Musselwhite critics see 'cronyism'; friends see compassion," ROANOKE TIMES & WORLD-NEWS' Dwayne Yancey reports businessman Steve Musselwhite (D) wrote letters to a judge to "plead for leniency" when two of his "friends" have been convicted of white-collar crimes. Yancey: "Supporters say Musselwhite's letters spring from the same compassion and generosity toward his friends that they've seen on other, less heralded occasions." Yancey reports atty Bob Goodlatte (R) says Musselwhite's letters "also raise questions about [his] judgment on ethical matters." Other GOPers say the letters "will become a central issue" in the campaign. Rep. Jim Olin (D-6) is retiring (6/19).

MA 03: A "bitterly emotional abortion battle has blossomed" in the GOP primary between state Reps. Peter Blute and David Lionett. Pro-choice Lionett has been "focusing much time and effort on forcing" pro-life Blute "to define his position in detail." In turn, Blute aides released '71 MA House roll calls "showing Lionett casting what could be depicted as anti-abortion votes" (Connolly, BOSTON HERALD, 6/21). Lionette has also been "getting under the skin" of some of his Beacon Hill colleagues "as he tries to make political hay" out of the term-limits issue. On the Dem side, ex-state Sen. Gerry D'Amico (D) hired media man Ken Swope who has created ads for Dukakis, Harkin and Boston Mayor Ray Flynn (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/21).

MA 06: Rep. Nicholas Mavroules (D) "lashed out" at the ongoing federal grand jury corruption probe of him, telling supporters: "I will fight for my political life and I will not be driven from office." The investigation stems from allegations that he "extorted money from at least three Peabody businesses while he was mayor of that town" during the 1970's. Mavroules "never issued an overt denial" of the allegations, telling a reporter who asked, "because I don't want to" (McGrory, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/23). Federal prosecutors have failed to "either secure an indictment, or throw in the towel," despite more than four months of stories seen in the local media, leading Mavroules to call the investigation "trial by tabloid," a theme reiterated by ex-Rep. Peter Torkildsen (R) who said "nobody should be tried by leaks" in the press (Turner, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/23). B. GLOBE's Kurkjian reports that investigators are trying to "determine" if Mavroules "received any contributions or illegal gratuities in return for gaining transfers" for federal prisoners. Mavroules had contacted the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, seeking a prison transfer for John Galanis, who was sentenced to 27 years for "operating a nationwide scheme that defrauded thousands of investors out of more than \$200 million." Mavroules was seeking the transfer so Galanis, an MA native, would be closer to his family. Mavroules said once he knew "there was no chance for a transfer, I dropped the thing" (6/23). Though Mavroules faces his toughest re-election race in a decade, his supporters say he can "draw on a reservoir of support based on his strong record in constituent service ... and on a backlash driven by suspicions that the probe has been politically motivated." But "few dispute he is in danger of what one political observer called 'the death of a thousand cuts,' as story after story emblazons the front

page of newspapers." Others: state Rep. Barbara Hildt (D), Harvard's Eric Elbot (D), MA GOP Cmte dir. Alexander Tennant (R) and ex-state Rep./'90 LG candidate Peter Torkildsen (R) (Aucoin, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/20).

PA 13: Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky (D) has received the backing of EMILY's List. EMILY's List founder Ellen Malcolm: "Mezvinsky has put together an impressive campaign which we believe can win in November" (release, 6/22).

TX 02: Businesswoman Donna Peterson (R) addressed the TX GOP convention last weekend just before Bush was introduced to speak. She "repeated her candidacy's catch phrase: 'Hang on Mr. President and hang on America. Help is on the way.'" Peterson, one of the first women to graduate from West Point, faces Rep. Charles Wilson (D) (Wallach, BEAUMONT ENTERPRISE, 6/21).

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

*13 CBS/N.Y. TIMES: PEROT UNFAV DOUBLES;

1,315 adults surveyed 6/17-20; margin of error +/- 3%.

Subsample: 1,029 registered voters (CBS release, 6/22).

W/LEANERS										5/6-8
3-WAY	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	MEN	WOMEN	CONS	MOD	LIB	ALL
Bush	34%	61%	13%	29%	33%	35%	51%	32%	18%	36%
Perot	33	29	27	44	36	30	27	37	37	25
Clinton	26	5	52	18	24	28	17	27	36	30
DK/other	7	5	8	9	7	7	5	4	9	9

NO.					NOW		5/92
	ALL	N.E.	CEN.	SO.	WEST	FAV/UNFAV	FAV/UNFAV
Bush	34%	38%	39%	31%	30%	29%/ 44%	30%/ 43%
Perot	33	23	35	31	45	26 / 20	24 / 11
Clinton	26	30	20	31	19	16 / 40	15 / 40

2-WAY	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	LEADERSHIP QUALITIES?	YES	NO
Bush	45%	80%	16%	41%	Bush	61%	35%
Clinton	40	11	72	35	Perot	54%	18%
DK	8	4	8	11	Clinton	35%	41%

2-WAY PEROT-BUSH					SAY ENOUGH ON ISSUES?	YES	NO
Perot	43%	28%	52%	49%	Bush	30%	63%
Bush	42	63	28	34	Perot	22%	63%
DK	9	5	10	12	Clinton	43%	48%

2-WAY PEROT-CLINTON					POSS. TO CHANGE UNFAV		
Perot	47%	61%	29%	53%	OPINION OF CANDIDATE?	YES	NO
Clinton	35	18	57	27	Those unfav of Bush	23%	75%
DK	12	9	13	14	Those unfav of Clinton	23	76

SATISFIED W/CHOICES?	RVs	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT	5/92
Satisfied	51%	VTRS 57%	VTRS 44%	VTRS 55%	61%
Want choices	44	40	49	43	36

BUSH JOB PERF.	ALL	5/92	EVER CAST AN ENTHUSIASTIC
Approve	34%	35	VOTE? IF SO, FOR WHOM?
Disapprove	56	52	No 33%
			Reagan 15
			Kennedy 13
			Carter 8
			Bush 5
			Nixon 4

	FAV/UNFAV
Quayle	20%/ 40%
Jackson	25 / 39

BEST TO UPHOLD FAMILY VALUES?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
GOP	36%	73%	7%	29%
Dems	39	9	73	33

CANDIDATES SHOULD

	ALL
Talk about fam. values	68%
Stay out of it	28

WANT ONE OF THE VP
NOMINEES BE A WOMAN?

Want a woman	31%
Don't want woman	10
Doesn't matter	57

HOW IMPORTANT MORE
WOMEN ELECTED TO SENATE?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Very important	43%	35%	50%	43%
Not so important	52	59	47	52

DO W/OUT SOC. SEC. AMEND CONST. TO
TO REDUCE DEFICIT? BALANCE BUDGET?

Willing	10%	Yes	52%
Not Willing	86	No	34

ECON. AID TO FMR SOVIET UNION?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	11/91
Favor	49%	55%	47%	45%	53%
Oppose	44	39	44	48	39

GOP AND DEM PARTIES ARE ...

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Obsolete	31%	23%	25%	45%
Necessary	61	72	68	45

SHOULD PEROT START OWN PARTY?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Yes	17%	16%	18%	16%
Remain ind.	71	70	69	74

SHOULD THE SENATE HAVE
CONFIRMED CLARENCE THOMAS?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	10/91
Yes	52%	60%	47%	50%	61%
No	32	28	37	31	28

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

*14 THIS MORNING: ABC "GMA" hosted "Breakfast with Bill Clinton" with ex-Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, Spelman College pres. Johnetta Cole, Harvard Medical School psychiatry prof. Dr. Alvin Poussaint and American Enterprise Institute's Norman Ornstein. NBC's "Today" hosted Perot campaign chair Tom Luce, Rep. Bill Orton (D-UT), Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA) and Nat'l Breast Cancer Coalition pres. Fran Visco on the NIH reauthorization act. "CBS This Morning" hosted Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY) and Harlem Hospital Center's Dr. Margaret Heagarty on crack addicted babies and ex-welfare mother/CA-06 Dem nominee Lynn Woolsey. FOX "Morning News" hosted NEWSWEEK's Howard Fineman, DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Susan Feeney on Perot, ex-NYC mayor Ed Koch, Econ. Advisers chair Michael Boskin on Clinton's plan, MONEY magazine's Richard Eisenberg and consultant Vic Kamber on Clinton's net worth (6/23).

LAST NIGHT: ABC and PBS' "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with Bush's response to Perot's investigations. NBC, CBS and CNN led with the Supreme Court ruling on hate crimes. "M/L" hosted a panel discussion on Clinton with ex-MI Gov. Jim Blanchard (R); Western Digital CEO Roger Johnson; George Mason prof. Roger Wilkins; W. POST's Richard Cohen, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE's Paul Greenberg. "M/L" also featured a conversation with ex-Federal Reserve Board chair Paul Volcker. CNN's "Crossfire" hosted Clinton economic

adviser Robert Shapiro and White House Council of Economic Advisers chair Michael Boskin on Clinton's economic plan. "Larry King Live" hosted Perot co-Chairman Tom Luce and TIME's Laurence Barrett (6/22).

LAUGHS: NBC's Jay Leno on Father's Day: "President Bush's sons gave him probably the nicest Father's Day gift he ever received -- they promised to stay out of the banking business." On break-in at Jerry Brown's campaign headquarters: "Not too serious, I understand the thieves got away with 3 mood rings, two lava lamps, some magic crystals, a couple of the beaded curtains were taken ..." On Perot statement that the deficit is like the "crazy aunt you keep in the basement": "What kind of family values does this guy have?" On Quayle: "Quayle's handlers say that if he just stays on the road he can learn to develop charisma -- I think most people would be happy if he just learned to spell charisma." On Weinberger's indictment: "They're putting him on trial for lying and perjury ... and what's the first question they ask him, do you swear to tell the truth -- Yeah sure, put me down for two more." On Congress stopping funding on the super-collider: "So what does that mean -- no more Amtrak?" On "BATMAN RETURNS": "You may have heard Michelle Pfeiffer is in the hospital today -- nothing serious, just fur balls" ("The Tonight Show," NBC, 6/22).

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

"I honestly believe I would make one of the worst elected officials in the history of this country."

-- Ross Perot in 1969, CBS, 6/22

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 23, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate James J. McMonagle, of Ohio, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Ohio. He would succeed Alice M. Batchelder.

Since 1990, Mr. McMonagle has served as General Counsel for University Hospitals Health System, Incorporated and the University Hospitals of Cleveland. He also served as a Judge for the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas, 1977-1990; a sole practitioner in Cleveland, 1972-1977; an Assistant Prosecutor for Cleveland Heights Prosecutor's Office, 1972-1974; and an Assistant Public Defender for the Public Defender's Office of Cleveland, 1970-1972.

Mr. McMonagle was graduated from Georgetown University (B.S., 1966) and the Cleveland Marshall School of Law (J.D. 1970). He was born October 1, 1944 in Cleveland, Ohio. He is married, has one child and resides in Chagrin Falls, Ohio.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 23, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Katharine J. Armentrout, of Maryland, to be United States District Judge for the District of Maryland. She would succeed Norman P. Ramsey.

Since 1985, Mrs. Armentrout has served as an Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Maryland. She has also served as the Regional Coordinator of the Mid-Atlantic Organized Crime Drug Task Force, 1991-present; and as Deputy Chief of the Narcotics Division of the United States Attorney's Office, 1991. Prior to this, she served with the law firm of Venable, Baetjer & Howard as an Associate, 1983-1985.

Mrs. Armentrout was graduated from Brown University (B.A., 1963) and the University of Maryland Law School (J.D., 1983). She was born June 7, 1941 in Montclair, New Jersey. Mrs. Armentrout is married, has two children and resides in Baltimore, Maryland.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 23, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-265; 16 U.S.C. 1801, et seq.), I transmit herewith an Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Estonia Concerning Fisheries off the Coasts of the United States, with annex, signed at Washington on June 1, 1992. The agreement constitutes a governing international fishery agreement within the requirements of section 201(c) of the Act.

Fishing industry interests of the United States have urged prompt implementation of this agreement to take advantage of opportunities for seasonal cooperative fishing ventures.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 23, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 23, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of Hahnemann Homeless Clinics of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as the 809th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. The volunteers of Hahnemann Homeless Clinics provide quality health care and a sense of well being for homeless people in their community.

Hahnemann University medical students, concerned about the lack of medical care among homeless people in downtown Philadelphia, opened the clinic in January of 1990. Beginning with one shelter, the clinic expanded to serve three shelters: Trevor's Place, St. John's Hospice, and Sister Mary's Winter Emergency Shelter.

Approximately 200 students, nearly two-thirds of the first and second year medical classes at Hahnemann University, volunteer on a rotating basis at the shelters. They receive no credit or compensation for their work in the shelters. In addition, over 20 doctors each devote one or two evenings a month to the shelter and are available to assist students with diagnoses.

Students and doctors who volunteer at the shelters also work proactively to prevent health problems and to inform the people they treat about nutrition and preventative care. The students perform tuberculosis screenings and, having observed the need for immunization among the homeless, are presently developing a program to administer basic immunizations.

The President salutes the volunteers of Hahnemann Homeless Clinics 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 23, 1992

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 2507, the "National Institutes of Health Revitalization Amendments of 1992," which would extend and amend biomedical research authorities of the National Institutes of Health (NIH).

Before discussing the flaws of H.R. 2507, I must clarify two misperceptions. First, H.R. 2507 is not necessary to assure that Federal spending continue for biomedical research, or for research related to any disease, disorder, or condition. Second, H.R. 2507 is not necessary to increase support for research targeted at women's health needs. Great progress is being made in the area of women's health under the valued leadership of the first female director of the NIH.

H.R. 2507 is unacceptable to me on almost every ground: ethical, fiscal, administrative, philosophical, and legal. I repeatedly warned the Congress of this at each stage of the legislative process. The bill's provisions permitting the use of tissue from induced abortions for federally funded transplantation research involving human subjects are inconsistent with our Nation's deeply held beliefs. Moreover, it is clear that this legislation would be counterproductive to the attainment of our Nation's health research objectives.

H.R. 2507 is objectionable because it would lift the current moratorium on the use of Federal funds for fetal tissue transplantation research where the tissue is obtained from induced abortions. Let it be clear: this is not a moratorium on research. It is only a moratorium on the use of one source of tissue for that research. I believe this moratorium is important in order to prevent taxpayer funds from being used for research that many Americans find morally repugnant and because of its potential for promoting and legitimatizing abortion.

My Administration is strongly committed to pursuing research to find cures and treatments for such disorders as Parkinson's disease, diabetes, and Alzheimer's disease that have been held out as areas where fetal tissue research might be pursued. Fetal tissue transplantation research relating to these disorders can proceed without relying on tissue from induced abortions. Medical experts at the Department of Health and Human Services have assured me that ectopic pregnancies and spontaneous abortions provide sufficient and suitable tissue to meet anticipated research needs. Therefore, on May 19, 1992, I issued an Executive order establishing a fetal tissue bank that will collect tissue from these sources so as to meet the needs of the research community. The bank will provide tissue directly to scientists for their research. This approach truly represents the pro-research and ethical alternative that will allow this research to go forward without relying on a source of tissue that many find to be morally objectionable.

H.R. 2507 also contains fiscally irresponsible authorization levels. The total cost of the provisions in this legislation could exceed the FY 1993 Budget I presented to the Congress by \$3.2 billion. It is exceedingly unlikely, if not

more

(OVER)

impossible, that the Congress can fund the programs contained in H.R. 2507 while complying with the requirements of the Budget Enforcement Act. That being the case, the expectations that this bill will create are unreasonable. Those who suffer from the many diseases and disorders that are the subject of this unrealistic legislation will be sadly disappointed.

H.R. 2507 is also objectionable because its provisions regarding the appointment of "Ethics Advisory Boards" are inconsistent with the Appointments Clause of the Constitution. H.R. 2507 would effectively give these boards unilateral authority to make decisions concerning major research initiatives. As a policy matter, these decisions should be made by the President's chief officer on health issues: the Secretary of Health and Human Services. More fundamentally, however, the Appointments Clause requires that officers vested with this type of power be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Instead, H.R. 2507 provides that they are to be appointed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services and then purports to circumscribe the discretion of the appointing authority by imposing various requirements concerning the boards' composition. H.R. 2507's provisions regarding the Scientific and Technical Board on Biomedical and Behavioral Research Facilities and the Office of Research on Women's Health likewise raise Appointments Clause problems.

In addition, H.R. 2507 contains reporting requirements that impair the separation of powers. For example, the bill would require the Director of the National Cancer Institute to submit to specified committees of the Congress the original plan, and any revisions to that plan, regarding certain cancer research. This requirement to submit to the Congress what is in essence a draft plan without the prior review and approval of the executive branch clearly interferes with the deliberative process of the executive branch. The internal workings of the executive branch should be just that -- internal. To require the executive branch to display each step in its deliberative process to the Congress would destroy my ability to speak as the single voice of a unitary executive.

I am also troubled by the increasingly frequent imposition of reporting requirements. H.R. 2507 imposes a significant number of new reporting requirements on an executive branch that already suffers under the burden of literally thousands of such requirements. Last October, I noted that "taken together such reports put a heavy burden on the reporting agencies at a time of scarce resources." Thus, I called for "an effort to minimize reporting requirements, both in terms of the number and frequency of reports that must be submitted, as well as the level of detail required." Bills such as H.R. 2507 move us in the opposite direction.

For these reasons, I am returning H.R. 2507 without my approval, and I ask the Congress to adopt a simple extension of those appropriations authorizations for the National Institutes of Health that need to be extended.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 23, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 23, 1992

YEAR OF RECONCILIATION
BETWEEN AMERICAN INDIANS AND NON-INDIANS, 1992

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

By observing 1992 as the Year of the American Indian, we celebrate the rich heritage of each of this country's native peoples, as well as the unique government-to-government relationship that has evolved between Indian tribes and the Federal Government of the United States. At a time when we are working hard to strengthen a relationship based on mutual trust and cooperation -- one in which the tribes of the Nation stand shoulder to shoulder with the other governmental units that form our Republic -- it is fitting that we also designate 1992 as a "Year of Reconciliation Between American Indians and Non-Indians."

Because reconciliation begins with mutual understanding and acceptance, this observance is aimed at encouraging cultural education and exchange among American Indians and non-Indians. This year schools, business associations, and the media, as well as religious organizations and civic groups, are invited to join in honoring America's indigenous peoples and in helping non-Indians to learn more about each tribe's unique history, customs, and traditions. Through education, we can overcome age-old myths and stereotypes and heal divisions that hinder progress toward our shared goals of equal opportunity and justice.

Over the years, efforts to increase tribal self-governance have brought a renewed sense of pride and empowerment to this country's native peoples. By continuing to seek full reconciliation among American Indians and non-Indians, we will strengthen and enrich the entire Nation.

The Congress, by Public Law 102-279, has designated 1992 as a "Year of Reconciliation Between American Indians and Non-Indians," and has requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this year.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim 1992 as a Year of Reconciliation Between American Indians and Non-Indians. I invite all Americans to observe this year with appropriate programs and activities in honor of this country's native peoples and in recognition of the importance of promoting increased understanding among all the inhabitants of this great and blessed land.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third 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 23, 1992

NATIONAL SCLERODERMA AWARENESS MONTH, 1992

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Scleroderma is a painful, disfiguring, and sometimes life-threatening disease that can strike individuals of any age or background, although it occurs predominantly among women in the prime of life. Individuals who have this disease experience hardening of the skin caused by excessive accumulation of the structural protein collagen. Scleroderma also affects the blood vessels and immune system and can impair the function of the kidneys, lungs, heart, or gastrointestinal tract.

Although the cause of the disease remains a mystery, scientists and physicians are gaining a better understanding of scleroderma. For example, researchers have found that the activity of endothelin, a newly discovered proteinaceous substance produced by blood vessels, appears to link two important and otherwise distinct features of scleroderma: constriction of small blood vessels and overproduction of collagen. Blood vessels of patients with scleroderma commonly contract for extended periods of time, thereby reducing the flow of oxygen to vital body parts and damaging their ability to function normally. This finding and others offer new opportunities to develop more effective treatments for scleroderma. Today, many dedicated men and women are working together through governmental, scientific, and voluntary health organizations to seize such opportunities. Their efforts are grounds for hope.

In order to enhance public understanding of scleroderma and to emphasize the need for continuing research, the Congress, by House Joint Resolution 445, has designated June 1992 as "National Scleroderma Awareness Month" and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this month.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim June 1992 as National Scleroderma Awareness Month. I encourage all appropriate government agencies and the people of the United States -- in particular, members of the media and the scientific and health care communities -- to observe this month with appropriate programs and activities that will enhance public awareness of scleroderma and the importance of research on this disease.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third 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 23, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY CARD
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

Oval Office

11:54 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me just say I've had a first class briefing from Secretary Card, doing a first-rate job over there at Transportation.

I'm very much concerned. Let us hope that some last-minute breakthrough will avert a strike. But my message today, after listening to the Secretary and understanding how bad it would be for the people of this country, is that, should a strike occur, Congress ought to do in this instance what they've done twice before -- two preceding events like this -- and that is to move promptly to protect the American people and to end the strike through legislation. And that's -- I feel very strongly about it, and I think in this instance, should a strike occur, Congress has an obligation to move fast to protect the American people, whether it's a lockout or a strike -- legislation like happened the last two times.

Q Mr. President, would you be do anything before the possibility of a strike -- is there some kind of intervention or emergency declaration or anything?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I gather they've -- Andy can answer that.

SECRETARY CARD: We've already -- the President has exercised that responsibility when he created the Presidential Emergency Board. So --

THE PRESIDENT: And, you see, it's reported back, it's made sound recommendations, and the Secretary has been working diligently to try to get various parties to come along. But the unilateral action by the President does not apply. The only thing that could stop the strike, if one occurs, is to have legislation.

Q What is the economic impact -- why is the economic impact so dire that Congress should move immediately?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first place, there's an enormous inconvenience to the American worker on the commuter side, and then as it begins to take ahold on moving freight and moving product -- agricultural product, for example -- to market, it's terrible. And so public good is not served by a prolonged strike. And so it ought to end the day it begins.

Q Mr. President, do you anticipate any downside in terms of political consequences for your reelection campaign with the rail strike?

THE PRESIDENT: I have no idea of that. This is not a political matter. This is a matter of the national good and what's best for the American people. And what's best for the American people is to avoid a strike. But if a strike takes place -- or a lockout -- it could be ended, and ended right away.

MORE

Q Do you plan to call congressional leaders today, sir, to express your feelings --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they know our views; we've expressed it. But we were just talking about that; I might well do that. But if that would help, I'll do it.

Q Have you been talking --

Q If the legislation goes through, could it be passed --

THE PRESIDENT: It could be done in a day. I mean -- yes, it's happened before. The last two times, I believe it was just one day.

SECRETARY CARD: Seventeen hours.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, 17 hours, Andy is reminding me, was the last one.

Q Have you been consulting with the automakers or the shippers, or people that have urged you to take this action?

THE PRESIDENT: The Secretary's talked to everybody, yes.

Q Have you urged them not to do a lockout if there's a partial strike?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'd leave the technical questions to the Secretary. He's tried to avoid shutdowns in every way, and he's gone the extra mile. A lot of people have been cooperative, he tells me. So it's not a one-sided picture here. But the bottom line is, the public are not served by a strike that lasts for any time at all. And so the Congress should do now if that's the case and there is a strike tomorrow -- it ought to do what it's done to incidents before this -- move. The last one took 17 hours to legislate it, to solve it. And it can be done that quick or quicker.

Q Is there any reason --

THE PRESIDENT: This is a challenge to the Congress to do what's best for the American people, should it get to that.

Q Would a rail strike hurt the economic recovery, sir? Could it throw it back?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes it could. It could adversely affect the workers in this country and it could adversely affect a lot of things, depending, obviously, how long it goes on.

Q Is there any reason for optimism in collective bargaining -- will resolve this thing at this point?

SECRETARY CARD: They're still at the table, which is a good sign, so the dialogue is continuing.

THE PRESIDENT: You've got several different entities, is, a, part of the problem here. And some -- some seem to think that it can be avoided and others think not.

Q But it sounds like, from making the statement to us, that you feel pretty pessimistic.

THE PRESIDENT: I feel -- I cannot tell the American people that I think it will be resolved through negotiation as it should be. So I just think it's important to get in focus the fact

that if there is a strike, it ought to be quickly solved by legislation.

Q Anything from Capitol Hill whether they would go along with that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Different reaction from different members of Congress, I'm told.

Thank you very much for your interest.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:59 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 23, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN PRESENTATION OF NATIONAL MEDAL OF SCIENCE
AND NATIONAL MEDAL OF TECHNOLOGY

The Rose Garden

1:38 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you and welcome to the Rose Garden. Well, thank you very much. And what a beautiful day here in the Rose Garden. May I salute Dr. Bromley; Dr. Bernthal, the Deputy Director of the National Science Foundation; and, of course, over my right shoulder here, Secretary Barbara Franklin, Secretary of Commerce; also, Congressman Vander Jagt who's so interested in all of this, and so many special guests here today, and then three generations of American scientists.

As I look out at the group here, of the men and women that we honor, you may remember what Albert Einstein said to his fellow scientists: "Concern for man himself and his fate must always form the chief interest of all technical endeavors in order that the creations of our mind should be a blessing and not a curse to mankind."

Today we honor men and women whose life work answers Einstein's challenge. And they bless mankind, not only with the brilliance of their minds but with the integrity of their hearts.

And I am very proud to present the National Medals of Science and Technology to our 16 recipients, to these men and women of persistent and, at times, clairvoyant determination. They've explained the frontiers of science on canvasses and as infinitesimal as a single human cell and as infinite as space itself.

We honor them for their accomplishments. But we honor them, also, for having the courage to undertake the journey. There's a church in Sussex, England which has a wonderful inscription that captures these recipients' pioneer spirit of innovation. The inscription says: "A vision without a task is but a dream; a task without a vision is drudgery; but a vision with a task is the hope of the world."

The hope of our world lies in individuals who asked why and then followed wherever that question led. Scientists like Nobel Prize Laureate Howard Temin, a truly seminal thinker in the history of biology who reshaped our thoughts about RNA and DNA. Entrepreneurs like Bill Gates, who co-founded Microsoft and in the process literally led a revolution in the information industry.

Visionaries like Eugene Shoemaker, who helped to transform our world, not only through the astounding breadth of his contributions to space explorations, but also through the infectious enthusiasm of his imagination. And inventors like Norman Joseph Woodland, who developed a simple device of our daily lives bar coding. You've seen first-hand how impressed I am -- (laughter) -- by how bar coding works. Amazing.

You all proved that America's greatest resource is the genius of our people. We must encourage -- we must support it. And that's why Congress must double the budget of the National Science

MORE

Foundation by 1994; and keep funding on track in 1993 for the super conducting super collider.

And that's why I'm committed to increases in R&D funding -- large increases in R&D funding -- to let our most talented people push the limits of their imaginations, to understand the universe and to use the results to create jobs in the future of others.

And to support research I've also established a National Technology Initiative to bring government officials together with private business to shape technology, to move the new discoveries out of the federal labs into the marketplace.

In addition, I believe we need to stimulate private sector investment, the engine obviously of any entrepreneurial economy and that's why I'm going to continue to fight so hard to get Congress to slash the capital gains tax. This would create new businesses, encourage new innovation. And I also want to make that R&E that research and experimentation tax credit permanent.

The world economy of the 21st Century will demand a new age of American competitiveness in a fiercely challenging global marketplace. In order to compete we must make immediate, drastic changes beginning with the need for the best-educated, the most well-educated workers.

And many of you here today, I'm told, are teachers influencing one dream at a time and you know that education is the basis of our future. And you know the terrible fact that in some math and science studies we rank almost last -- almost last -- among the industrialized nations. And rest assured we will turn that around. I'm counting on you, and I pledge to you the support of this government.

Technical competence is so vital that one of our six national education goals is to be the first in world math and science by the year 2000. In order to reach that goal our budget invests \$768 million in precollege math and science education, an increase I believe it's about 18 percent over last year and 123 percent over the way things were just back in 1990.

We must open a new world of educational opportunity for America's children and give middle and low income families more of the same choice of all schools that wealthier families already have. And so later this week I'll announce a new proposal that will do just that. It's a G.I. bill for America's children.

Forty-eight years ago the original G.I. Bill opened educational doors for our war vets by giving them dollars to spend at any school they chose, public, private or religious. And it created a competitive marketplace of colleges and universities and encouraged improvement through innovation. And now it's time that we give the families the same consumer power for choice in precollege schools. And that's why I'm introducing this exciting and I think powerful bill for our future.

Our nation can remain strong only by investing its resources and talents in science, technology and education. And I want to recognize a group of special people who are dedicating their lives to that quest. Our first class of presidential faculty fellows, 30 young faculty members named for their excellence and promise in research and teaching. These scientist and engineers represent the best investment that we can make in our future. But I'd like to remind them of something. As you look at the distinguished medalists that we honor today, remember that whatever work you do you will be standing on the shoulders of giants.

I want to tell you about something, in conclusion here, pretty unusual that I ran into -- I want to say discovered a few

months ago up in New Hampshire. Dean Kamen is here. He is a very special individual. And what I'm talking about -- the discovery -- was of something known as the "Maize Craze" competition. And I'm not sure exactly how to describe it. Kids have to make a kind of a robot to fetch tennis balls out of a box filled with corn. And some of the best ideas sound pretty strange at first. But let me tell you, this is a terrific idea.

And I was enormously impressed, Dean, by how this "Maize Craze" teams high school students with high-powered engineering teams from major universities and corporation, a great example of the private-public partnership that will lead us to excellence in the next century.

I had forgotten what a salesman Dean is -- but he just came into my office and he said, now, if these corporations can sponsor Olympic athletes, why isn't it a great idea that they encourage young scientists in the same way. And he's absolutely right about that. "Maize Craze" is part of U.S. FIRST, a national alliance of business, education and government working to reverse declining student interest and performance in science and math.

And I invited Dean to bring his winners here today -- sponsors, Xerox and NYPRO, and teams from Wilson Magnet and Clinton High Schools. And we're honoring today a spectrum of achievers that goes then from high school to the pinnacle of research. And in turn, we need to nurture every step on the educational ladder, for each depends on the soundness of the preceding one.

So I just came out here to say congratulations to all of you, especially, of course, to our distinguished medalists who show us the triumph of the human mind and the unfolding drama of the human imagination.

And may God bless all of you. And, now, Dr. Bernthal will present the citations, and I will stand in awe as these geniuses come marching by.

Congratulations, and thank you all for coming.
(Applause.)

(Citations are presented.)

THE PRESIDENT: That concludes our ceremony. Now, Dean, are those young people with you here? Maybe we could ask them to stand up -- all those that came down from the "Maize" group. Where are you, all of the scientists -- tortured my mind up there.
(Applause.)

Well, that concludes our ceremony. But we're just delighted you all were here, and thank you very much for coming. Thank you.

END

2:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/23
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

to the President
~~GEP~~

C)

Gail ought to
Chair and be given the
authority to set a
very fast pace in
building a grassroots
movement and coordinating.
SL is vastly more
energetic and wise taking
than most of your
senior staff.
I hope your recommendation
doesn't doom her.


6/22/92

daily

gave to Carlos 1748
6-23
to hand carry to Newt



THE PRESIDENT

6-23-92

Newt —

Why?

This plays right
into the hands of my critics
of which there are plenty.
I'd not do this to you, Newt!
GB

7/30

Per Gary Andres, Newt
Gingrich spoke to the
President about this note
during his meeting on
6/30. No written response
was ever done by Gingrich.

Rose spoke to Andres.

Gingrich decries Bush campaign, fears voters will 'gamble' on Perot

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich has fired his sharpest public criticism yet at President Bush, charging that he has failed to provide the country with "consistent, clear leadership for change."

The Georgia lawmaker expressed deep frustration that Mr. Bush has not taken the offensive against the Democratic-controlled Congress, and he warned that if the president does not act soon, the voters are ready to support "a total outsider" such as Texas billionaire Ross Perot in November.

Mr. Gingrich also attacked the president's Treasury Department, and by implication Secretary Nicholas Brady's policies, blaming them for the sluggish economy.

"Supply-siders are so disgusted and so fed up with the way the Treasury has mismanaged this economy that the supply-siders are beside themselves over the current lack of economic growth," he said in a week-end interview with The Washington Times.

"What they see now is a Treasury which blocks the president and a

policy process which is muddled," he said. "You clearly see significant leaders in the business community now saying that they believe their economic future is better with Ross Perot."

"This administration is not currently providing consistent, clear leadership for change."

Mr. Gingrich voiced his strongest fears to date over the way the Bush re-election campaign is being run.

"It doesn't just worry me, it frightens me," he said. "The American people, if they are frustrated enough, will gamble on a total outsider about whom they know little."

"Ross Perot would be an extraordinarily dangerous gamble, and I think we would be much better to have leadership with the current administration."

It is time for the White House and Mr. Bush's strategists to begin listening "seriously to what the American people are telling us in every way they know how — that they want much stronger leadership for change," he said.

Mr. Gingrich characterized the president's two rivals as formidable opponents, either of whom can beat Mr. Bush in November if he doesn't

overhaul his re-election strategy and his campaign operation soon.

He described Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, who has clinched the Democratic nomination, as "the most consistently determined, persistent, professional politician I have ever seen, with the exception of Richard Nixon," adding: "He is in the same tradition as Nixon. Nothing stops him, nothing slows him down."

He characterized the Bush re-election committee as "a team that learned politics 20 years ago and which I think is not yet focused and has not yet shaped where it wants to go."

He said the president "has it within his power to solve 80 percent of his problems by consistently, repetitively, systematically fighting for changes that the American people want."

If he is to stop his fall in the polls, Mr. Bush has to be seen as an activist president "fighting to cut the bureaucracy, fighting to cut spending, to fight for things like enterprise zones," he said. "Ross Perot would melt away in the face of an aggressive Bush presidency."

CK

CS

June 23, 1992

C O P Y
from ORM

Dear Mrs. Brown:

Barbara and I are delighted to send greetings on your 100th birthday. Our great Nation thrives today because your generation has contributed so much to our well-being. You have our appreciation and that of your fellow citizens for all that you have done to make this a better world.

I also appreciate your continuing support, which I learned of through Congressman Newt Gingrich. I hope that you will continue to make your views known in the future, as someone of your great experience has much wisdom to offer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH A

Mrs. Lucy Brown
Apartment 4-77
25 Oriole Drive
Worcester, Massachusetts 01605

9206.231

920623

GB/JO/DT/CH/jt (Corres. #: 754947)

cc: J. O'Neill
cc: Nicholas Calio

XEROXED COPY OF SIGNED LTR SENT TO:
The Honorable Newt Gingrich
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Helen
 11/10/77
 more than
 type 7
 May

Lucy Brown's address
 85 Oriole Drive, 4-77
 Worcester, MA
 01605
 Cingular sh
 last lettered paper
 to send record out
 to send record out
 Jack Kennedy

NEWT GINGRICH
SIXTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

THE REPUBLICAN WHIP

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2438 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4501



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

April 4, 1992

*Received
District Office
4/21/92*
Calio
Mr. Nicholas Calio
Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

EW
P.2 B #
100 -
Dear Mrs. Brown:

Dear Nick:

I'm enclosing a card from Lucy Brown of Worcester, Massachusetts. Mrs. Brown is the grandmother of a good friend of mine, Bob Glover.

Mrs. Brown, who will be 100 soon, wrote Bob about the President, and I was hoping that you could ensure that her card and comments were acknowledged by the President or Mrs. Bush.

Thanks for you help. If you have any questions, don't hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Newt Gingrich

Iregw

NG/gw

Enclosure

92/05/13

4 birth date
(Called to get an address for Lucy Brown)
please see attached note.

328966
8351 JONESBORO ROAD
SUITE E
MORROW, GA 30260
(404) 868-3218
POST OFFICE BOX 848
GRIFFIN FEDERAL BUILDING
GRIFFIN, GA 30224
(404) 228-0389
CARROLL COUNTY COURTHOUSE
CARROLLTON, GA 30117
(404) 834-8388
22 EAST BROAD ST.
NEWMAN, GA 30263
(404) 253-8355

DRAFT OF GB LETTER

INITIALS: GB / jo / *ps* / *CP*
DRAFT DATE / LETTER DATE: Jun 16 1992 /

DOCUMENT TITLE: /slr/p/brown.lucy.jo

CORRESPONDENCE #: 754947

CLEAR WITH:

WHCC:

CC: J. O'Neill

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO:
Mrs. Lucy Brown
25 Oriole Drive, 4-77
Worcester, Massachusetts 01605

ENCLOSURES AND SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Dear Mrs. Brown:

Barbara and I are delighted to send greetings on your 100th birthday. Our great Nation thrives today because your generation has contributed so much to our well-being. You have our appreciation and that of your fellow citizens for all that you have done to make this a better world.

I also appreciate your continuing support, which I learned of through Congressman Newt Gingrich. I hope that you will continue to make your views known in the future, as someone of your great experience has many wise lessons to offer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

JUN 18 1992

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 18, 1992

Dear Mrs. Brown:

Barbara and I are delighted to send greetings on your 100th birthday. Our great Nation thrives today because your generation has contributed so much to our well-being. You have our appreciation and that of your fellow citizens for all that you have done to make this a better world.

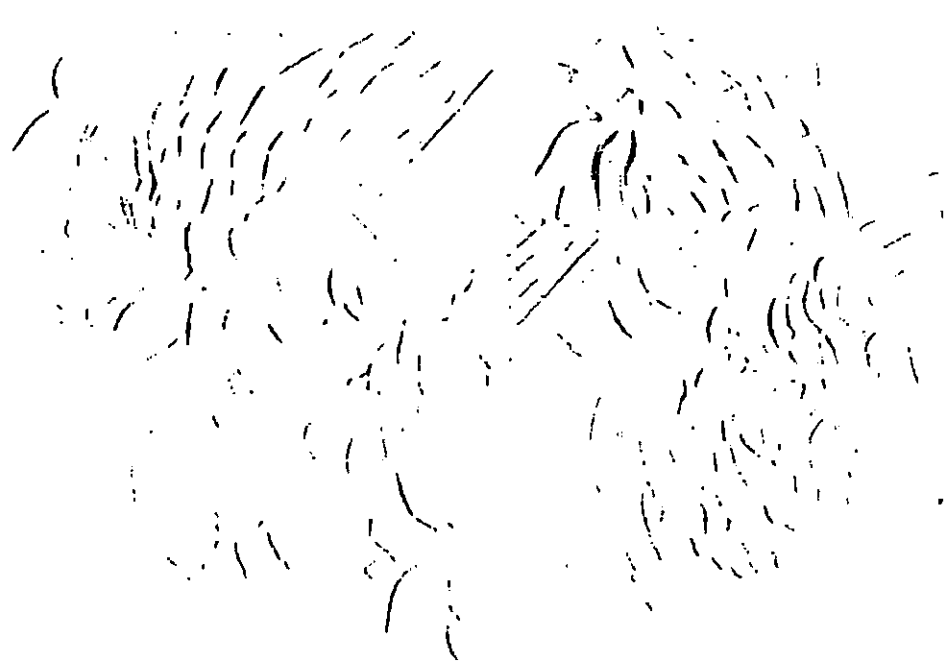
I also appreciate your continuing support, which I learned of through Congressman Newt Gingrich. I hope that you will continue to make your views known in the future, as someone of your great experience has ~~many wise lessons~~ *much wisdom* to offer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Lucy Brown
25 Oriole Drive, 4-77
Worcester, Massachusetts 01605

*Please also copy
mark cc for
Gingrich
& do envelope
for him
C1*



Dear Bob. Fall, —

Mar. 1, '92

I am asking a favor from my politician
Friend from Just a word of "Thanks"

Gov. and he must ^{Because your thoughtfulness}

know for whom ^{Is so appreciated}

I should vote to ^{Thank You for answering}
put George in to ^{this letter for of course}
^{you will.}

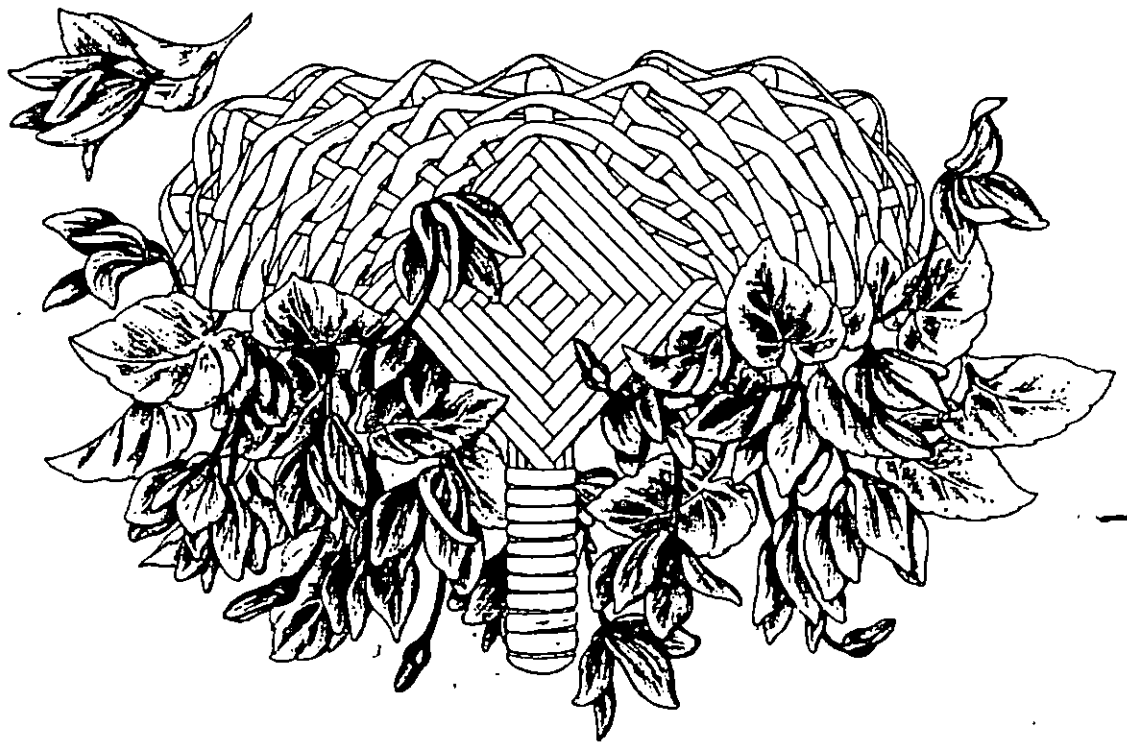
Win the nomination for

the President of U.S.A. all

the way thru to the top! Maybe George has slipped.

ⁱⁿ some by saying things he could have left out
What do you think?





He and I have been good friends and he and Barbara sent me last June a nice Birthday Card, Is it good policy for me to turn my back on him at this important ^{time} when some folks are slinging soft waffles of mud at George. Don't you sometimes think it is better to go along with him at his best behavior than to pick him apart at the seams? Please best as you can, answer ^{my} humble questions. I do want to remain a Republican if you can come to my help. Otherwise my role as the historic, nearly 100 years of it, 1892-1916 in Maine, 1916-1992, Mt. Vernon, N.Y. Lots of love, to a
1-75X805-10
Sunshine Card
Made in U.S.A.
Gram.



Team
100



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 23 JUN 92 P32973-00A DV

Daily News Clips
Office of Media Affairs
Tuesday, June 23, 1992

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Bush Blasts Rival Perot Over Investigation Report

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — An angry President Bush blasted rival candidate Ross Perot for having investigated him and his family, saying, "I don't think that's particularly American."

At a White House photo session and in an interview with ABC's Barbara Walters, Mr. Bush reacted strongly to a Washington Post report last weekend that Mr. Perot had sought to investigate Mr. Bush's role in various controversies, and even cautioned the then-vice president in 1986 that two of his sons might be involved in impropriety.

"If he was having my children investigated, that is beyond the pale," Mr. Bush told Ms. Walters in an interview for ABC's "20/20" program scheduled to air Friday night. "Leave my kids alone . . . I am sick about it if it's true, and I think the American people will reject that kind of tactic."

It was the strongest attack on Mr. Perot yet by Mr. Bush, who now trails the billionaire businessman in national polls. The blast reflected the judgment of Bush aides that reports of Mr. Perot's penchant for investigations will damage the independent candidate politically by making him appear dangerous.

Perot spokesman James Squires said the White House has mounted "a series of hysterical attacks designed to mischaracterize Ross Perot in the public's mind." He called such attacks "the staple of Republican presidential politics for more than a decade."

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

The \$5 Million Members

As well as exempting itself from many of the laws it writes for the rest of America, Congress exempts its office spending from oversight by any outside authority. No one is allowed to review the congressional budget of \$2.5 billion — \$5 million per Member per year.

Yet today, as the House debates Congress's proposed budget for the next fiscal year, the issue is starting to ferment. A nervous Rules Committee has taken the unprecedented step of restricting amendments to the bill. That way reform-minded Members can't fully question the peculiar way Congress shovels money to itself with no outside review.

Every year the President is required to submit a federal budget, listing his recommendations for spending in thousands of areas. But by law, the President is required to submit whatever budget Congress prepares for itself and the federal judiciary. Section 1105 of the U.S. Code requires that Congress submit its proposed budget to the President and that it be "included in the budget by the President without change."

This exemption is justified by Members on the grounds that having a President propose a budget for Congress would give the executive branch inordinate leverage over the legislative branch. But of course, Congress passes the final budget, can ignore whatever the President suggests it spend on itself and pass any spending it feels it needs.

The real reason Congress wants to keep power over its budget is to avoid having to take responsibility or suffer embarrassment. Joseph Wright, a former OMB director, says, "The last thing Congress wants is for analysts at the Office of Management and Budget to question why its budget has gone up more than 3,000% since 1954."

Instead, Congress engages in a ritual shell game to disguise its budget bloat. First, it artificially pads the

budget it sends as a formality to the White House. After it has been rubber-stamped as required by law, Congress routinely "cuts" its own budget and then claims it has mercilessly wielded a budget ax on itself. This charade has allowed Congress to grow like topsy and yet escape any serious scrutiny.

Nor does any congressional appropriation ever expire, as most do in the rest of government. If Congress doesn't spend all of the money in its budget in a given year it is rolled into slush funds that now total \$45 million in the House alone.

Rep. Chris Cox, a California Republican, proposes that President Bush simply veto the legislative appropriations, unless they are greatly reformed by Congress. He has collected the signatures of 114 of the 146 Members needed to sustain such a veto.

The mere idea of a presidential veto of their sacred budget has already changed the budgeting as usual process on Capitol Hill. Rep. Vic Fazio, the chairman who oversees Congress's perks, promises that no more money will be carried over into slush funds if it isn't spent. Congress may even make honest cuts in its overall budget for the first time in memory.

Although Congress's budget is a tiny part of overall federal spending, taming it would provide some valuable lessons in fiscal responsibility. Last year, Members reluctantly closed their infamous House Bank. Now they are tackling Congress's budgetary excesses. If they succeed, perhaps next year they can weed out foolish discretionary spending. Who knows, someday they may be able to reform entitlements in a responsible way. We've never bought the argument that if you don't take on popular entitlement programs first, there is no point in taking any step on a long journey.

A return to fiscal sanity must begin with a change of direction, and an overhaul of Congress's budget looks to us like a good place to start.

Asides

Action and Values

Rupert Murdoch, a man of action, just fired Stephen Chao, the new president of Fox Television stations, over the values issue. Mr. Chao participated in a weekend panel discussion of modern culture's threat to democracy and capitalism, sponsored by Fox's parent, Murdoch News Corp., and including Lynne Cheney, chairman of the National Endowment of the Humanities; TV movie critic Michael

Medved; National Review editor John O'Sullivan; and commentator Irving Kristol. Mr. Chao made his point about censorship by inviting a male stripper to disrobe on stage. Mr. Murdoch fired him on the spot.

No doubt Mr. Chao, who oversaw such Fox hits as "Studs" and "America's Most Wanted," will go on to better things elsewhere in show biz. But for taking values from talk to action, Mr. Murdoch deserves a salute from Dan Quayle.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

A20

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Beltway Busy Signals

Congress hasn't voted on Rep. Jack Brooks's legislation on whether and how the regional phone companies can enter into information services, but already the printing presses of America have gained. We say that judging from the huge sheaf of paper work on the bill that's arrived over the transom.

That was from the telecommunications crowd alone. No doubt the Newspaper Publishers of America and allies are harvesting a few trees themselves to tell of their support for the Brooks bill to hamstring the Baby Bells. The proposal would codify the so-called Modification of Final Judgment by which Federal Judge Harold Greene has run the nation's phone system since it was broken up a decade ago.

Under higher court pressure, Judge Greene a year ago freed the Bells from limitations on marketing data, subject to future legal challenge. Of course, there was such a suit from the newspapers (classified ad sales are threatened) and so the liberation was stalled. Meanwhile, PR spinmeisters went into high gear on both sides. The Brooks measure, which would bar the Bells from several businesses including the electronic delivery of information, is the latest and apparently most serious thing to hit the hopper.

This argument is such a party line of lobbyists that all a normal person can do is sit back and marvel at the cacophony. The roster of Brooks supporters is choice: Not only is there AT&T (Ma is jealous of the offspring) and the Consumer Federation of America (normally a tip-off to the anti-market, pro-bureaucrat side), there are the Burglar and Fire Alarm Association and the Amusement and Music Operators Association, a jukebox group.

On the other side, Baby Bell backers are so numerous that we lost track. They probably include everybody who does any business with or gets any money from the phone companies. Dow Jones & Co. and the Journal are teaming up with a few of the Bells on some information ventures we think will benefit everybody. We wouldn't be surprised if, absent the triumph of Mr. Brooks and other political crustaceans, many of our fellow publishers join us in exploiting such synergies in the years ahead. Some already have.

That is the serious side to this spectacle: The tremendous potential gains to American business and to U.S. consumers directly from world class infor-

mation-services and telecommunications-technology industries. Currently, that potential is being squandered on the strength of an antitrust orthodoxy that top academics (and some jurists) abandoned years ago. So we hope, as we long have, that the phone companies can get their lines free of all this economic interference.

Having said that, we must speak up for another shackled industry under legislative barrage. It is one the Bells know well — their arch foes, the cable television operators.

Like the phone companies, the cable franchises are not always easy to love. They have a bad habit of banding with municipalities to prevent competition in their service areas. So long as the cable operators condone this anti-market practice, they will invite regulation by the politicians.

Nevertheless, the cable companies by and large are on the cutting edge of telecommunications themselves. That's why they're increasingly bumping up against the Bells, with which they are becoming increasingly direct competitors. In the meantime, they've done a creditable job of expanding programming choices for American viewers since their industry was widely deregulated in 1987.

Not a good enough job, or not at the right price, for some folks in Congress who think they can adjust the picture. Most prominently, there's Rep. Ed Markey, who, coming from Boston, is like Texan Jack Brooks only in the fact that they're liberal Democrats who can't let well enough alone.

Mr. Markey two weeks ago managed to get out of full committee a bill to regulate rates, programming (basic service must include the Chicago and Atlanta superstations), the packaging of pay stuff like HBO (you can't be required to order CNN in order to get movies), how much you'll be charged to wire a second TV set, even how fast the cable operator must answer the phone. Oh, and U.S. cable companies can't sell to a foreign buyer (even though American firms are wiring abroad), but a municipal government is welcome to enter into the business against them. May the bondholders in this highly leveraged industry have a big heart.

We hope that one day the cable operators and the telephone companies can stop lobbying in Washington and fight it out in the marketplace. But while waiting, we admit to some ringing ears and bleary eyes.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

The Sorry, Socialist Record of Israel's Likud

By JOEL BAINERMAN

JERUSALEM — For the first time ever, economic issues have become part of an election campaign in Israel. Night after night politicians from the governing Likud party appear on state-owned television to remind the public that Likud has privatized the economy, eliminated price controls, freed trade, and generated 6% growth in the past year.

Nothing, however, could be further from the truth than the Likud claims. While the Israeli economy is certainly more open than it was a decade ago, the change is incremental. Markets for capital, labor and land are as tightly controlled as ever. It was artificial stimulation of the construction industry that boosted Israel's economy this year, thanks to the billions raised by Diaspora Jews and the \$400 million in U.S. loan guarantees granted after the Gulf War. This is not an enduring economic expansion.

In the area of taxation, the Likud performance has been especially poor. At 40%, corporate taxes in Israel are higher than in many European countries. Individuals pay taxes of up to 48% on personal income, down only a few percentage points from the level of the early 1980s. Government revenues as a percentage of gross domestic product have increased by nearly two percentage points in the past year: to 39.4% from 37.5% in 1991. More than half of this revenue comes from Israel's crushing value-added tax.

And when it comes to handing out public funds to buy political loyalty, the Likud has done the job with as much enthusiasm as the socialist Labor governments of the past. According to a recent Bank of Israel study, transfer payments

consumed 44% of tax revenues in 1990, compared to only 21% in 1965. Direct payments to individuals account for 70% of public spending, up from 29% in 1965.

Although there are more imported products on supermarket shelves, the high cost of local manufacturing and a business environment dominated by cartels and monopolies keeps prices high. The markets for fruits (other than citrus fruits), vegetables, milk and poultry are still distorted by quotas, with crops periodically destroyed to maintain prices. Wages lag because labor productivity is low: Output per worker was \$32,000 in 1991, compared to \$62,600 in Switzerland.

While bits and pieces of some state enterprises have been sold (never more than 25% of the shares of any one company) no massive sell-off has taken place. And instead of lowering capital-gains taxes and allowing a local venture capital industry to generate growth, the Likud government established a state-owned investment company to support high tech companies.

Probably the only encouraging economic indicator is that Israel's foreign debt fell to 41% of GDP from 48% in 1990. Domestic debt, though, continues to rise.

Although the subject has rarely been mentioned in the election campaign, the Likud's handling of the absorption of Russian Jews was a failure. Last month, fewer than 3,000 came, threatening Israel's hopes for the arrival of 1.5 million over the next five years.

It was an expensive failure. Housing Minister Ariel Sharon contracted with Likud party supporters to build tens of thousands of apartments for the new-

comers—with a guarantee that the government would buy them if the immigrants didn't. Few of the immigrants can afford them, and the final cost to the government is likely to be in the billions of dollars.

When the immigration began in 1990, Israel could have raised money by selling state-owned companies. The 93% of the public lands sitting in government hands could have been auctioned off. The enormous subsidies to industry and housing might have been eliminated. A simplified tax structure could have spurred growth and provided competitive banking, labor and capital markets.

Instead, the Israeli public got more of the same: further intervention in the market, and more pleas from the government to the U.S. Treasury for aid.

The tragedy is that the state is strangling the entrepreneurial flair and technological genius of the Israeli people. If investing in Israel were made simple and passive tax incentives replaced direct investment grants, industrial growth would skyrocket. If private schools and private medicine were allowed to flourish, Israel could provide new high wage jobs. If the small business sector were not over-taxed and over-regulated, it would usher in a new era of growth.

Leaders such as Benjamin Netanyahu and the health minister, Ehud Olmert, are the ones appearing on television. But unless these politicians are taken to task for the state's monopolistic control of the economy, change will never come, not from Likud and not from Labor.

Joel Bainerman is a freelance journalist based in Israel.

Stock Options—A Perk That Built Silicon Valley

By ALISA J. BAKER

Stock options, of all things, have become an election issue in the 1992 campaign. In Congress, Sen. Carl Levin (D., Mich.) and his Budget Oversight Committee are leading a moral crusade against the entire concept of stock-based compensation.

Across the continent from Washington, however, in Northern California's Silicon Valley, high-tech entrepreneurs and their employees are astonished to discover that the Valley's primary compensation strategy may soon be annihilated by a political football game. For 20 years, Silicon Valley has thrived on the premise that big ideas may come to people with little money. Employee compensation strategies, particularly equity compensation strategies, have been created to serve this premise and to encourage participation, commitment and investment in the employer. The typical optionee in Silicon Valley is likely to be a staff engineer in a privately held start-up who has traded off traditional employee benefits and salary for a shot at the gold: If his company goes public, he wins big.

Rewards Loyalty

In the majority of cases, start-ups fail and employees walk away with only salary and experience. When a start-up succeeds however, equity becomes the leveling factor that rewards the hard work and loyalty of both executives and staff.

That's exactly what happened, for example, at Apple Computer when the company launched its initial public offering in 1980. Apple's famous fairy tale, in which everyone from secretaries to the 26-year-old founder became a millionaire, is just one of the many examples of the way that across-the-board equity compensation permeates the California technology industry.

At the time of Apple's public offering, it had grown from two hackers in a garage to a workforce of close to 1,500, including some of the most innovative young engineers in the country. Apple offered no general retirement plan or deferred compensation benefits, only basic health insurance, Friday afternoon "beer bashes" and

a cash bonus program based on the company's profitability. However, more than 60% of the common stock outstanding prior to the offering was held by (or under option to) its employees, with more than 20% issued under the company's three employee stock-option plans.

Six years later, when Sun Microsystems exploded onto the market in March 1986, it showed a similar compensation history. The company was incorporated in February 1982. Within eight months, the

produced nor credited for their work. Instead, EA granted the bulk of its stock purchase rights and options to its employees. At the time of the 1989 public offering, close to 25% of Electronic Arts common stock had been issued (or optioned) under the company's 1982 Stock Option Plan.

A similar story could be told about dozens of former Silicon Valley start-ups that are now familiar names. SiliconGraphics, Oracle Corp., Quantum Corp., Pyra-

The typical optionee in Silicon Valley is a staff engineer who has traded benefits and salary for a shot at the gold: If his company goes public, he wins big.

board of directors had authorized both a tax-qualified incentive stock option plan and a nonqualified stock purchase plan for Sun's employees and consultants.

At the time of the public offering, the company had more than 700 shareholders, fewer than 40 of whom were listed as officers, directors or major outside investors. Although the company in 1986 had more than 1,200 employees (none of whom were unionized), its entire employee benefits program consisted of basic health insurance, a six-month old 401(k) Plan with no employer match, and its employee stock plans. At the time of the offering, only Scott McNealy, the company's chairman and president, earned a base salary in excess of \$100,000.

Electronic Arts was founded by computer gamers in 1982 and went public seven years later. The software entertainment company relied more on independent contractors (glamorized as "artists"), who were typically paid under contracts providing for advances and future royalties, than on direct employees. Although at the time of its public offering Electronic Arts had more than 350 game titles on the market, it employed only 268 workers.

Like Apple, EA had no special employee benefits programs and employees were neither entitled to receive royalty payments on the entertainment software they

mid Technology, Software Publishing, Octel Communications and, quite recently, Broderbund Software—the list goes on and on. Not every one of these companies started in a garage. But the ability to offer stock compensation early on enabled these companies to conserve cash and still attract the top people in their respective fields.

Today, these companies can afford to use traditional compensation strategies, and they do. Ten years ago, the cost of non-equity incentives to the same companies would have been prohibitive.

Sen. Levin's proposal purports to "solve" the perceived abuse of executive equity compensation by legislating increased SEC disclosure requirements and new accounting procedures on stock compensation. The bill would increase the cost of employee stock options for both private and public companies by imposing changes to current financial accounting rules.

These changes are intended to give the public better information about current (or potential) investments. If this were the extent of their effect, there would be no arguing with them. Most experts agree that reforms in this area are both necessary and welcome. The SEC's recent expansion of proxy disclosure requirements speaks directly to such shareholder concerns.

Unfortunately, private companies that rely on equity compensation for all employees will be disproportionately penalized by these accounting changes. Because financial statements are subject to SEC scrutiny for as much as three years prior to an initial public offering, this change may seriously affect the number of technology stocks that will be ready for the public market in the foreseeable future. Moreover, Congress's approach may well have the deplorable effect of discouraging entrepreneurs from recruiting top employees early on, when talent and commitment are crucial to a company's survival.

With these points in mind, the accounting profession's chief rulemaking body, the Financial Accounting Standards Board, has been working to revise its basic stock option accounting principles for close to eight years. In Mr. Levin's committee hearings, representatives of both the SEC and the FASB told Congress that new rules could be fairly phased in no earlier than 1994. At the end of May, SEC Commissioner Richard Roberts reiterated the SEC's view that decisions concerning options valuation "belong in the first instance with the FASB." Nonetheless Sen. Levin continues to threaten congressional action.

Competitive Compensation

The San Jose Business Journal noted in a special report last month that Silicon Valley lost 12,000 jobs in 1991. Private technology companies create jobs and bring outstanding talent into the industry. Their ability to do so will decline if such companies cannot offer competitive compensation packages by sweetening lower salaries with equity incentives.

The high-technology companies of Silicon Valley know how to make equity compensation work for all employees. Equity compensation strategies in these companies do not enrich top management at the expense of shareholders and employees. By targeting stock options rather than stock option abuses, Mr. Levin has missed the point.

Ms. Baker is an attorney in Sunnyvale, Calif.

In Hungary, on a Capitalist Street

By AMITY SHLAES

BUDAPEST — Belgrad Rakpart is the kind of street East Europeans dream about. Yellow trolleys roll beside the sparkling Danube. Pensioners read their Sunday afternoon papers on comfortable benches. Tourists munch strudel under cafe umbrellas. Best of all, merchants at stands provide evidence of nonstop capitalism with a souvenir trade conducted in the domestic currency.

But this sunny Sunday scene also reflects the obstacles to a free market that still face Hungary. The foreign visitors on the street are often guests at state-owned hotels. The peddlers pushing Red Army officers' watches and tattered communist medals here are reaping the only economic value remaining of a once fruitful trade with the old Soviet empire. The stand owners still operate to a large extent in an untaxed, all-cash, "gray" economy.

Hungary has to help the merchants of Belgrad Rakpart if it is going to retain its proudest possession, the number one spot in Central Europe's race to capitalism. In the years before and just after the Iron Curtain dissolved, Hungarian officials devoted many a wine-and-geese-liver lunch with Westerners to making the case for Hungary's famous policy of gradualism. Lately though, Vaclav Klaus's rampant privatization program has made Czechoslovakia, or even a rump Czech republic, the hot address for foreign investment. Meanwhile, Hungary's continued obsession with "careful" privatization has distracted attention from the nation's brightest hope: the little guy.

To walk down Belgrad Rakpart is to feel the problems that the small-business man faces. Laszlo, a Budapest who sells Soviet relics, uses telegraph-style English to explain his problem: "Taxes too high." A 40% top marginal tax rate and a 50% social services tax per employee mean he can't afford to build staff. In a music store across the street from Laszlo's stand,

a 25% value-added tax brings the price of a CD of Natalie Cole singing "Unforgettable" with her father to 1,500 forints — \$18, or one-twentieth of the average Hungarian's monthly salary. So Hungarians avoid paying taxes when they can. Does Laszlo pay taxes? "Not much." His incentives to do so have recently diminished: This year the state dropped a 50% tax benefit for private businesses.

Big aprons stuffed with currency notes around the waists of the Belgrad Rakpart traders are signs of problem number two: the all-cash economy. Five years ago a new bank reform law divided up Hungary's monolith of a bank. But the new banks are still in state hands, and they still reel under the burden of supporting Hungary's still vast public sector. What little money that is available to the small entrepreneur is prohibitively expensive — merchants face a 34% annual interest rate on loans usually available only on a month-to-month basis. Foreign firms working in Hungary can sometimes swallow such costs. But the Belgrad Rakpart vendors can't afford them — so their capital comes from under an uncle's mattress.

The biggest banking problem here is a simple one: inexperience. Old-fashioned operating methods make a lengthy adventure of transferring money from Buda to Pest, just across the river. Thanks to the work of the legendary Janos Fekete and others colleagues in Janos Kadar's era, Hungarian bankers have plenty of experience extracting money from Western banks and governments. But they don't know how to run a retail bank. The result is that even large employers are forced to work on an all-cash basis. General Electric's Tungram unit manages a 13,000-person payroll on cash in this country. The cash rule can have violent consequences: Just last month, Budapesters report, a man was shot when thieves ambushed his car to grab a payroll.

The street merchant feels another kind

of pain from the bank problem: no credit. The American taxpayer has lent a hand here: About \$4.3 million in small loans of \$10,000 to \$100,000 each has been made to businesses in Hungary through a U.S.-backed office known as the Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund. Foreign banks, most notably Citibank, have claimed big successes in Hungary. But their work to date has been on the large-scale commercial side. These J.P. Morgans don't help the small merchant move from a stand to a store.

The Hyatt Atrium hotel just off Belgrad Rakpart offers a useful symbol of obstacle number three: slow privatization. On the surface, the hotel looks like a Western Hyatt — it has the same fern-lined atrium, and the same glass elevator. With its Danube location, the Hyatt has the potential to be a major cash cow for private owners. And, like much of the Hungarian economy, the Hyatt is officially "in the process of privatization." But, for the moment, the hotel remains in the hands of the state airline, Malev, and a state-controlled hotel company, Pannonia.

Across the Danube, visitors to the copper-windowed Budapest Hilton hear a similar story. The Hungarian government did plan to privatize the Hilton's parent, the Hungarian travel agency Ibusz. In the end, though, the government chose to keep its revenues by selling Ibusz to itself. Comments a bitter local banker: "Instead of real change, this was window dressing for the government budget."

The senior citizens lining Belgrad Rakpart are the ones who suffer most from such postponements. If the Hungarian government keeps up its current molasses attitude, it will retain 80% of the economy in its hands. The cost of maintaining money-losers will leave little left over for citizens too old to start over. Hungarian retirees are already feeling significant pain: a 36% inflation last year cut into fixed incomes.

A walk up the Danube (and past a few art nouveau splendors) to Hungary's tax authority provides more hints on the nature of the problem. Hungary's 1980s gradualists left a crippling legacy of \$21 billion in foreign debt, the highest per capita of any in East Europe. Yet the head of Hungary's version of the IRS, Gyorgy Minarik, notes with a sigh that tax revenues this past year "did shrink." But his solution — more efficient enforcement — will be of no help to the businessman. Mr. Minarik criticizes citizens for what in the West might be called a healthy attitude: "Hungarians avoid taxes because they want to get rich quick."

Such official views are damaging for one reason: If Central Europe has a future, it is the small entrepreneur. Foreign investors in Hungary, as in neighboring Poland, face growing signs of protectionism. Privatization of the state's white elephants has its limits. John Robson, deputy secretary of the U.S. Treasury, summed up a recent blitz-tour through the region: "There's an awkward secret" that Western aid teams and Central Europe's governments feel they can't admit. "That secret is that most of these larger state-owned enterprises, no matter how they are reorganized, are likely to fail."

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, for his part, seems to be so busy straddling his three-party coalition that he has little time for such questions. Reports of the work of wild Wall Street types who are dismembering state concerns in Prague send shudders through the cautious Hungarian government. Even slowboat Poland is starting to make Hungary look bad — it recently displaced Hungary as the recipient of the most Western investment when Fiat bet \$2 billion on Poland's auto industry.

Meantime, Sunday evening comes to Belgrad Rakpart. The stands disappear, their proprietors off to man weekday jobs. If the government doesn't create an environment that helps the merchants, all of Hungary will soon look like Belgrad Rakpart on a Monday morning: cute, and marginal.

Miss Shlaes is features editor of the Journal's editorial page.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

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World-Wide

THE HIGH COURT STRUCK DOWN a Minnesota city's "hate crime" statute.

The Supreme Court ruled 9-0 that a St. Paul, Minn., ordinance violated the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech by defining as a crime cross-burning and other acts that can arouse "anger, alarm or resentment" on the basis of race, religion or gender. Justice Scalia, writing the court's main opinion, said the law wrongly singled out for censorship the expression of particular ideas. The decision could force many cities and states to revise or drop similar laws. (Article on Page A22)

The St. Paul statute had been challenged by a young man who was charged with helping to burn a cross in a black family's front yard.

A special Senate panel on MIAs was told in a secret briefing last month that several of the committee's staff investigators had concluded that U.S. servicemen remained "in captivity in Vietnam and Laos as late as 1989." The panel is probing the fate of soldiers still missing from the Vietnam War. (Story in Column 1)

President de Klerk cut short a trip to Spain and returned to South Africa to face a crisis over township violence that has jeopardized democracy talks. Anglican Archbishop Tutu declared the nation was "on the brink of disaster," adding that unless the killing was halted, South Africa should be expelled from next month's Olympics.

Yeltsin was urged by the Bush administration to withdraw Russian armed forces from the former Soviet republic of Moldova, where Russian-speaking separatists and Moldovan forces clashed over the weekend. The State Department also urged the Moldovan government to consider the rights of its ethnic Russian minority.

Russia will need about two years to raise its domestic energy prices to world levels, acting Prime Minister Gaidar told potential U.S. investors in Moscow. Western governments and the IMF have urged the Russians to lift price controls more quickly.

Mortars fell on Sarajevo, killing at least 21 people, wounding at least 135 others and hindering U.N. efforts to open the city's airport to receive relief supplies. "This is a major setback today," said the chief U.N. peacekeeping negotiator in the Bosnian capital. "We condemn in the strongest possible terms this attack on innocent civilians."

* * *

Bush signed into law a \$1.1 billion emergency urban aid bill to help Los Angeles and Chicago recover from recent disasters and to finance over 400,000 summer jobs for poor youngsters. The president called the measure "only a beginning" toward addressing cities' needs, and urged support for tax-free enterprise zones.

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The U.S. welcomed the election of Fidel Ramos as president of the Philippines, saying it was a reaffirmation of democracy. The Philippine Congress yesterday declared Ramos the winner of a May 11 vote. He will succeed President Aquino next Tuesday.

* * *

A fraud and negligence trial began in Paris for French officials accused of knowingly distributing AIDS-tainted blood. The four are accused of infecting 1,500 hemophiliacs who received unscreened transfusions in the 1980s even though an effective blood-screening procedure was available.

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Geneva negotiators forged a compromise on a draft text of a treaty to ban chemical arms after 24 years of talks, and the tentative 39-nation agreement could be signed next year, conference sources said.

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Israeli opinion polls gave the Labor party a slight edge over the ruling Likud in today's parliamentary elections, but the margin was too small to be decisive. Political analysts, who don't expect a clear-cut result, say it may take weeks to form a coalition.

* * *

A total of \$880 million was pledged by 33 nations and several international groups to rebuild Cambodia, despite concern that the Khmer Rouge could undermine the peace process. (Article on Page A17)

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An Uzbek militia leader said he will remain neutral in the struggle for power within Afghanistan's new Islamic government. Gen. Dostrum spoke to reporters in Kabul by radio-telephone to dispel Pakistani reports that he was killed in a plane crash.

* * *

Died: Vittorio Cassoni, 49, Xerox Corp. executive vice president, operations, Sunday, in Milan, Italy, after being diagnosed with a brain tumor.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

U.S. Officials Set To Seek Solutions If Railroads Strike

By ALBERT R. KARR
And DANIEL MACHALABA

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Bush administration officials say they're concerned about the wide impact of railroad strikes that could begin after midnight tonight, and are prepared to move to avert a long walkout.

Labor contract bargaining involving Amtrak, Consolidated Rail Corp. and 40 other freight railroads could lead to walkouts starting at 12:01 a.m. tomorrow, and parties on both sides of at least the Amtrak and Conrail disputes say that strikes are likely.

House and Senate Democratic leaders are predicting walkouts lasting at least three to five days. Congress isn't expected to move as quickly as it did last year, when it enacted legislation cutting off a nationwide rail strike after 18 hours.

This time, "at the end of 24 hours, you start moving into problems," Transportation Secretary Andrew Card said in an interview. While it would be "inappropriate" to make any recommendations to solve disputes while union and industry negotiators are still at the bargaining table, Mr. Card said that if strikes occur, "I stand ready to recommend a solution or to work with Congress to recommend a solution—or to impose one."

President Bush is "very much aware of the state of play" in the rail bargaining, Mr. Card said, and the administration is encouraging both sides to reach a strike-averting settlement. A widespread strike could seriously, and "almost immediately," affect auto makers, chemical and fertilizer plants and paper producers, the secretary said.

General Motors Corp. said 40% of its operations would be affected within 24 hours, Mr. Card said. Ford Motor Co.'s assembly plants would be affected, even though they close for vacation next week. A rail strike's impact would be fast, "now that this country has moved to a just-in-time inventory" system, Mr. Card said.

Administration officials said that if Amtrak is closed down there would be a substantial effect on people, especially because some commuter-rail authorities use Amtrak's track.

Conrail is considered a major carrier, especially in the East and in supplying some Midwestern auto plants, the administration officials said, and a strike against it would be deemed a "national emergency." While a walkout by the machinists union against the other 40 railroads is perhaps less likely, such a strike would clearly be a national one, they said.

Mr. Card estimated that in two weeks 570,000 industrial workers would be laid off, 350,000 commuters would be affected by an Amtrak strike, and another 165,000 commuters by walkouts against Conrail and other freight railroads.

Amtrak began canceling trains to avoid leaving travelers stranded in the case there is a strike. Reservations aren't being taken for trains scheduled to depart tomorrow or Thursday, Amtrak said.

Jed Dodd, general chairman of the
Please Turn to Page A5, Column 1

U.S. Officials Poised To Seek Steps to End Any Railroad Strike

Continued From Page A2

Pennsylvania federation of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and the union's chief negotiator, said the BMW was still talking with Amtrak and Conrail. The BMW is the only union in a contract dispute with Conrail but is one of six bargaining with Amtrak.

Shippers urged Congress to adopt presidential emergency board recommendations promptly if freight lines are struck. Even if a strike is limited to Conrail a significant number of businesses will be hurt, said a spokesman for the National Industrial Transportation League, which represents shippers and other users of freight transportation services.

ClothesTime Stock Repurchase

ANAHEIM, Calif. — ClothesTime Inc., a women's apparel store operator, said its board authorized the repurchase of up to 500,000 of its common shares, or 3.5% of the total outstanding.

David Sejpal, chief financial officer, said the purchases are mainly intended "to counter the (ongoing) impact of the exercise of stock options" by company employees. The purchases will be made from "time to time" in the open market or in privately negotiated transactions, the company said.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Justices Reject Broad 'Hate Crime' Law As Violation of Free-Speech Guarantee

By PAUL M. BARRETT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court struck down a St. Paul, Minn., "hate crime" statute in a decision that could force communities and states across the country to revise or abandon laws barring expressions based on bigotry.

The justices unanimously ruled that the St. Paul ordinance violated the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech by defining as a crime cross-burning and other acts that can arouse "anger, alarm or resentment" on the basis of race, religion or gender.

Justice Antonin Scalia, writing the court's main opinion, said the law wrongly singled out for censorship the expression of particular ideas. However objectionable those ideas might be, Justice Scalia said, "The First Amendment does not permit St. Paul to impose special prohibitions on those speakers who express views on disfavored subjects."

The statute had been challenged by a young man charged with helping to burn a cross in a black family's yard. Justice Scalia, while condemning cross-burning, stressed that such conduct "could have been punished under any number" of Minnesota laws that don't raise free-speech problems, such as those dealing with "terroristic threats," arson and property damage.

In fact, Justice Scalia said, the prosecutors actually confirmed the unconstitutionality of the ordinance when they told a lower court that it was the "message" expressed by the cross-burning that they intended to punish.

In the past few years, most states and many communities have enacted criminal laws barring speech or actions motivated by bias. And a number of colleges have imposed analogous campus speech codes. The high court's ruling "raises serious questions about many, if not all of them," said Robert O'Neill, head of the Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression, in Charlottesville, Va.

The St. Paul ordinance was particularly broad, however, and proponents of special laws to combat hate crime argued that other, more carefully worded approaches wouldn't necessarily be precluded by yesterday's ruling. For example, a number of states have amended their laws—including those involving assault and battery—to stiffen penalties if there is evidence that ethnic, religious or gender bias motivated the crime. Congress is considering legislation based on this concept.

Officials of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a leading proponent of the strategy to increase penalties, said states and localities that have adopted

the approach shouldn't have to change their laws. Jess Hordes, the organization's Washington director, said the distinction is that the St. Paul ordinance "targets expression directly," while the alternative focuses on "conduct that is considered criminal already."

The potential hazard for the alternative approach, though, is that prosecutors will frequently have to examine the defendant's speech to determine motivation. And it was just such official proscription of particular types of expression that the Supreme Court banned yesterday.

Minnesota's highest court had upheld the St. Paul law by interpreting it narrowly to prohibit only "fighting words" that inflict injury or spark immediate violence—a category of expression that the Supreme Court has ruled generally isn't protected by the First Amendment. In his opinion, Justice Scalia accepted this interpretation but said the ordinance was still unconstitutional.

The First Amendment shouldn't be interpreted rigidly, Justice Scalia reasoned. Even if government may, as a rule, regulate fighting words, officials may not do so based on the message those words express. By comparison, a community may ban displays of sexual activity that it considers "obscene," Justice Scalia wrote, but it may not prohibit obscenity based only on a political message it conveys.

The St. Paul law bans some types of fighting words that insult or provoke violence on the basis of race, gender or religion, but not fighting words expressing hostility based on politics or homosexuality, Justice Scalia observed. Moreover, the city presumably would allow proponents of racial tolerance to use fighting words, punishing only the expression of bigots. "St. Paul has no such authority to license one side of a debate to fight freestyle, while requiring the other to follow Marquis of Queensbury rules," he declared.

But four justices who agreed that the St. Paul law was unconstitutionally broad attacked Justice Scalia's reasoning as a "radical revision of First Amendment law." In an opinion written by Justice Byron White, the four critics said that by treating fighting words as a form of debate deserving some degree of First Amendment protection, Justice Scalia's approach will hinder permissible efforts to curb prejudice and "legitimate hate speech as a form of public discussion." Justices Harry Blackmun, Sandra O'Connor and John Stevens joined all or most of the White opinion.

Joining the Scalia opinion were Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Anthony Kennedy, David Souter and Clarence Thomas. (*R.A.V. vs. St. Paul*)

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Ross Perot Intrigues Group of Michigan Voters That Largely Remains Wary and Uncommitted

By RICH JAROSLOWSKY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

KALAMAZOO, Mich. — Eight months ago, Garth Behrje was about as gung-ho a George Bush voter as you could find. Today, he's still gung-ho — but now it's Ross Perot who's the object of his political affections.

"He provides the leadership," says the 23-year-old fitness instructor. "We'd finally find out what really goes on in Washington after three or four years of Ross Perot cracking heads and straightening things out."

But Richard Emmons, a 40-year-old sales engineer and a disaffected Democrat, just can't bring himself to back the billionaire independent. "On the one hand he intrigues me and on the other hand he scares me," says Mr. Emmons.

Mr. Behrje and Mr. Emmons are among a group of Kalamazoo-area residents periodically convened by The Wall Street Journal to discuss the 1992 campaign. The group is far too small to be a scientific sampling; indeed, it is deliberately weighted to favor the kind of middle-income swing voters who will probably determine the outcome of November's election. As such, it provides an excellent barometer of the shifting political climate.

The big news since the group last met in March is, of course, the emergence of Mr. Perot as a third force in the presidential campaign. Within the group, as in the country at large, his candidacy has succeeded in roiling the waters. He has already won some converts here — Mr. Behrje, for instance, and Micheal Clark, a 37-year-old janitor who says, "He's got me

simply because he doesn't owe anyone, any big-money people."

But while nine of the 15 people say they would "seriously consider" voting for Mr. Perot, most of them are clearly unwilling to commit themselves right now. Pollster Peter Hart, who conducted the discussion for the Journal, observes that the most striking change since the group last met is that "they've gotten less certain rather than more certain."

These people will take their time about reaching an opinion on Mr. Perot. While they do want to know his specific positions on the issues, what they really want to know is: What he would be like as president? They also want to see whom Mr. Perot chooses for a vice presidential running mate because of what they expect the choice to show about his own character. And to win their votes, he must convince them that what they perceive as his stiff-necked attitudes on some matters don't indicate that he would be narrow-minded or would abuse his presidential powers.

One thing almost all agree on: They're glad he's in the race. Says Lynne Hawthorne, a 46-year-old floral designer: "It's done a lot for the voters, [giving them] something else to look at, possibly bringing up some other issues that neither Clinton nor Bush are touching on or doing anything about."

While Mr. Perot is clearly the man of the hour for these voters, Mr. Hart, a Democrat, observes that the discussion a few nights ago held out a modicum of hope for George Bush and Bill Clinton as well. For the president, "the good news is that they still feel a certain reassurance that he's experienced, knows the job and is the safe choice in an uncertain world." For the Arkansas governor, the good news is that "despite major uncertainties about him personally, they are beginning to respect his message."

CAMPAIGN
★ **92**



'On one hand (Perot) intrigues me and on the other hand he scares me.'

Richard Emmons



'I just don't trust (Clinton)... He reminds me of my ex-husband. Maybe that's the problem.'

Lynne Hawthorne



'(Perot) seems to be honest. I'm kind of cynical.... but I want to hear what he has to say.'

Kathleen Patti



'I've lost some confidence in Bush....He's backed and filled, backed and filled.'

Frank Clipper

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

& POLICY

One who is beginning to hear the governor's message is Peggy Tower, a 33-year-old nurse's aide and a Democrat who voted for Mr. Bush in 1988. In March, Mrs. Tower voted for Paul Tsongas in the Democratic primary, and in the discussion group then she spoke scathingly about Mr. Clinton as a "phony." But she now thinks she will vote for him in November. What changed her mind? She has seen him on television, particularly on the "CBS Morning News," and came away impressed. "Him being so straightforward the last three months has been right on the money," she says.

Other Clinton appearances, on the Phil Donahue show and on MTV, the music-video cable channel, left even 32-year-old teacher Michelle Bauman, a probable Bush voter, grudgingly impressed. "I wouldn't vote for him, but I liked watching him," she says. "It's impressive to see somebody take on the questions and answer them forthrightly."

But Mrs. Hawthorne, the floral designer, is still troubled by doubts about Mr. Clinton's character. "He says everything that I want to hear," she says, but "I just don't trust him. I think he'd lie. I think he's a great salesman. He reminds me of my ex-husband. Maybe that's the problem."

And while most were amused at the sight of Mr. Clinton playing the saxophone on the Arsenio Hall entertainment and talk show, Peter Bis, 40, an unemployed former owner of a custom auto-painting business who had been leaning toward voting Democratic, says bluntly: "He came across as a buffoon."

Another issue that provokes sharp discord is Hillary Clinton. Dawne Washburn, a 44-year-old accountant and a politi-

cal independent who voted for President Bush last time, says one of the most impressive things about Mr. Clinton is, "I like his wife. I mean, I really like his wife." But that brings an immediate rejoinder from Mrs. Hawthorne: "No, that's what scares me about Bill Clinton. I'm afraid we're going to have President Hillary."

When the topic turns to George Bush, the sentiment in the group is decidedly mixed. Some of those most favorable to the president in the previous sessions—such as 55-year-old design engineer Frank Clipper and 30-year-old property manager Rob Britigan—are cooler now. "He's backed and filled, backed and filled, and then when somebody really comes to him with a real problem, he seems like he pushes it off to the side," says Mr. Clipper.

But he also remains the safe choice for voters with doubts about his rivals. Mr. Emmons, a Democrat who voted for Michael Dukakis in 1988, says, "If I had to vote now, I probably would say that I don't think Clinton could do the job, and I'm not sure about Perot, so Bush is kind of the lesser of all evils."

Kathleen Patti, a 43-year-old framer and artist who is considering Mr. Perot, is feeling a little better about Mr. Bush now than she did in March because "he's trying to make an effort to change things around... he does seem to be addressing issues here on a domestic basis more." She believes that a second Bush term might be more productive than his first one and says that if Mr. Perot comes out with positions she doesn't agree with, "then I would probably go back to Bush."

The presidential election isn't the only choice these folks have to make this year. Their congressional choice will take on added importance as well; Howard Wolpe, the veteran Democrat who has represented this area in the House for 14 years, is retiring, and in the reapportionment process Kalamazoo has been placed in the district of three-term Republican Fred Upton.

But clearly, the main unanswered questions these folks have right now is about Mr. Perot. Several are concerned about recent comments he has made about women, gays and appointing people who were unfaithful to their spouses to govern-

ment jobs. Ms. Patti worries that a President Perot would be "too rigid," but seems in no hurry to make up her mind. Mr. Perot "seems to be honest. I'm kind of cynical... but I want to hear what he has to say."

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Still Missing

MIA Mystery Deepens As Classified Reports Divide a Senate Panel

Several of Its Investigators
Believe Tales of Sightings
In Indochina in the 1980s

The Prisoners at the Citadel

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — A special Senate panel probing the fate of U.S. soldiers still missing from the Vietnam War gathered last month for a classified briefing. Several members of the panel's investigative staff told the senators they had concluded that U.S. servicemen remained "in captivity in Vietnam and Laos as late as 1989."

Some senators were stunned; others, skeptical. The controversial documents amassed by the investigators included:

—A classified 1986 Defense Department report stating that the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency "holds evidence that establishes the probability that live American personnel are still held captive in Laos and Vietnam." The document, by a task force chaired by retired Air Force Lt. Gen. Eugene Tighe, a former DIA director, called some of the evidence concerning Laos "compelling."

—Classified reports of POW sightings, including more than a dozen separate U.S. government interviews with Vietnamese refugees, each claiming that at various times from 1973 through 1984 they saw or heard about American prisoners kept in a huge, walled complex in northwest Hanoi named the Citadel by its French colonial builders. Also included are a half-dozen similar detailed reports, from June 1976 to early 1979, of American prisoners purportedly kept near Son La, about 125 miles west of Hanoi near the Laos border.

—A secret 1986 Pentagon study, headed by Air Force Col. Kimball Gaines, which charged that among the Defense Department officials responsible for resolving missing Americans cases "there exists a mindset to debunk" such refugee accounts. The report concluded that with defense officials, "intense effort is initially focused on veracity of sources with a view toward discrediting them."

A Murky Subject

Much of this information has floated around the intelligence community for years and has been previously reported, including by this newspaper, in the mid-1980s. The truth about the purported sightings of Americans may never be known, at least not without the complete cooperation of Vietnam. The reports could be inaccurate or outright falsifications by refugees who wanted to ingratiate themselves with U.S. authorities. The DIA considers many of the refugee reports "fabrications."

Indeed, the entire POW and MIA issue has been a magnet for charlatans, hustlers and hustlers, as well as for zealous true believers who aren't out to exploit the issue but who in the past have been victimized by those who were. The whole business is rife with scams and ruses that play on the emotions of Americans, most powerfully on Americans who still don't know what happened to their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons.

But the very existence of the latest batch of reports, concentrated in one place on Capitol Hill, is sure to add even more intensity to the issue. Ross Perot, the undeclared presidential candidate, believes such reports prove Americans were left behind. He currently is battling with Sen. John Kerry, the Massachusetts Democrat and chairman of the special committee, who wants Mr. Perot to testify about information he claims to have. Mr. Perot has refused, saying that would create a "media circus" that would be used by both Democrats and Republicans to discredit his independent candidacy. Over the weekend, Mr. Perot agreed to submit a deposition, the committee said.

Yeltsin's Bombshell

Last week, Russian President Boris Yeltsin poured more fuel on the MIA fire and shocked Americans by saying that some U.S. POWs might have been moved from Vietnam to the Soviet Union, and might still be alive there. The very possibility that all that could be true has had the effect of giving new credibility to other rumors and reports of Americans held in Indochina after the U.S. withdrawal.

The special Senate committee, set up to resolve this supercharged issue, now is at war with itself. A day after its secret briefing by staff investigators last month, Senate security guards burst into the investigators' office and, after searching desks, briefcases and "burn bags," impounded four safes holding their intelligence files. Sen. Kerry says this was done because of concerns the documents might be leaked by zealous staff members before they could be further evaluated. Sen. Bob Smith, a New Hampshire Republican and the committee's vice chairman, contends that Sen. Kerry is proceeding too cautiously. Last week he threatened privately to resign as vice chairman. Sen. Smith has scheduled a press conference for today.

One reason the MIA issue packs such an emotional wallop may be that the thought of abandoning comrades on the battlefield is so strongly at odds with Americans' image of themselves. "Every war movie has a scene in which you never leave your buddies behind," says Lawrence Lichty, director of the Media Studies Project at the

Please Turn to Page A14, Column 1

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Still Missing: Several Senate Investigators Believe MIA Reports, a Divided Committee Has Been Told

Continued From First Page

Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington. "You make a super-human effort to go back for the wounded. That's what makes us better than the enemy."

Sen. Kerry says new information will be disclosed at hearings this week that will show that "some folks who were presumed to be alive were probably alive over there, that we knew it and that they were not accounted for in the early aftermath of the war." He adds that some of the sighting reports discussed at last month's private committee briefing are "interesting and very worthy of analysis and pursuit."

At a hearing tomorrow, Sen. Kerry's special committee plans to introduce evidence that the U.S. government had knowledge that Americans remained in captivity in Southeast Asia for some time after "Operation Homecoming" in 1973, when all POWs were supposed to have been repatriated. Among other things, a committee aide says, the panel plans to discuss lists of POWs that the government believed were still held in Southeast Asia after 1973. The lists, which cite about 50 persons, have just been declassified at the request of the committee.

Gen. Tighe, who completed his classified report for the Pentagon May 27, 1986, also concluded that, in general, many reports by Vietnamese refugees had the ring of truth. "By any measure, the refugees have remarkable powers of observation and memory," his report states. "As a body, their reporting accuracy may exceed that of any comparable human source data of which this task force is aware," the report adds. The retired general is scheduled to testify before Sen. Kerry's committee later this week. Interestingly, one of the civilian advisers to Gen. Tighe's task force was Mr. Perot.

In the classified briefing, committee investigators said they analyzed the reports by "clustering" reports of live sightings or hearsay reports over a period of years by geographic area. This, they said, added more credibility to the individual reports. For example, they came up with more than a dozen reports, often with rich details, of Americans held in Hanoi as late as 1984.

For example, in one report labeled "Secret" and "NoForm," meaning no distribution to foreign diplomats, a Vietnamese source reports that in 1979 he saw between 14 to 18 white males in a compound in Hanoi when he delivered a truckload of paper to the Military Publishing House there. The source said that, while standing on the back of the truck to help unload the paper, "he was able to see over the storage building and into the compound." Some of the prisoners, he said, were "dressed in camouflage fatigues and with some wearing faded blue laborers' uniforms."

In the Citadel

In a separate report, another Vietnamese source reported that in the summer of 1979 and again in August 1982 he saw about 30 white prisoners at either the same or a nearby location. "The prisoners were moving about in a courtyard and bathing, using water drawn from a cistern with dippers," the source said.

In both cases, the sources pinpointed the location near Ly Nam De Street, which is on the eastern side of the Citadel. The walled compound houses offices of the Peoples Army of Vietnam and Ministry of National Defense as well as the homes of some senior military officers. Vietnamese sources said that in 1969 or 1970 a three-story underground complex was built there, originally as a bomb shelter, at the same time that workers were constructing Ho Chi Minh's mausoleum, which abuts the western side of the compound.

One source, interviewed in 1986, told investigators that "in there they have a lot of secret underground caves, and there is also a concealed underground tunnel connecting the tomb of Ho Chi Minh." When Sen. Kerry visited the Ho Chi Minh mausoleum during an April visit to Hanoi he

would have been standing directly above where the American prisoners were alleged to have been kept.

There also are other reports used in the cluster analysis of a half-dozen live sightings of Americans in captivity between June 1976 and early 1979 near Son La, close to the Laotian border.

One source, a former South Vietnamese major, who was interviewed by the Central Intelligence Agency, said that he saw Americans in July 1978 while he was a prisoner at the K-1 subcamp of the Vinh Phu re-education center. He said he was returning with a work detail from picking fruit when the party came upon two trucks on the Nghia Lo road to Son La. He said one truck appeared to be disabled and as his party passed, he saw Westerners inside. The source claims he said, in English, "What is your nationality?" and someone inside responded "USA."

The source told the CIA that "the American prisoners wore old, tattered clothing, not uniforms. They were not blindfolded. Two Americans stood along side the truck urinating. . . . Armed guards yelled, 'What is going on here?'" The source moved on.

DIA Skepticism

Nearly all of these reports have been labeled fabrications by the DIA office in charge of resolving MIA issues. Agency officials, for example, question the credibility of many of the refugee reports, noting that in some instances the refugees failed polygraph tests. The DIA also says that some of the sightings reported were not of Americans but of Europeans or Russians that the DIA knew were in the area at the time. In other cases, they note that the descriptions given by some refugees fit those listed on reward leaflets distributed in Southeast Asia by MIA activist groups.

At any rate, reports of sightings in Son La, Vietnam, near the Laotian border, stopped after 1979. But Son La's proximity to the border with Laos has intrigued some of the investigators.

In the U.S., the tight-knit world of MIA activists is inhabited by many citizens who have long suspected that their government has been hushing up such reports. Step into the apartment of Beth Stewart, a Washington lawyer, and it is like walking

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

back in time. There are shelves brimming with books about Vietnam, tapestries of southeast Asian scenes, and a haunting black and white photograph. It shows a husky man in a striped uniform, his shoulders hunched, his hands clasped in front of him. The face has a prominent nose and dark, bushy eyebrows.

She says it is a picture of her father, Col. Peter Stewart, taken in 1969 by a Japanese peace group in Vietnam. On the morning of March 15, 1966, his F-4 Phantom took off from Ubon Air Force base in Thailand for a mission over Vietnam. A pilot in another F-4 only remembers seeing an explosion, and then a red safety flare, the kind, she has been told, that pilots use to signal that they are all right.

The U.S. government says the picture is not of her father. She says she identified the photo in 1975, but 30 days later the Pentagon called to tell her that it was a Navy commander who had returned when the POWs came home that year. For 13 years, the military, citing the Privacy Act, refused to tell her the name of the Navy commander.

Finally, she prevailed. Now, she has a hand-written note from Commander (Ret.) Hugh Allen Stafford. It says, "I am 95% sure that this is not a photo of me." Cmdr. Stafford couldn't be located to confirm that he had written the letter.

Embittered by the way the government treated her, Ms. Stewart became an MIA activist. Today, her apartment also houses the office of the POW Publicity Fund, which she started in 1987 with Billy Hendon, a former Republican congressman from North Carolina who now works on the special Senate MIA committee staff, and Anne Hart, whose husband was reported missing over Laos.

The fund is one of the denizens of the MIA world. It offers a \$2.5 million reward to anyone who brings home a live POW from Southeast Asia. The group's 1990 federal tax return shows that it took in contributions of \$85,719 that year and spent \$86,198, mostly on trips to southeast Asia to publicize the reward. So far, it hasn't paid any rewards.

But the tax return also shows that the organization owes Mr. Hendon, one of the

founders, "consulting fees" of \$199,247. In an interview yesterday, Mr. Hendon said that figure represents the accrued amount owed to him for consulting since the group was established. He said he was paid \$38,000 last year for consulting. "I never intend, of course, to get the rest back," he said.

U.S. government officials say such groups only encourage the phony trade in information about POWs that has proliferated since Ronald Reagan took up the MIA cause early in his presidency. Ms. Stewart says, "I believe that there is a cover-up. I believe that this government has had evidence for a number of years that these men are alive and in captivity in Southeast Asia and has done nothing, absolutely nothing, to get them home."



TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 • 5A

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

President signs \$1 billion urban aid bill

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

President Bush signed a \$1 billion bill Monday to finance 414,000 summer jobs for youths and underwrite rebuilding efforts after riots in Los Angeles and floods in Chicago.

"We've got to recognize that these funds are a beginning, only a beginning," Bush said.

The measure includes:
▶ \$300 million for federal disaster assistance.

▶ \$143.8 million for small-business loans.

▶ \$500 million for summer jobs for teens.

▶ \$72 million to back up business loan guarantees.

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin said her department will have the summer jobs money in the hands of city officials "within eight days."

In Bloomington, Ill., for instance, the bill means money for 340 more jobs, said Gary Cicciu of the United Private Industry Council, which administers program funds there.

The program works, Cicciu said, and teens earn about \$800

for the summer. "We require that the kids be learning something, not just passing time. ... We offer them more than just work," he said.

In Washington, the funding is seen as the first bounce of what is certain to be a political football as the White House and Congress compete for control of a longer-range program to create enterprise zones in several big cities.

Battle lines already are being drawn. Bush has recommended \$1.8 billion. But the House tax-writing committee

has scheduled action on a \$2.5 billion enterprise zone bill for Wednesday. Senate tax writers have postponed action until sometime in mid-July.

"That's very dangerous," said Howard University political scientist Ronald Walters. "You could have a very hot summer. And there's going to be a tendency to ... politicize this."

Three separate urban rescue plans have surfaced. Democratic candidate Bill Clinton offered one for about \$20 billion. The Congressional Black

Caucus figures it would cost about \$30 billion. The U.S. Conference of Mayors estimates a cost of \$34 billion.

The White House insists those would bust the budget. Bush won't swallow that.

"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," Bush said, referring to his threat to veto a \$2 billion urban aid program. Congress pared that figure after consultations with the White House.



TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Bush balks at hearing on Iraq

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

The White House is digging in its heels on the House Judiciary Committee investigation of the administration's pre-gulf-war relations with Iraq.

Citing "longstanding practice," President Bush refused to send several staff members — including White House counsel Boyden Gray and former Commerce secretary Robert Mosbacher, now his campaign chief — to a committee hearing today.

But the administration would agree to private talks. "The White House is willing to work with Congress to develop alternatives," spokesman Paul Clarke said Monday. Among them, he said, would be "the interview process, something along those lines."

The committee is debating whether to ask Attorney General William Barr to appoint a special counsel to look into charges that Bush administration officials helped divert funds to Iraq — then covered up their actions.

Bush has called the investigation "a witch hunt."

Momentum for the appointment comes largely from Democrats, who outnumber Republicans on the committee 21 to 13.

"They know they have the votes, or they wouldn't call the hearing," says Rep. Jim Ramstad, R-Minn., who opposes a special investigation.

The charges, if true, could mean U.S. aid helped build the Iraqi military machine that invaded Kuwait in 1990 — and which later battled U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf war.

Administration officials have testified before at least four other congressional committees on pre-war relations with Iraq. The call for a special counsel is based partly on that testimony.

"I firmly believe that violations of federal criminal laws have occurred," said Rep. Charles Rose, D-N.C., who backs the independent probe.



TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

COVER STORY

Clinton takes gamble with recovery plan



By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

Campaign '92 in recent weeks seems to have listed between talk of Sister Souljah, Murphy Brown's baby and whether the vice president can spell 'potato.'

Monday, at the U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting in Houston, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton discussed his 26-page economic recovery plan and gave the presidential race a dose of something many agree it's starving for — substance.

Like it or not — and some economists definitely don't —

pundits say Clinton's detail-laden plan is a welcome switch in tone and a gauntlet to his likely rivals.

Says Democratic pollster Mark Mellman: "Call it cynical or call it savvy, but people hear a lot of promises and they're looking for real evidence these people have ideas to

By H. Darr Beiser, USA TODAY
DETAILS: Clinton offers them. (Editorial, 10A)

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

The Clinton plan

On another topic, USA TODAY urges that Clinton's plan begin, not end, the economic debate.

In a hard drought, even a 10-minute shower can seem a downpour.

Accordingly, Bill Clinton's new economic blueprint offers relief from the arid lack of debate on this year's most crucial issues: the economy and deficit.

Clinton has spotlighted his priorities.

He'd raise taxes on people earning over \$200,000 a year and cut them for the poor and middle class.

He'd invest in job training, cities, and systems to improve transportation, communication and the environment.

He'd cut defense spending, though by far less than many say is possible.

And he says he'd cut the deficit to a more sensible level — \$141 billion given moderate economic growth — by 1996.

But can the plan work? Or is it another of the political illusions the nation has

come to expect from its leaders?

There's reason for concern.

Example: Clinton assumes Congress will give him a line-item veto to pare another \$3.8 billion — even though lawmakers never have been willing to cede a president that much power.

Also, like previous plans, Clinton's presumes good economic growth and promises large savings from improved management — neither a sure thing.

President Bush has offered his plan, with its own strengths and weaknesses, through the federal budget.

Both are one up on Ross Perot, who has substituted bravado for specifics of how he'd corral the deficit.

Voters, who repeatedly say they've been left with no choice, have one now.

Four months of debate should be enough to tell who's addressing — and who's ducking — the nation's problems.

► Clinton's plan: reaction, 1A

USA TODAY

2A • TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 • USA TODAY

COVER STORY

Clinton plan: He's 'trying to tiptoe'

Continued from 1A

change the country in a positive way."

Clinton, the presumptive Democratic presidential nominee, drew generally good marks from mayors. "I think for the first time a substantive urban proposal is on the table," said Boston Mayor Ray Flynn, the conference president.

Aides hope that talking in details — which defined Clinton's candidacy in the early days of New Hampshire — will not only pressure his opponents to follow suit, but let Clinton set the campaign debate.

But Clinton's gamble is that details also provide an inviting target for potshots.

And some economists already are questioning whether his package of \$200 billion worth of investments and \$300 billion in spending cuts is more than fiddling around the margins, particularly when it comes to deficit reduction.

Says Larry Davidson, professor of business economics at Indiana University: "He's trying to tiptoe through the middle and make it sound good."

Clinton — saying the nation "deserves action that goes beyond partisan politics" — says his program would:

- Spend \$20 billion a year through a "Rebuild America Fund" to build roads, bridges and other public works projects.

- Put 100,000 new officers in a "national police corps."

- Raise income taxes for individuals making more than \$125,000 — \$200,000 for couples — and raise some Medicare costs for incomes over \$125,000.

- Give middle-class families a choice between a 10% income tax cut — a Clinton proposal called "pandering" by former rival Paul Tsongas — or a higher children's tax credit.

- Cut the \$400 billion deficit in half over four years, mostly through cutting defense outlays. Clinton also would slash the White House staff by 25% and lose 100,000 federal jobs through attrition.

Partisan response was swift. Analyst Edward Huggins of the conservative Heritage Foundation called it a "looters solution. . . . It simply punishes families making over \$200,000."

Vice President Quayle said Clinton is "going along with Walter Mondale and (Michael) Dukakis proposals . . . flip-flopped on his own economic package."

As for Clinton's rivals, both have said they wouldn't raise taxes.

President Bush wants Congress to jumpstart the economy by passing a balanced budget amendment, cutting the capital gains tax and offering up to \$5,000 in tax credits for first-time home buyers.

Monday, Bush signed a \$1 billion urban emergency aid bill, saying it was "only a beginning," though the package was scaled down from a \$2 billion Senate version to meet White House demands.

Undeclared candidate Ross Perot has

been difficult to pin down on what he would do to foster economic recovery.

He's said he could eliminate the deficit, "without breaking a sweat," cutting \$180 billion in "waste, fraud and abuse," \$100 billion by making Japan and Germany pay for U.S. troops and \$20 billion by cutting Social Security and Medicare benefits to upper-income brackets.

Many mayors praised Clinton for at least presenting something.

"Bush does not care. Perot does not know and Clinton has his eye on the future," said Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, a Democrat and Clinton supporter.

But though the politics of Clinton's economic gambit appear promising, it remains to be seen if his proposals will satisfy the more liberal elements of his own party, much less work.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who bitterly feuded with Clinton over Clinton's criticism of rap singer Sister Souljah at a recent Rainbow Coalition conference, was not available for comment.

But Clinton's package falls well short of the 10-year, \$500 billion plan Jackson has called for, utilizing a 5-cents-a-gallon gas tax hike and using employee pension funds for infrastructure investment.

Henry Aaron, director of economics studies at the liberal Brookings Institution, said that while, "those who had hoped for a zinging, sexy program to galvanize the nation," will be disappointed, he gave Clinton, "a solid, passing grade."

But other economists say that while Clinton's vow to spend \$200 billion over four years on bridges, roads and a computer network is a plus, it may not be enough to force a major upturn.

"That's not quite 1% of gross domestic product (annually) — not enough to help the economy," says Roseanne Cahn, an economist at First Boston Corp.

Besides not taking sufficiently bold action, other criticism of Clinton's plan centered on deficit reduction.

Though he said during the primary season that he would curb the deficit within his first term, Clinton has now backed off that, projecting a \$75 billion to \$141 billion deficit would remain at the end of four years, depending on growth.

Belle Sawhill, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute, challenged Clinton's \$8.5 billion in administrative cuts. "It's like the old Reagan argument that we can live within our means by reducing fraud, waste and abuse. It's just not the case."

Says Davidson, of Indiana University: "Even if Clinton took all the income away from those who make more than \$200,000 a year, it's not enough to balance the budget. You have to tax the middle class to make a dent in the deficit."

Contributing: Beth Belton, Richard Benedetto, Adam Nagourney, Leslie Phillips.

USA TODAY

Court rules burning cross free speech

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

Monday's Supreme Court ruling against a "hate crime" ordinance could jeopardize anti-bias laws and university "speech codes" nationwide.

The justices unanimously struck down a St. Paul, Minn., law barring cross-burning and swastika displays that arouse "anger, fear or resentment" for reasons of race, religion or sex.

The court said the law violates the First Amendment by targeting some types of offensive speech and not others.

"Some speech codes will be immediately suspect, and all will bear re-examination," says former University of Virginia president Robert O'Neil.

Reaction in St. Paul:

► "We do not want to be known ... as a city that tolerates actions of hate," said Mayor Jim Scheibel as he pledged to redraft the ordinance to make it constitutional.

► "If a person burns a cross on my yard, I'm going to shoot them, OK? There is no ifs, there ain't no ands, no buts about it," said Tom Zachary of local NAACP chapter.

The justices squabbled over the reasons for striking down the law — which had drawn mixed support from civil rights groups. Legal experts differed over the decision's meaning.

"Much of this bias legislation is in peril. But it would be wrong to say this is the end of the road for hate crime laws," said Steve Shapiro of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Unaffected by Monday's ruling: laws that punish sexually harassing workplace speech.

The St. Paul law was challenged by Raymond Viktora, a skinhead who burned a cross two years ago on the lawn of a black family that had moved into a white neighborhood.

"For now, we just have to be satisfied prosecuting cases like this with other laws on the books," said Laura Jones, whose home was targeted.

Viktora's lawyer, Edward Cleary, said the cross-burning clearly was wrong. "But you can't have a law on the books that simply makes that expression itself illegal."

Bush calls probe by Perot 'sick'

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

An angry President Bush said Monday "there's something sick about" Ross Perot's reported investigations into his activities as vice president.

"There's something that I don't think (is) particularly American" about the probes, Bush said.

Pressed to say more, Bush said, "I better count to 10. ... I don't like what I see."

Bush was joined by a flurry of administration officials attacking published reports that Perot had investigated both him and his sons while Bush served as vice president.

The *Washington Post* reported Perot warned Bush in 1986 that one of his sons might be involved with a gunrunner.

"It's fine to investigate on one's own the vice president," Bush said, "but I feel a little tense about it if the reports are true of investigating my children, my family."

Perot spokesman James Squires called the attack "simply another hysterical attempt to mischaracterize Ross Perot and create fear of him in the public mind. This is the way the Republicans have conducted presidential politics for over a decade. It knows no bounds."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater sparked another flap when he recalled his only conversation with Perot four or five years ago:

"He called me from his airplane and said he was going to get (TV journalist) Sam Donaldson unless I could take care of it, because of a report he had on MIAs."

Fitzwater said Perot wanted a retraction of a story by Donaldson on ABC News.

Donaldson said Perot called him, too. "I can assure you he didn't threaten me or say he was going to get me."



TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Bush team capitalizes on Perot's probe crisis

The White House, sensing the first scratch on Ross Perot's political Teflon, is sending strong messages of fear and anger over Perot's reported investigations of President Bush's past. Behind the denunciations is the belief that fear of the unknown may be the best weapon against Perot.



Agence France-Presse

"I've got to have a drink of water. I'm getting a little hot when you bring this up."

— President Bush to 20/20 interviewer Barbara Walters on Monday about the alleged investigation of him by Ross Perot

"In the end, it's going to be are you afraid of Ross Perot or not," said Perot spokesman James Squires, who spent much of Monday denouncing the strategy. "The whole thing in politics is fear. We always vote for who we are most comfortable with. So you try to make the world afraid of Barry Goldwater, afraid of Mike Dukakis, afraid of Ross Perot."

Sparking the fear campaign was Sunday's report in *The Washington Post* that Perot, over a five-year period, had investigators look into past Bush business dealings, Iranian contacts, and suggestions of a Bush cover-up of POWs in Vietnam. The newspaper noted no wrongdoing had been found.

"I've got to have a drink of water. I'm getting a little hot when you bring this up," a seething

Bush told ABC's Barbara Walters Monday during a 20/20 interview to be aired Friday night. He also said: "If he was having my children investigated, that is beyond the pale. Leave my kids alone, I say."

Other Republicans, without saying it in so many words, came close to portraying Perot as a closet Richard Nixon:

► Quayle, speaking in San Diego, said, "Ross Perot apparently has a compulsion to investigate people. ... Imagine Ross Perot having the IRS, the FBI and the CIA under his control. Who would be investigated next?"

► Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., said Perot must address the allegations in a news conference. "How would any American like the idea of private investigators possibly trailing your children?" Gingrich asked.

► And White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater seemed to think out loud when he prefaced his denunciations of Perot by saying: "I've got to be strong here."

Whether the idea of an independent candidate investigating a sitting vice president will cool the public's Perot-fever

is a high-stakes unknown. Political analysts have long been predicting Perot would "self-destruct," or that the public may find revelations about Perot's past too risky a gamble. A *New York Times*-CBS News poll out Monday found that the percentage of registered voters who view the Texas billionaire negatively has more than doubled in six weeks.

Perot has survived tough media investigations of his business dealings. But this one, analysts said, may be different.

"Sounds like the free ride is over," said political analyst Charles Cook. "This is the first crisis of the Perot candidacy. How he handles this will tell us a lot. ... The rule about character tests is that they are particularly tough ones. ... Bush has gone through this. Clinton has gone through it in the primaries. Now it's Ross Perot's turn. We'll see."

As for Perot, he wasn't talking Monday. But he told *U.S. News & World Report* last week: "In my whole life, I can think of just three or four times I've used private investigators. I never wiretapped anybody. It's a feeding frenzy by the press. ... Tomorrow, someone will have me meeting with extraterrestrials."

QUAYLE RAPS ICE-T: Vice President Quayle, undaunted by his spelling miscue last week, continued his attack on the "cultural elite" Monday by denouncing media giant Time-Warner for producing records by rapper Ice-T with lyrics that glorify cop killing. The sharp attack on Time-Warner for the *Cop Killer* record was delivered before a highly receptive audience — the National Sheriffs' Association, at a San Diego convention. He came close to endorsing a boycott of the media conglomerate, which has been called for by several police organizations, but stopped short.

POLITICAL TALK: "For now, there is no talk of a (black) third-party movement, but there is a sudden flurry of flirting with Ross Perot. Which says the comfortable place blacks have had with Democrats may be about to come to an end." — *New York Daily News* columnist Earl Caldwell, on tensions between Bill Clinton and Jesse Jackson

Election coverage

- Bush slams Perot, 1A
- Clinton plan gets closer look, 1A, 10A
- Opinion USA: Voter dissatisfaction, 11A
- Clinton fund-raiser, 2D



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TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

USA TODAY

IN WASHINGTON

SENATE STANDOFF: President Bush failed to persuade Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, to allow a Senate vote on the \$24 billion aid package for the former Soviet republics, the White House acknowledged Monday. Gramm and other conservatives are insisting that the Senate vote on a balanced budget amendment before taking up any other legislation, including Bush's aid plan. The House recently failed to muster the two-thirds majority necessary for approval of the amendment, but Gramm wants to put his Senate colleagues on record for or against the measure.

DEFENSE FUND: The Legal Affairs Council, a conservative group that raised money to help Oliver North fight Iran-contra charges, said it has launched a drive to help pay for the legal defense of former Defense secretary Caspar Weinberger. Weinberger was indicted last week on perjury and obstruction of justice charges relating to the scheme to aid Nicaraguan rebels with funds from the sale of arms to Iran.

HAITIANS ELIGIBLE: About 30,000 Haitians are entitled to emigrate to the United States but have been unable to obtain visas because of a paperwork backlog at the U.S. Embassy, the State Department said. Virtually all the applicants have close family members in the United States and, therefore, are eligible for resident visas. The backlog is partly because the embassy has been processing requests for political asylum in recent months. U.S. embassies normally don't do that, but Haiti was deemed a special case because so many Haitians are fleeing the country by boat.

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TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

QUICK TAKES



AP

BROWN: Still in the money

JERRY'S WORLD: He may have lost to Bill Clinton in the primaries, but Jerry Brown still has enough money to hold a celebration during next month's Democratic convention. Plans include two thank-you concerts for volunteers, and a political comedy show in Manhattan dubbed "Jerry's World," an aide said. Although Clinton is reportedly \$1 million in debt, Brown has about \$1 million left from his \$100-a-donor fundraising efforts.

BUSH HITTING ROAD: President Bush's Fourth of July holiday will be no picnic. On July 4, Bush attends the Firecracker 400 stock car race at Daytona Beach, Fla., and then an old-fashioned parade in Faith, N.C. (population, 558). Then, Bush embarks on a European trip that will take him to Warsaw and then Munich, Germany, on July 5. He will attend the economic summit in Munich until July 9, then stop in Helsinki, Finland, for a European security conference. He flies to Kennebunkport, Maine, on July 10.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrat Bill Clinton: Guest on ABC's *Good Morning America*, 7 a.m. ET; Washington, D.C.

Republican George Bush: At White House.

Independent Ross Perot: Dallas.

Compiled by David Colton. Contributing: Richard Benedetto, Brian O'Connell.

INTERVIEW

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 • USA TODAY

Why's USA so glum? Maybe it's normal

Opinion expert Everett Ladd says U.S. satisfaction is very low now, but polling has shown wild swings historically due to many factors, including TV.

Q: A Gallup poll last week showed only 14% of the people are satisfied with the way things are going in the USA. Historically, are those numbers a cause for alarm?

A: You've had wild oscillations over the past 20 years, massive shifts as the normal order of the day. There are a lot of different measures of national mood out there, not just this question. I've just charted all of them for the last 20 years.

Everett Ladd, a professor of political science at the University of Connecticut, is executive director and president of the Roper Center for Public Opinion and Research. Today's Q&A is edited from comments he made in an interview with USA TODAY's Sharon Shahid.

Q: What did you find?

A: There are four periods when many of the measures have been down over the last 20 years: Watergate; the Carter "malaise" era in '79; the '82 recession, and now. And there have been points when things have been notably up: Carter coming in as a fresh face in '77; the "Morning in America" time in 1985, economic growth and when Reagan was elected to a second term, and then the conclusion of the gulf war.

Q: How do you explain these wild mood swings?

A: You've got two different dimensions of the national mood. "How am I doing?" and "How is the country doing?" The measures of mood involving personal situations are consistently optimistic and stable. The measures of national direction are

consistently unstable. I mean, how does anyone know how the country is doing? You don't experience the whole country. And then you've got a third dimension of mood.

Q: What's that?

A: It's what is the target of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction — and targets vary greatly. In the case of Watergate, the dissatisfaction was very sharply targeted to the Watergate scandal. People were not pessimistic economically about their positions. They were very frustrated about the Watergate mess, and that permeated all kinds of mood questions.

Q: Any recent examples where that has been true?

A: The gulf war situation. When the gulf war ended, the economy was at its low point. But the rush of satisfaction with the way the U.S. comported itself in the war produced a wave of mood changes.

Q: After the war, many thought President Bush unbeatable. Why is dissatisfaction so high right now?

A: The economy for a couple of years has been sluggish. Secondly, you're clearly seeing dissatisfaction with the deadlock in national government. The public is frustrated, but it hasn't yet worked its way through how to change it, so it's grumbling. I'd add one other thing associated with this, and that's television.

Q: How does TV affect things?

A: The television age produces more volatility in mood swings. It puts the country on an emotional

roller coaster given the innermost ways it covers national events. It says this is what is important. Here's crisis one. Here's crisis two. Bang, bang, bang. Full color. We have found that a generalized dissatisfaction about certain things remote has been an increasing characteristic of the television age. There's a whole series of measures I call pop cynicism.

Q: What are some of them?

A: Most politicians are crooks. Most politicians don't really care about people like me.

Q: It appears that Ross Perot has struck a cord with those types of people. He seems to have energized some once-apathetic voters.

A: I don't think the public's inclination to participate has changed significantly. Perot is still largely unknown and people have expressed the idea that "I'm not satisfied" and "I'm shopping around."

Q: You've studied presidential popularity. What have you found?

A: We've been measuring it for 60 years now. One finds the first six months of the president's last year of a term is a time when his popularity is particularly low.

Q: Why?

A: Well, he's got everyone shooting at him. People in his own party who want to get the nomination shoot at him. Obviously, the other party or in-

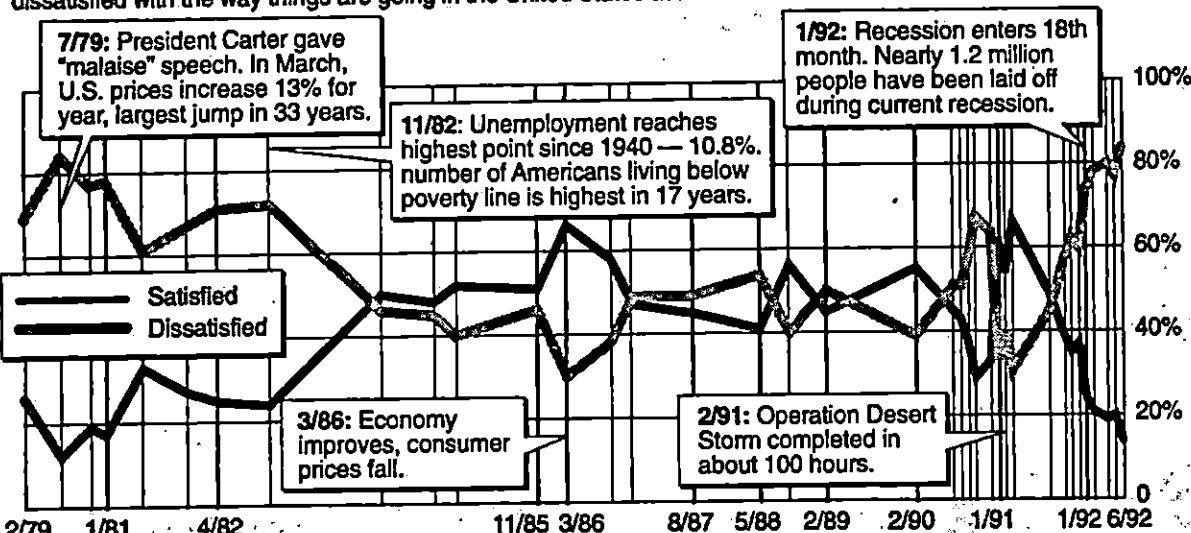
dependents are shooting at him. He hasn't entered the stretch of the campaign. The choice hasn't boiled down to two or three as it may be. The choice is "am I happy with the way the president is doing?" and that's what people are focusing on.

Q: And has that been true historically?

A: Every time since 1939 when the question was first asked, "Do you want to re-elect president so and so or would you like to give someone else a chance?" every time "give someone else a chance" wins. But when it comes down to the actual vote in November, it's not the abstract question of someone else, it's a particular someone else.

U.S. mood: A roller coaster ride

Americans are near an all-time low in terms of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the USA, according to a recent Gallup survey. Here is how people answered when asked over the years, "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the United States at this time?"



By Elys A. McLean, USA TODAY

Today's debate is about **HATEFUL SPEECH** and the Supreme Court knocking down a law to ban it.

Protect freedom of speech in the hate-crime fight

OUR VIEW Despicable speech deserves as much constitutional protection as less controversial forms.

Racist and sexist acts are hard to tolerate, but the Supreme Court did the right thing Monday striking down laws aimed at banning them.

Those laws, increasingly common across the nation, do more to make people feel good than they do to punish the guilty. Meanwhile, they put the innocent at risk.

The court struck down a St. Paul, Minn., ordinance that outlawed cross burning or display of symbols like Nazi swastikas that may arouse "anger, alarm or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender." A teen-ager challenged the law after he was charged for burning a cross on the lawn of the neighborhood's only black family.

It was part of a flood of laws aimed at squelching expressions of hatred that have passed in every state but Utah, Wyoming, Nebraska and Alaska.

The acts those laws aim to stop — like the St. Paul cross burning — are despicable, but the laws themselves are crude

and dangerous tools.

Many, like St. Paul's, risk silencing any speech that tramples on any person's sensitivity.

Who defines which speech is offensive? Or what motivated the person who used it?

Police? Prosecutors? Politicians?

That weapon is easily turned against those most in favor of these laws.

Nor is there any need to take that risk.

If the goal is to stop an alarming rise in the incidence of hate crimes, such laws are redundant. Other statutes can do the job without risking anyone's right to say what she or he thinks.

For example, the Supreme Court said the St. Paul cross-burner could have been charged with trespass, arson, or criminally damaging property.

All jurisdictions have laws like those.

The venom and narrow-mindedness that make people burn crosses is hard to fathom. But the way to fight it is with laws that punish criminal behavior, not laws that criminalize free speech.

That right, so fundamental to our society, is too precious to place at risk.

► Hate crimes, 1A; court, 8A

Don't condone hate crimes

OPPOSING VIEW This decision smacks of **Dred Scott: 'Blacks have no rights that whites are bound to respect.'**

I'm not at all surprised that this Supreme Court has just effectively put its imprimatur on hate crimes, striking down a St. Paul, Minn., law that prohibits actions like cross burnings on the grounds that it violates the right to freedom of speech.

Given the tone and tenor of this court's decisions and the way civil rights have eroded, I wouldn't be amazed if one or two of the judges on this court engages in a little cross-burning themselves.

Indeed, this decision reminds me of a T-shirt I spied at a basketball game in the District of Columbia. It read, "White men can't judge."

The court had the challenge of weigh-

ing African-American safety against so-called free speech, and, as is consistent with prior rulings, it chose free speech over black safety. The justices' ruling places dozens of local hate-crime laws in jeopardy and ignores the fact that these laws were passed because hate crime has been on the rise this past decade.

If you can burn a flag, why not a cross? Cross burnings have an especially ugly place in our nation's history. They were one of many methods used to keep black people in line after slavery was abolished, and cross burnings usually preceded a lynching.

To assert that cross-burning is a free-speech right is to celebrate that ugly history and to assert that white people have the right to try to keep black people in "their place."

The Supreme Court committed an outrage when it overturned the St. Paul law. While the justices may think they struck a blow for free speech, they have proven themselves no better than the court that found against Dred Scott in 1857, the court that wrote the infamous words, "Blacks have no rights that whites are bound to respect."



By Julianne Malveaux, a San Francisco writer, economist, lecturer and columnist for King Features Syndicate.

USA TODAY

NO. 1 IN THE USA 6.6 MILLION READERS A DAY

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

JOE URSCHEL

Candidates need to whistle a happy tune

Politicians should stop knocking pop culture and start rocking to it.

With election year controversies swirling around Murphy Brown, Sister Souljah, Ice-T and Hollywood elitism, it is clear politicians just don't understand pop culture.

Politicians spend all their time trying to get elected. They don't have time to watch TV or listen to music. So, when they try to be hip, they look stupid.

Remember Ronald Reagan citing Bruce Springsteen's *Born in the USA* as a patriotic anthem? Or George Bush using Bobby McFerrin's *Don't Worry, Be Happy*? (Domestic policy: "Ain't got no place to lay your head, somebody came and took your bed? Don't worry, be happy.")

Fortunately, while politicians are wasting their time campaigning, I'm wasting mine listening to music. I can come up with a song for any candidate or occasion.

Instead of knocking Murphy Brown, Dan Quayle could have pointed out the importance of fathers by making a positive reference to The Temptations' song, *Papa*

Was a Rolling Stone.

In fact, The Temptations had many songs that could be put to political use. Ed Rollins should grab *Beauty's Only Skin Deep* for Ross Perot. And Pat Buchanan reportedly will be forced to sing *Ain't too Proud to Beg* if he wants a prime-time speaking slot during the Republican convention.

(Quayle, however, is said to prefer the more contemporary, easier-to-spell, *Ain't 2 Proud 2 Beg* by TLC.)

Republicans usually are at a musical disadvantage, but this year there's a third party candidate who's even more square.

Ross Perot actually quoted *Tomorrow* from the musical *Annie*. But it's hard to help him because he doesn't really have a platform or specific image yet. *Long Tall Texan* sure doesn't work. Maybe Jodie Watley's *I'm the One You Need*, Lesley Gore's *You Don't Own Me*, or something by L7.

Originally, I thought Elvis Presley's *Any*



Joe Urschel's column appears Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Way You Want Me, (That's How I Will Be) was perfect for Bill Clinton. But Elvis doesn't play well in the black community and with this Sister Souljah flap, he needs to show more sensitivity. Since he's the biggest guy all the time, he might try Sir Mix-a-Lot's *Baby's Got Back*. Although, it's probably better to stay away from rap and go for a little blues — like Willie Dixon's *300 Pounds of Joy*. No use bringing up Creedence Clearwater's *Down on the Corner* with slick Willie and the Poor Boys, or *Hanky Panky*, by Tommy James.

U2's *Running to Stand Still* is perfect for Bush. But if he doesn't like that, there's always Ringo's *Don't Pass Me By*.

Quayle's got a problem, though. The Republican National Committee's got a copy of Vince Neil's *You're Invited but Your Friend Can't Come* ready to send to Bush. Dan needs a good song fast.

He might try combining his two passions — spelling and obscure literary quotations — for a little updated Elvis number he could call *Mystery Twain*.

Because I'd sure hate to see him get stuck with a turkey like Dee Dee Sharp's *Mashed Potatoe Time*.

USA TODAY

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TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992



By Mike Keefe for USA TODAY

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

MARY McGRORY

Getting Around to Weinberger

The indictment of Caspar Weinberger has shocked the Washington Establishment and divided the city.

The spectacle of two elderly Republicans with long records of spotless service locked in combat has occasioned much consternation and quarreling. How, say some, could Lawrence Walsh, 80, bring charges of perjury and obstruction against such a distinguished public servant as Weinberger, who will be 75 in August. How, ask others, could he not?

Time after time, the former secretary of defense told the House Iran-contra panel and the Office of the Independent Counsel that he had made no notes of official meetings. The independent counsel, guided by a memorandum from an informer, supposedly in the Pentagon, found 1,700 pages of notes in the Library of Congress. That Weinberger told Walsh where to find the papers—even while denying the existence of the notes—and granted him access is thought to be a mitigating circumstance. But when you think of it, once the existence of the notes was confirmed, old-hand Weinberger had no choice but to open them up.

Why did he keep the notes? He says he did not use them in the composition of his memoirs. They are, according to Walsh's lawyers, replete with damaging information. If it seems irrational, you have only to remember that Richard Nixon, who was Weinberger's boss in California, kept tapes that later provided enough rope for him to hang himself.

Apologists for Weinberger point out what a nice man he is. His manner is quizzical and benign. He looks like the lawyer you hope will be on hand to read the will to a fractious family. He is a charming dinner partner. He draws cartoons—his sketches of forlorn GIs were said to move Ronald Reagan to allocate a few billion more to the Pentagon. Some people find it almost impossible to believe that Weinberger could commit a crime.

And besides, wasn't Weinberger the good guy in Iran-contra? Wasn't he the one who warned Reagan that the arms sales to the ayatollah were illegal, forbidden under the Foreign Assistance Act and also by an embargo against Iran, which Reagan had declared a "terrorist state." His wisdom and foresight are rewarded by the disgrace of criminal charges? Walsh is said to have agonized over the decision to bring him in.

When he was indicted, Weinberger gave a little glimpse of the knife he has always carried with him during his long career—and not just to cut welfare budgets. He has always been an alley fighter, and he showed it again with his savage strike at Walsh on the courthouse steps. He accused his venerable nemesis of trying to force him to lie and to turn in Reagan. It was breathtaking and poisonous, but not totally out of character. Weinberger's way with those who oppose him is viperish. Congressmen who objected to the trillion-dollar defense buildup were dismissed as deficient in concern for the national security. His mantra was "the Russians are coming."

The gentlemanly Walsh is an unlikely villain but an easy target for the outraged. He has, they never tire of pointing out, spent \$30 million to bag a few mice. The lions have gone free. His two biggest catches, Oliver North and John Poindexter, had their convictions reversed.

At his arraignment last week, Weinberger was waxen, pale and stooped. He has an ace defending him: Robert Bennett, who ran the Senate's probe of the Keating Five. Bennett would obviously like to get rid of deputy prosecutor Craig Gillen, erstwhile assistant U.S. attorney in Atlanta. Gillen looks rather harmless and neutral—sandy hair, medium height, gray suit—but has the reputation of a tiger. He won the conviction of former House member Patrick Swindall (R-Ga.) for perjury in a noted 1989 case.

Bennett told the judge that Gillen should be disqualified because he could be called as a witness in the case. By calling for an early trial, Bennett hoped to ice Gillen, who is due to try former CIA official Clair George in July.

Weinberger could call a slew of top-level character witnesses like Reagan and George Shultz. But Gillen will want to question them about uncongenial subjects like a coverup. The independent counsel's contention is, that Weinberger served Reagan too well: First he tried to protect him by warning him of the illegality of the arms sales; when the cat was out of the bag, he tried to protect him from impeachment by insisting that Reagan did not know what was going on.

If Walsh had had Weinberger's notes, the inquiry would not have taken five years. We might even have had the truth by now.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

*Nancy Kassebaum and
Howard Metzenbaum*

Wonder Drugs and Scare Talk

Consider this scenario: Your life is at risk and you are filled with pain. You suffer from a crippling hereditary disease that could strike others in your family. There is a drug on the market that could save your life and ease your pain. But to buy it for yourself would mean there wouldn't be any money left if the rest of your family needed medical help. What would you do?

For Herb Jacobson's daughter, Karen, this is not a hypothetical question. She is not taking Ceredase, a miracle drug to treat her Gaucher's Disease, even though it would end her suffering. The reason is that a year's supply of the drug would cost \$340,000, a sum that would soon exhaust her family's \$1 million cap on lifetime health insurance. Karen adamantly refuses to let that happen to her family.

She is not alone in this predicament. Families with children who have rare diseases often face such choices. For one child suffering from severe growth deficiency, treatment with human growth hormone costs between \$10,000 and \$30,000 per year.

Both Ceredase and human growth hormone are so-called "orphan drugs," which are protected from competition by the federal government. Congress created the orphan drug program to encourage development of drugs that have limited commercial viability because of the rarity of the diseases they treat. Orphan-drug manufacturers get a seven-year market monopoly, tax breaks and development grants to ensure that they won't lose money on a drug directed toward only a small group of patients.

Fifty-five of the orphan drugs now on the market have little commercial value. However, Ceredase, human growth hormone, and a handful of others are quite different in that they are almost prohibitively expensive. One version of human growth hormone is the 34th largest-selling drug in America, with sales in 1990 of more than \$180 million.

The point of the Orphan Drug Act was to provide incentives for the development of drugs with small markets, drugs that would otherwise not be produced. Orphan drugs that are, in fact, of tremendous commercial value don't deserve—and were never intended to receive—seven years' worth of protection from the price competition that would make them more affordable for victims of rare disease.

In order to permit such price competition, we have introduced a bill that would replace the act's seven-year market monopoly with a \$200 million competition trigger: Once the cumulative net sales of a drug reached \$200 million, competitors' drugs could be approved for sale. This is a generous trigger level, because the vast majority of orphan drugs will never even approach \$200 million in sales. In fact, the vast majority of drugs of all kinds fail to reach this sales figure in a seven-year period.

Opponents of our bill claim that any change in the seven-year monopoly would destroy the Orphan Drug Act. They make three main arguments to support their claims, all of which are unfounded.

First, opponents claim that without an ensured seven-year monopoly, private investment in biotechnology companies would dry up. That is nonsense. The trigger in the bill would guarantee investors a \$200 million market free of any competition—a claim no other industry can make. With that kind of market advantage, investment in any drug with such sales potential would still be one of the best risks on Wall Street.

Second, the drug companies claim that \$200 million isn't enough to ensure that they will recoup their research and development costs for an orphan drug. This is another red herring. During an oversight hearing by the antitrust subcommittee in January, it was found that companies with high-priced orphan drugs spent between \$10 million and \$45 million to develop them. Only one company had research and development costs above \$100 million.

Third, and most unfortunate, opponents of the bill have resorted to cruel scare tactics by suggesting to the victims of rare diseases that the measure's enactment would stop orphan drug development in its tracks.

That's just not true. More than 120 companies and other sponsors are involved in developing orphan drugs. Of that number, only six currently have a drug on the market that would be affected by this legislation. The vast majority of companies developing orphan drugs don't have and can't expect to have sales anywhere near \$200 million.

The real issue here is the use of the Orphan Drug Act by a handful of drug companies to block competition. We should not allow this small number of companies to use the act this way at the expense of victims of rare diseases.

Nancy Kassebaum is a Republican senator from Kansas. Howard Metzenbaum is a Democratic senator from Ohio.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Jim Hoagland

It's All or Nothing in the New World Order

The differences in dealing with Saddam and the Serbs.

America led the way in reversing Iraq's aggression in Kuwait. America stands aside and tolerates the murderous Serbian rampage in ex-Yugoslavia. Why? What do these contrasting U.S. decisions tell us about the nature of war in the vaunted new era?

Thoughtful Americans and foreigners pose these questions with growing frequency. They sense that the sharp contrast between Kuwait and Yugoslavia provides insights into what a second Bush term would mean for American leadership in the world.

Hopes that American troops would intervene to prevent the barbaric slaughter of Bosnians in Sarajevo were always misplaced. President Bush foreshadowed that on Jan. 7, when he stated to David Frost the heart of what I call the Bush Doctrine:

"I don't want to send young men into a war where I can't see that they're going to prevail and prevail rapidly."

Panama and Kuwait fit that test. The president believes—rightly, in my view—that Yugoslavia does not. Given the killing and the acts of what Bosnians and Croats call "cultural

genocide" that have occurred, American military intervention now would not bring a quick, decisive halt to the multiple Yugoslav wars.

By the standard of the Bush Doctrine, Yugoslavia is too hard.

America would have to be prepared for years of involvement. This administration has already demonstrated in Iraq and in Panama that it does not have the resolution, the staying power—even the attention span—for that.

The pictures of Bush being led away from the podium sniffing from tear gas in Panama City should remind America of how unsettled Panama remains two years after Operation Just Cause. Left in place, Saddam Hussein grows stronger, not weaker, as the CIA now admits. Fight 'em and forget 'em is the Pentagon bumper-sticker version of the Bush Doctrine.

Yugoslavia would not be that simple. And Bush is right on the basic point as well: As tragic and reprehensible as the human suffering is, the Yugoslav strife does not represent the direct threat to U.S. interests that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait did in

August 1990. The president is right not to intervene militarily now.

But that begs the larger questions he and others have raised by invoking a new world order or a unipolar era relying on America's power, sense of justice and vision as the basis for the future. Bosnia exposes such broad post-Cold War concepts of Pax Americana as wishful thinking.

As usual, some of the most cogent commentary on this subject comes from Charles Krauthammer, who has also argued in *The Post* and in *Time* magazine against U.S. intervention in Yugoslavia. But Krauthammer has to wrestle with an unspoken burden. He has to reconcile U.S. inaction in Yugoslavia with his intellectual creation, the unipolar world disciplined and shaped by American power.

The burden is similar to the one Dostoevski imposed on Ivan Karamazov with the question: How can children be tortured and murdered if there is a God? Similarly, how can Sarajevo happen in a unipolar world where America is all-powerful and wiser than others? What can justify not using American force to save lives

now and ensure that fighting does not engulf neighboring countries?

Bosnia shows that we do not live in a unipolar world. So did the president's trip to the Earth Summit in Rio, where the world ignored Bush's unnecessarily belligerent and belated attempt to "lead" on environmental issues. A crescendo of threats from Washington to restrict imports and to withdraw American troops from NATO if Europeans do not cave on GATT has also failed to produce the unconditional surrender sought.

The Bush positions on Rio, NATO and Yugoslavia have varying degrees of merit. What troubles me is the "all or nothing" approach the administration has adopted on foreign policy. It is the political equivalent of the Pentagon's post-Vietnam, post-Beirut mindset about conflict abroad: Crush 'em in a week or don't get involved. Do it our way or we pick up our marbles and go home.

That might work in a truly unipolar world. A year ago George Bush could have created the aura of American invincibility that such a strategy requires. But he hastily abandoned Iraq

with Saddam still in power. He stood by in Yugoslavia when he could have helped avoid the tragedy, further devaluing the coercive power of American diplomacy.

Bush was masterful in Desert Storm and has shown skill in resolving the nuclear problems of the Old World Order. But he has fared poorly in developing intermediate policies that persuade or coerce other nations to avoid looming confrontation. He is not a skillful practitioner of gunboat diplomacy, in an era when that talent would be of great utility.

A flexing of American muscle at the right moment might well have prevented Saddam's rape of Kuwait, Serbia's worst outrages and China's massacre of peaceful civilians. All three were special clients of Bush and his State Department. All three plunged through whatever yellow lights Washington thought it was flashing.

That is how we get into crush 'em or ignore 'em situations. Bosnia demonstrates that the world vitally needs timely American leadership to avoid such disasters—and that the world is not getting that leadership.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Richard Cohen

The Rap on Jesse Jackson

Jesse Jackson ought to talk to Ernest. He's a cabdriver here in Washington, a black man with several kids all of whom he has, by working real hard and at more than one job, put through college. Ernest does not think much of Sister Souljah or of Jackson for inviting her to speak before the Rainbow Coalition meeting here. What Jackson thinks of Ernest we don't know. At the moment, Jackson is thinking only of Jackson.

He has told the New York Times that Bill Clinton's criticism of him for having Sister Souljah speak amounted to "a sneak attack." He said this raises grave questions about Clinton's "character," and he accuses Clinton of pandering to the conservative white vote. Where this puts Ernest is anyone's guess. After all, he may well be conservative, but he most assuredly is not a white voter.

Ernest is a reality check of sorts. He comes in handy at the moment because the Sister Souljah flap has

and over, she described the riot in Biblical terms: "Eye for an eye. Tooth for a tooth. It's revenge."

At first Sister Souljah said she was misquoted. Some of her defenders said she was waxing poetic and could not, like Shakespeare in Richard III, be held literally accountable for the violence of her remarks. She herself then amended her protest and said she was merely reflecting the mindset of a typical gang member (a fair enough reading of some—but not all—her Post interview). But even so, nowhere in the transcript can there be found a condemnation of the violence, an abhorrence at what was done to the people and businesses of south central L.A. In her mouth, the real victims were the people who rioted.

Hardly a politician in this town does not know that every four years Washington gets affected by a menacing weather pattern: the Jackson High. This is an area of turbulence and churning petulance in which, we are told, the votes of all black Americans are at stake. At the moment, for instance, Jackson is publicly flirting with Ross Perot. On "Face the Nation" Sunday he would not commit himself to ultimately endorsing Clinton, nor, for that matter, would he rule out endorsing Perot.

For the sake of the poor, the down-trodden, the unemployed and—just maybe—because Clinton put his nose out of joint, Jackson was not only keeping his option open but also refused to strongly condemn Perot's statement that he would not hire homosexuals for certain positions. Jackson asked that Perot not be judged on that single issue, even though, should you want to look it up, anti-gay bias is supposedly anathema to the Rainbow Coalition. Jackson did allow, though, that when he first read Sister Souljah's remarks in The Post, he sought her out for instruction. He did not explain why he later offered her a forum.

Ernest could be excused for asking what any of this has to do with him—or, for that matter, the victims of the Los Angeles riot. After all, the residents of America's inner cities are the issue. The crime and squalor of those areas are the issue—and, also, Washington's indifference to these problems. The issue cannot be Jesse Jackson's pride and his long-standing difference with Bill Clinton. Ernest knows that, which was why, from the front seat, he talked about businesses that were burned out and people standing on food lines and how, really, Jesse Jackson was too busy listening to Jesse Jackson to listen to him.

*"At the moment . . .
Jackson is publicly
flirting with Ross
Perot."*

become, to no one's surprise, all about Jesse Jackson—his pride, his standing and his evident belief that he and all of black America are indivisible. Ernest begs to differ. He thinks that there are times when Jackson does not speak for him. This happens to be one of those times.

The Sister Souljah flap has taken a conventional course. Interviewed by The Post in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, she said some stunning things. Instead of rebuking the rioters for, among other things, burning down their own neighborhoods, she justified their violence and accused whites of being totally indifferent to the plight of poor African Americans. Her language was racist as well as incendiary, but probably its most repellent feature was a kind of Yugoslavian tribalism in which all whites were characterized as oppressors and all blacks as victims:

"So if you're a gang member and you would normally be killing somebody, why not kill a white person? Do you think that somebody thinks that white people are better, or above and beyond dying, when they would kill their own kind?"

Over and over, she was questioned, and never—not once—did she distinguish herself from the gang members whose mentality she explained. Over

A Safety Valve for U.S. Prisons

Louis F. Oberdorfer

The war on drugs in this country has had a devastating side effect that is by now all too familiar to us: the cycle of drug abuse, crime and prison, followed by release, drug

The federal courts could, if permitted, make a constructive contribution to breaking that cycle.

The present federal sentencing laws require a federal judge to sentence to not less than five years in prison

without parole any person over 17 years of age who has been convicted for possession with the intent to distribute

as little as five grams of crack cocaine. There are 20

grams in an ounce. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the

current federal prison population is approximately 67,000,

escalating from 44,667 in 1987 and on the way to an

estimated 95,000 in 1995. Drug cases account for more

than 50 percent of that population. Further, approximately

50 percent of the total current prison population (including

drug-related crimes) have been identified as drug or

alcohol abusers. There is considerable evidence that many

of these individuals would not again engage in criminal

conduct if they could be drug-free.

But the General Accounting Office reported in September 1991 that the federal Bureau of Prisons has

devoted minimal resources to drug abuse treatment, and

has been ineffective in using what resources it does direct

toward that end. This isn't entirely the bureau's fault. The

1984 Sentencing Reform Act and its legislative history

recognized, but discounted, rehabilitation as a sentencing

objective, and Congress inadequately funded drug-abuse

treatment in prisons.

The federal sentencing commission, moreover, conspicuously failed to recognize the possibility of rehabilitation through prison drug-abuse treatment as a factor to

be considered by a sentencing judge in deciding whether

to depart from a mandatory minimum sentence.

This combination of long sentences without parole—particularly for crimes committed by alcohol and drug

abusers, who would thus emerge from prison untreated—and the crime-school environment of most prisons

has almost guaranteed the cycle of failure plaguing the public.

To break the cycle, some propose that Congress, legislatures and the federal sentencing commission re-

think the long sentences without parole for run-of-the-

mill drug-law violators, introduce closely supervised residential drug treatment as a cost-effective alternative to

imprisonment for nonviolent drug offenders, and redirect prison construction funds to education and job training.

In the present climate of serious justifiable public concern about drugs and violent crime, it will be a long time

before any of these changes happen. There may, however, be a more immediately accessible and politically

feasible break-point in the cycle.

A 1990 white paper published by the Office of Drug Policy contradicted the assumption of the early 1980s

that in-prison rehabilitation of convicted substance

abusers "won't work." According to the white paper,

there is now impressive evidence that when drug treatment requires individual responsibility, personal sacrifice and accountability, "we get results."

The white paper further concluded that, in addition to incapacitating and punishing criminal offenders,

"prisons can also provide a useful setting for drug treatment; drugs are harder to come by inside a prison;

drug testing and accountability are usually not new to

correctional facilities; and inmates preparing for re-

lease are sometimes eager to find a way out of the type

of behavior that put them in prison in the first place."

This finding has been corroborated by more recent

studies about the prospect of steering incarcerated

substance abusers away from their nemesis and thus

from criminal conduct.

Meanwhile, the Crime Control Act of 1990 directed the Bureau of Prisons to make available to the extent feasible "appropriate substance abuse treatment for each prisoner the bureau determines has a treatable condition of substance addiction or abuse."

In response, the bureau reports that it is embarking on a more intensive in-prison drug treatment program, including a 12-month, 1,000-hour intensive treatment program, available to inmates who have moderate to severe drug-abuse problems. During 1991, out of an estimated 35,000 substance abusers in federal prisons, 7,500 were reportedly in the bureau's drug education program, 6,200 in a centralized treatment program, but only 1,300 in its residential program.

But unlike the mandatory after-care drug-treatment programs conducted by probation officers of the federal courts, participation in the intensified Bureau of



BY MARGARET SCOTT

Judges such as myself could, if we were authorized, do much to aid this drug treatment program. For example, federal judges are now required to impose mandatory minimum sentences without parole on many nonviolent drug abusers who feed their habits by selling drugs on the street. A judge should be authorized in such cases to impose what is called a "split sentence" on those who demonstrate remorse for their behavior and susceptibility to substance-abuse treatment. It would be the same long sentence now required by law, but with a portion suspended on the following conditions:

■ That before release the subject successfully complete a prescribed substance-abuse treatment program in prison.

■ That upon release, he continue, under the direct supervision of a probation officer, to participate for a substantial period of time in another compulsory drug-treatment program and that he remain drug-free and crime-free. Violation of a condition would result in his serving the balance of his term.

The carrot and stick, so applied, could materially increase the prospects of success for the bureau of prisons' intensified drug-treatment program in a way that could better equip participants to remain drug-free, crime-free and gainfully employed when they return to society.

The writer is a judge in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. This article is adapted from remarks prepared for delivery at the D.C. Circuit Judicial Conference earlier this month.

Andrew Ward

Believing in Billionaires

I keep asking people what they think of Ross Perot, and people keep asking me what I think of Ross Perot, and though I realize that we should probably all think something of Ross Perot, I don't know what to think of Ross Perot.

But then I may be at a special disadvantage. Back in the 1880s my great-grandfather Ferdinand was known as the Young Napoleon of Wall Street, a plausible upstart financier with ostensible assets in the millions of dollars and fancy houses in Stamford, Connecticut, and Brooklyn Heights, New York.

Unfortunately, Great Grandpa turned out to be a colossal crook, and when somebody finally called his bluff, his investment firm collapsed, causing a small panic on Wall Street and ruining, among other people, Ulysses S. Grant.

I don't know whether our branch of the family has permanently come to regard business as beneath us or above us or simply beyond our grasp.

But Great Grandpa Ferdinand became a cautionary figure in my family, and you might say that his descendants—teachers, do-gooders, writers—have been in flight from commerce ever since.

"What does Mr. Wilson do for a living?" I once asked my father about his new tennis partner.

"I don't know," Dad said with an impatient shrug. "He makes money."

Maybe this is why I am so buffaloeed by Ross Perot. No matter how much I read about him, I still haven't a clue how he got so rich. I don't know how anybody gets rich in this country, unless it's by winning the lottery, and I'm not so clear about how that works, either.

I'm as likely as anyone else to dream about what I would do if I had a million or a billion dollars. But I've always been a prig about lotteries. They seem to me a kind of con. Not that a few people don't actually win all that money, nor even that what they don't win doesn't generally go to

pretty good causes. It's just that it sort of blunts peoples' sense of entitlement, as though affording a decent place to live or an education for your children or health care or security for

Reflections

your aging parents or your aging selves were merely the stuff of dreams.

I suspect that success stories like Ross Perot's are also a con. His sort of success is rarer even than a million-dollar jackpot. Self-made billionaires are freaks, the products of luck, pluck, and friends in high places, and for every one of them there are thousands of others just as plucky who never make the grade.

And yet the self-made billionaire plays on our fairy-tale notion that in America, with enough smarts and enough sweat, anybody can get rich.

For a lot of American working people, this is a sustaining belief, a necessary hope, no matter how long the odds against them. So when somebody as homely and seemingly ordinary as Ross Perot looks at us straight in the camera and says, "I did it, so can you, and so can America"—we desperately want to believe him.

Probably the most devastating thing you can call a fellow American is "a loser." By Ross Perot's standard we are all losers, and yet if we can't be winners, we figure we can at least be winners by association. By offering to become our president it's as though Ross Perot, out of gratitude for the opportunities we taxpayers have provided him, were inviting us all over for a ride on his jet or a swim in his pool. Leaving aside the "none-of-the-above" aspects of his appeal, I think there's a kind of sycophancy at work in America's fling with Perot, as with its fling with Iacocca: the sports-fan, "what a guy" breathlessness that

makes precarious heroes out of well-coordinated psychopaths like Mike Tyson and icons out of talented slobs like Babe Ruth.

It's as though the rest of us must imbue success like Ross Perot's with a moral dimension in order to make sense of the very existence of someone who has a hundred thousand times more money than we or our children ever will.

Unlike my great grandfather, Perot is not a swindler. I suspect, however, that a ballot for Perot, like a lottery ticket, may merely perpetuate an old scam that coaxes a lot of Americans through the harsh gantlet of their working lives but in their old age leaves so many of them riddled with regret.

But then maybe, like Perot, we'll all get lucky.

Andrew Ward is a writer and former NPR commentator who now lives in the West.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Proposal to Break Up California Gains Credibility

After Advisory Vote, Panel Is Appointed to Devise Plan; Assemblyman Envisions 3 States

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

SACRAMENTO—When Assemblyman Stan Statham (R) last year proposed an advisory vote on splitting California into two states, he was ridiculed in the Legislature. One colleague, Assemblyman Jack O'Connell (D), called him "the Jefferson Davis of California."

But few people are laughing now at Statham, who has been inundated with media inquiries from throughout the world since the June 2 primary, when a nonbinding measure to divide California won approval from voters in 27 of the 31 counties where it was on the ballot. The result so impressed influential Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D) that he appointed a committee headed by Statham and charged it with devising a plan next year to break up the nation's most populous state, subject to voter approval.

Instead of two Californias, however, Statham now wants three. His new approach is a response to voters in San Francisco and neighboring San Mateo County who rejected

the two-state plan, apparently because they didn't want to be part of a state that included Los Angeles. "I made a mistake in not recognizing how San Franciscans feel about Los Angeles," Statham said.

In another advisory vote on the same ballot, San Francisco voters said they would prefer to be part of the state of "Northern California" if the state were sundered. This prompted Statham to propose states of North, Central and South California.

O'Connell, a Santa Barbaran who is now committee vice chairman, said hearings will be held in all three prospective states to determine boundaries. He said he is not wedded to the three-state idea but thinks it could make California more manageable and give the West greater influence in Washington in the form of four new U.S. senators.

Statham's proposal is at least the seventh attempt to break up California, but the first to be taken seriously. Until recently, state officials pointed with pride to the productivity and relentless population growth of the megastate, home to one in eight Americans. If California

were a separate nation, it is often said, it would have a budget greater than all but six nations in the world.

But this claim to fame wore thin as the state sunk into economic crisis and political gridlock. Despite passing the largest tax increase in its history last year, California is now so broke that Gov. Pete Wilson (R) is talking seriously about issuing warrants, a form of IOU, to meet the state payroll if no budget agreement is reached by the end of the month.

"What's fueling this movement is the same disgust with government that's propelling Ross Perot," said Statham, a lanky businessman from the northern California town of Redding.

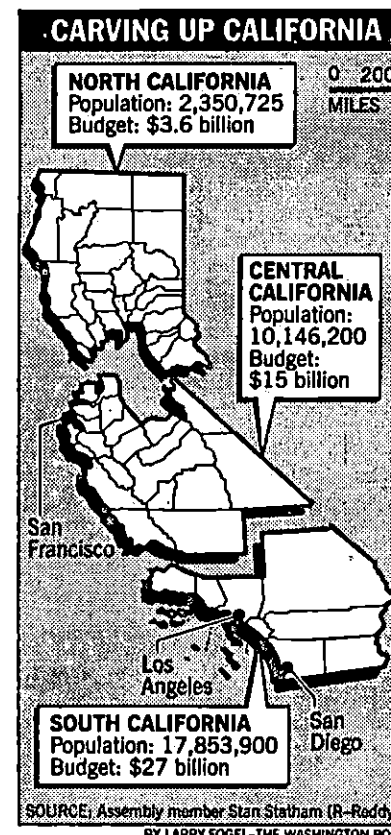
Statham has always believed that pastoral northern California should go its own way. He espoused dividing the state when he was first elected in 1976 and has done so ever since. A sign outside his state Capitol office says: "Stan Statham, assemblyman for the 51st state."

As the state's fiscal problems deepened in recent years, the idea began to be taken seriously by county boards of supervisors in northern and central California and

then by the Legislature. Many northerners view Los Angeles as a congested citadel of gangland crime, and support for the advisory measure may have been strengthened by the recent riots there.

But Statham argues that Los Angeles would have the most to gain from breaking up the state. The geographically remote state capital of Sacramento is 500 miles from Los Angeles, and the Legislature has been slow to address the peculiar problems of the Southern California metropolis. Several measures that would provide financial assistance to rebuild riot-torn areas of the city are languishing in committee, and none appears likely to pass.

Under the three-state plan, which Statham said will be put to the Legislature next year and then to voters, California would be divided into a northern state with a population of 2.35 million people, a central state of 10.1 million people and a southern state with a population of 17.85 million. The split would require congressional approval, which Statham believes would be forthcoming if the plan has strong voter support.



The breakup legislation contains safeguards designed to prevent tax increases, education funding cuts and pension plan changes in the new states. State colleges and universities in each California would be prohibited from charging tuition to students from the other two.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

After Rio (Cont'd)

The undercurrent in Clayton Yeutter's letter that President Bush has been an environmental leader is not only embarrassing but also pure fabrication ["The President's Trip to Rio," June 12].

While indeed the United States has some of the world's most protective water and air-quality standards and some of the most progressive toxic waste cleanup criteria, the administration has no business taking any credit. Insightful senators and congressmen who have for years struggled against powerful private-interest lobbyists to pass legislation that addressed the critical state of our environment must now sit in amazement and watch a president who for 3½ years has done nothing but undercut their efforts and then take credit for their achievements.

Mr. Yeutter intimates that the president has a strong environmental record. If by that he means that the United States has a strong environ-

mental record, he is most certainly correct. But there is nothing that Mr. Bush has done to strengthen that record. The president in the past year alone has violated the Clean Air Act, violated the Endangered Species Act, proposed to remove for clear-cutting more forest from federal lands than any other president, sought to open the pristine Alaska National Wildlife refuge to oil drilling, bullied an international consensus into accepting a weakened global warming treaty and refused, alone among national leaders, to sign a biodiversity treaty.

When Clayton Yeutter tries to convince us otherwise, he is simply distorting reality. The record speaks for itself, and until President Bush begins to take credit for what he has really done to the domestic and world environment, we should all be a little embarrassed.

BARRY PERSHKOW
Washington

'Clean Up, Pay Up'

The June 5 op-ed column by Stephen Rosenfeld ["Clean Up, Pay Up"] calls for the poor countries to practice a "wise" policy of "population control" and for the rich countries to "share their riches" because of their supposed "profligate life-style drain on world resources." But this assertion of profligacy does not square with the indisputable evidence that resources are becoming more available rather than more scarce.

The basic U.S. government source books—the "Statistical Abstract" and "Historical Statistics of the United States"—show that the world prices of all natural resources (the relevant measure of economic scarcity) have been falling relative to the price of human time, and even relative to consumer goods throughout the decades and centuries—just the opposite of what "profligate" implies.

The cause is that the rich countries create more "natural" resources than they consume to the benefit of the poor countries. Coal, oil, aluminum and silicon were not resources of value until people discovered how to use them.

JULIAN L. SIMON
Chevy Chase

Armenia's 'Naked Aggression'

It is interesting that the slant of the June 10 news story on the Azeri-Armenian conflict was decidedly pro-Armenian. Previous Post articles on the conflict were much more balanced, whereas this one was inaccurate to the point of misrepresentation.

For instance, the bunker that the Armenian militiamen in the story are occupying was not only dug by Azerbaijanis, it lies within the borders of Azerbaijan—on Mil Hill to be precise. Thus when the "housewife" militiaman says, "It is our land down there," she is reiterating the expansionist policies that brought Armenian forces into Azerbaijan and keep them there.

The place names that the author cites—Nakhichevan, Nagorno-Karabagh, Shusha and Khojaly—as having become battle cries, "with hundreds dead on both sides and tens of thousands of refugees," all lie within Azeri territory. I might add that Khojaly and Shusha were the scenes of indescribable atrocities inflicted on the Azeris by the Armenians. Pictures of this appeared in most major American media, including The Post.

The author never points this out. Nor does she bother to explain how the Armenian aggression into Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan contravenes every principle of international law and order. She does not mention the outcry in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO

and the European Community against it. Indeed, the United States, Germany and other world powers have repeatedly called upon the Armenian leadership to stop its naked aggression against a country unable, at this time, to defend itself.

Yet the article seems to condone Armenia's grabbing land by force from a neighbor undergoing a difficult political transformation, and portrays sympathetically the Armenian militia volunteers occupying Azerbaijan.

The article also includes, without noting their controversial nature, the allegations that the Armenians were the subject of genocide under the Ottoman Empire. I have written to The Post several times outlining the position of scholars specializing in Ottoman studies. These scholars contend that 2 million Turks and several hundred thousand Armenians fell victim to the Armenian-initiated civil war during World War I through famine, epidemics and intercommunal violence. For seven decades, the Armenians have chosen to portray that tragedy as unique to them. Now some are attempting to portray the Armenian Republic's lust for Azeri lands as somehow justifiable. It is not.

NUZHET KANDEMIR
Ambassador
Republic of Turkey
Washington

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

South Africa's Destabilized Talks

THE BLOODY massacre in the Boipatong Township that left at least 40 persons dead was not the first act of senseless political violence to strike South Africa since the transition to democracy began. But among the victims this time—in addition to the helpless infants—are the constitutional negotiations, which now are in serious danger of unraveling. President F. W. de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, despite their differences, should take personal responsibility for rescuing their country from this crisis.

The African National Congress, contending that the South African authorities have been in complicity with sympathizers of the predominantly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party during years of brutal township violence, is pulling back from its bilateral engagement with the government. This hastily reached decision follows close on last month's deadlock in the constitutional talks. Since then, there has been a hardening on both sides and an escalation in the verbal hostility between Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk. Both leaders must show that at this critical juncture they are bigger than the audiences to which they are inclined to play.

At several steps along the way since the decision was taken to dismantle the racist apartheid system, those with entrenched interests in protecting white power have sought to impede the inevitable break from the past. And now what could not be accomplished through opposition to the removal of decades-old apartheid laws, or the start of constitutional talks, or the whites-only referendum favoring negotiations, may finally be achieved if the ANC should allow a breakdown in the multiparty talks. If that happens, then those most interested in preventing a nonracial democratic South Africa will have won.

The government, through its intelligence, police and the courts should be held accountable for controlling the violence, including a clamp-down on the rogue police elements that fuel the mayhem in the townships. But the ANC, in its struggle for power with Inkatha and the government over power sharing, should not lose sight of the larger interest of determining the kind of country in which all South Africans must live. The ANC's goal of "winner takes all" and the government's "loser keeps all" stance should give way to compromise and conciliation.

Maryland's 'Guzzler' Tax

IN THE FINAL minutes of this year's General Assembly session, Maryland lawmakers adopted what they thought would be a welcome environmental and financial measure: a "gas guzzler" law that would impose a surcharge on the cost of cars that get low mileage and would also give a rebate for purchases of fuel-efficient cars, effective July 1. But it turns out that there is a big legal hitch—and one not without merit—to the measure, which is the first of its kind in the country. Federal transportation officials have ordered Maryland to rescind the new tax, on grounds that the national fuel-economy guidelines are intended to prevent states from adopting disparate standards that could burden car manufacturers.

Though this finding is a blow to national environmental groups and others who judge the law solely on its own merits, there is a genuine legal difficulty here: The U.S. Department of Transportation says Congress has barred states from enacting laws that differ in any way from federal regulations on fuel-economy disclosures. The idea is to avoid subjecting auto manufacturers and dealers to a

"multitude of varying labeling and disclosure requirements" from state to state, according to a letter from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's chief counsel, Paul Jackson Rice, to Maryland Attorney General J. Joseph Curran Jr.

Will Maryland contest the order? The legislature's chief fiscal analyst, William Ratchford, has acknowledged in a letter to lawmakers that "it is likely that the 'gas-guzzler/sipper' tax will be found invalid." Gov. Schaefer has said in an interview with the Washington Times that he will not fight the federal finding. Attorney General Curran is studying the case to see whether there is some approach the state can take without being in conflict with the federal law; his office said an opinion is expected tomorrow.

The congressional-federal rationale—that you could have 51 different standards in the states and D.C. for labeling, disclosure or mileage figures—makes sense. That is why regulation of this sort is not the best approach. Increases in the gasoline tax serve as a far more effective monitor—and there is room for far more action on this front.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Mr. Clinton and the Deficits

BILL CLINTON speaks of two deficits in the revised economic program he outlined over the weekend: the budget deficit and a social deficit that he calls an investment gap. "We must strive to close both," the candidate says. But unfortunately in our view he has chosen to concentrate on the latter at what we sense will again be the former's expense.

The familiar claim is that the increased public and private investment he proposes is the key that will unlock greater growth and in the long run reduce the budget deficit as well; without the increased investment and growth, the governor says, the budget deficit may never be reduced. But the country has heard such rationales for election-year pump-priming too many times before. They come from both parties. The growth dividends are then as elusive as peace dividends also turn out to be. Mr. Clinton's opponents have been no more forthcoming on the budget deficit than he—in fact less so—and the program he has put together is certainly preferable to theirs. One of its virtues is greater flexibility for future decisions and choices. But in the campaign document released yesterday, the choice he seems to be making is not the tough one.

Much of the investment that the governor proposes would be in the form of increased public spending. He offers \$20 billion a year through a Rebuild America Fund to modernize a neglected infrastructure, help clean up the environment and make the most of defense conversion. Other billions would go to the cities and to stimulate private investment through various tax incentives. He would spend still more to strengthen families (a higher earned-income

tax credit, an intensified effort to move families from welfare to work) and on federal aid to education ("fully fund" Head Start, create a new college student loan program in which repayment could take the form of community service). Atop these social and economic investments he would also still grant a middle-class tax cut, in part on grounds of fairness, but this is a smaller part of his program than before.

All these goals are laudable. To keep them from adding to the deficit, he proposes offsetting tax increases and spending cuts. These are less convincing than they might be. The tax increases would mainly fall on the richest Americans and foreign corporations, the spending cuts would mostly be in defense and various management savings. It would come out to about a wash; most of the money he would raise or save he would spend. The plan says the deficit would be cut in half in the next four years, but most of that is scheduled to happen anyway as the effects of the recession and savings and loan bailout fade.

George Bush says he, too, wants to reduce the deficit, but without a tax increase, and Ross Perot has lately said nearly the same. But that's nonsense; it isn't going to happen—and the great virtue of Gov. Clinton's approach is that he doesn't pretend otherwise but leaves the tax option open, as it has to be. We would put him ahead on the spending side as well, where Mr. Perot has again left the slate almost blank and the president has taken refuge in an "entitlement cap" that is nearly a blank. We say again: His plan thus far is better than theirs. But it doesn't address the basic problem or accept the need for the unpopular solution. We wish it did.

Hate Crimes and Free Speech

ROBERT VIKTORA ought to be prosecuted. He and several other teenagers were arrested two years ago and charged with burning a makeshift cross in the yard of a black family in their St. Paul, Minn., neighborhood. He might have been charged with making terroristic threats, arson or criminal damage to property, all punishable by imprisonment and fines. But instead he was charged with racially motivated assault—a count he has not yet challenged—and hate crime. The latter makes it a misdemeanor to place "on public or private property a symbol, object, characterization or graffiti, including, but not limited to, a burning cross or Nazi swastika, which one knows or has reasonable grounds to know arouses anger, alarm or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender." Yesterday a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court ruled that ordinance unconstitutional on First Amendment grounds.

The ruling is sweeping and reassuring, since the most recent controversial Supreme Court opinions upholding unpopular symbolic speech were the flag-burning cases, decided on a 5-4 vote. But the justices were not unanimous in their reasoning. Four would have held that the St. Paul prohibition is not aimed at "fighting words," utterances that are intended and likely to incite immediate violent response, for which there is no constitutional protection. Five joined an opinion written by Justice Scalia, who reasons that even if the prohibited conduct is the equivalent of fighting words, the ordinance is

unconstitutional because it prohibits symbolic speech on the grounds of content. Thus, for example, while a city can regulate all noisy sound trucks it cannot make a distinction based on content and regulate only noisy sound trucks blaring messages against the incumbent government. Similarly, while fighting words in general can be regulated, a community cannot frame an ordinance in terms of the content of the speech itself. St. Paul cannot then penalize fighting words because they might provoke violence on the basis of race, religion or ethnic background and leave undisturbed similar speech expressing hostility on the basis of political affiliation, union membership or homosexuality.

This ruling will force reconsideration of hundreds of laws and speech codes in public universities. All regulations that impose content-based restrictions on speech are in jeopardy. They should be. Criminal conduct such as the arson, trespass and threats involved in the Minnesota cross burning must be prosecuted. But the placing of a swastika in one's window, the drawing of a caricature that exaggerates ethnic or racial appearance and the carrying of a sign that says: "Girls are smarter than boys"—all of which would have been criminal under the contested ordinance—constitute protected speech. The preservation of a forum in which even insulting, hurtful and outrageous ideas can be expressed is an essential price of our system; without it free speech would be fatally undermined.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

For the Record

From remarks by Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.) in Washington yesterday:

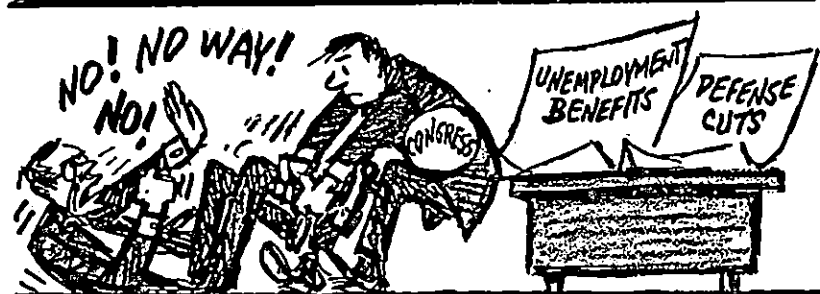
... The principal problem with the federal government now is that everybody wants a balanced budget and nobody wants to sacrifice. Everybody wants us to get the budget under control, and they're all certain that if somebody else will just give, the budget will be balanced.

Well, we've reached a point in time where there's nothing more dangerous to our children and grandchildren. ... I don't think we have a chance of having a growing, prosperous American economy, which is probably what we want more than anything else. ...

But I think we will have sustained recessions, sustained recessions, some time out in the not too distant future, unless we get the deficit under control because the vitality of the country is being sapped. The principal vitality is net savings. That's what causes a capitalistic society to grow, and the debt is getting so big that it gobbles up the net savings of all our people and our corporations, and if you don't have net savings, you don't have the energizer for the capitalist growth machine.

So I'm very concerned, very worried. ...

Just the turn of the century, if you leave everything alone and have just a modest kind of growth, turn of the century the deficit will be back up between \$650 and \$800 billion, and there it will stay. Now, from what I can tell, that's an impossibility, and it borders on insanity for a country that is enlightened and understands, for a country that has done so many stalwart things to keep our liberty and our democracy, to let this happens seems to me to be something absolutely beyond what we can make excuses for.



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The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

4 Women Caught in Judgeship Fight

By John Wagner
Washington Post Staff Writer

Earlier this month, the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee was faced with a rare sight: four nominees for the federal bench, all of them women. The committee voted unanimously in favor of the four, and it appeared that the women were well on their way to winning confirmation from the full Senate.

But their fates have since become entangled in the controversy over another judgeship nomination, that of Alabama prosecutor Edward E. Carnes to the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Questions about Carnes—dubbed “Mr. Death Penalty” by some critics—have effectively clogged the federal judicial confirmation process.

Carnes wrote Alabama’s death penalty law in 1981 and has served as the state’s assistant attorney general in charge of capital punishment litigation for the last decade. Carnes’s supporters describe him as a skilled litigator who will make a very good federal judge. But his critics, among them several prominent civil rights leaders, maintain that he has been overzealous in his efforts to send defendants, in particular, poor black defendants with inadequate legal representation, to the state’s electric chair. Carnes also has drawn fire for his contention that prosecutorial efforts to strike jurors based on race do not necessarily violate “fundamental fairness.”

The Judiciary Committee voted 10 to 4 in favor of Carnes’s nomination early last month, but the vote had been delayed for several weeks at the urging of Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio). The delay prompted President Bush to charge that the Democrats on the committee were “playing politics” with his nominee.

Since the May 7 committee vote, several Democrats

have thrown procedural stumbling blocks in the way of the Carnes nomination’s progress to the Senate floor. The senators have placed “holds” on the nomination, a technique by which any senator can delay the scheduling of a vote, at least temporarily, and remain anonymous. In the Carnes case, their hope is that opposition to the nomination will mount as time passes.

Last week, supporters of Carnes apparently decided that if the door was still shut on their man, then no one else was going to be allowed through. Holds have now been placed on the four women whose nominations were reported out of the Judiciary Committee June 11.

The battle isn’t cleanly drawn along partisan lines. Sen. Richard C. Shelby (D-Ala.) is responsible for the hold on one of the women, Susan Black, a spokeswoman for the Alabama senator acknowledged yesterday. Black, now a U.S. District judge in Florida, has been nominated for a seat on the same federal appeals court as Carnes.

Shelby has “no problem with Ms. Black,” the senator’s spokeswoman said, but placed the hold out of “a sense of fairness.” The nomination of fellow Alabamian Carnes, ready for floor consideration for some time, is being “held hostage” by death penalty opponents, she said.

The other three holds are presumed by many on the Hill to be coming from the Republican camp. Such a tactic would be understandable, according to a Judiciary Committee staff member on the GOP side. “Carnes should have gone through a long time ago,” he said. “People are frustrated with his lack of movement.” The other three nominees whose fates hang in the balance are: Irene Keeley, named to a U.S. District Court seat in West Virginia; and Lorretta Preska and Sonia Sotomayer, both chosen for District Court judgeships in New York.

End Fighting In Moldova, U.S. Urges

Bush, Baker Unable To Halt Escalation

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Faced with intensifying conflict in an area of great sensitivity to Russia, the United States yesterday called on all parties to the fighting in Moldova to stop immediately and resolve their disputes by peaceful means.

The U.S. position, enunciated by State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler, came after unsuccessful efforts last week by President Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III to discourage escalation of the struggle in Moldova.

Bush discussed the Moldovan situation with Russian President Boris Yeltsin during last week’s U.S.-Russian summit meeting here, according to White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater. Baker took up the issue last Friday with visiting Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Maravschii, who was in Washington to sign economic agreements with the United States, State Department officials said.

U.S. diplomats have watched with growing concern as Russia and Moldova have traded charges amid threats that Russian military forces might be used to defend the Russian minority in the former Soviet republic situated between Ukraine and Romania. It has been the U.S. position for months, an official said, that Russia should withdraw its 14th Army from Moldova lest fighting erupt that could be difficult to contain given the intense emotions on both sides.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, who discussed the problem with Baker last week, has made it known he considers the situation in Moldova potentially the most serious of all the ethnic disputes in Russia and its periphery, because large numbers of ethnic Russians are directly involved. Baker previously discussed the issue in separate meetings with Kozyrev and Moldovan Foreign Minister Nikolai Tseo in Lisbon on May 24.

Yesterday’s statement by Tutwiler called on the Russian government “to enter into discussions with Moldova aimed at implementing President Yeltsin’s earlier agreement to withdraw the 14th Army from the area.” Reports from Moscow raised doubt about the seriousness of Yeltsin’s withdrawal promise, which was made during a public appearance on a tour of Siberia.

“We believe that the Moldovan and Trans-Dniester authorities [the Russian separatists] should seek a negotiated peaceful solution within the framework of an independent and sovereign Moldova which ensures that the rights of ethnic minorities are protected in practice as well as law,” Tutwiler said.

State Department officials conceded there is little the United States can do at this stage other than counsel patience and caution. Western European nations have not been extensively involved, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which has set down rules for avoiding ethnic fighting, has yet to take a strong stand on the Moldovan situation.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

By Christopher B. Daly
Special to The Washington Post

BOSTON—Under just the right circumstances, the housing policy promoted by President Bush and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp in the wake of the Los Angeles riots might help a tiny fraction of the urban poor sometime in the mid-1990s, according to housing experts and advocates familiar with the plan.

But the Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere program or Project HOPE, considered the centerpiece of the administration's urban housing initiative, is viewed as being oversold. Skeptics say that it is a modest program where a vast one is needed. And those closest to the problem of affordable housing fear that it is an ideological attempt to show concern while actually doing very little.

"It's not that it's a bad idea. It's just a small idea," said William Apgar, executive director of the Joint Center for Housing Studies at

hours. The engineer lives on the grounds. When the heat goes out, he becomes cold too."

She also has said: "Those who planned for us in the past had not done a good job. We could do no worse. We set out to change the myth . . . that residents do not care for their property."

HOPE involves three distinct programs for large housing "projects," multifamily properties that ended up in government hands through defaults and single-family homes owned by public housing authorities. They all share the same essential features:

A private nonprofit group will apply for a grant to plan for conversion, using the money to figure out what the property needs to be ready for sale and what the prospective buyers need to become owners. The buildings will be rehabilitated—at an average cost of \$12,008 per unit—and the tenants will be trained to be their own landlords.

After a unit is sold, it must be replaced by either a new unit of public housing or a new voucher that can be used by an eligible family in the private rental market.

The units that are sold will, in many cases, continue to belong to the nonprofit group, usually a "resident management corporation." Eventually, the units would be sold to individuals—either as condominiums, cooperatives or private homes.

Units could be subsidized with federal funds for up to 10 years to help the new owners pay the costs of maintenance, and home buyers would be limited in the amount of money they can make if they resell the property.

"There are definitely situations where there is the right combination: the unit has to be in basically good repair, the subsidies have to be right and the tenants' organization has to have its act together," Apgar said, citing Kemp's favorite success story, the Kenilworth Parkside development.

Richard West, spokesman for the National Low-Income Housing Coalition, said his group supports tenant ownership in principle. "It's a good thing for those who are prepared to undertake the responsibilities," he said.

"The problem is that by talking about home ownership, they have defined the debate about low-income housing very narrowly," he said, adding that he would prefer to see the administration fully fund the existing programs that give poor people vouchers and rent subsidies.

The government spends almost \$3 billion annually on rent supports, but experts estimate the need at more than \$18 billion.

Critics of the program question whether Kemp is really trying to divest the government of its housing stock and get the government out of the business of owning and managing properties. In fact, early this spring the president urged Congress to rescind \$500 million already pledged for the construction of public housing units.

Critics also warn that many public housing units are so dilapidated that an owner would have to be quite wealthy to take on the maintenance cost.

Besides, according to skeptics, many public housing tenants—including many elderly residents or single mothers—like renting and do not want to own. Others want to own their own homes someday but have no desire to own their units.

Stegman said he recently interviewed a group of single mothers in

Charlotte, N.C. "Their dream is to own a home, to have something to give to their kids—a safe haven. When I asked them whether they wanted to buy their public housing unit, they looked at me as if I were crazy," he said.

"The tenants aren't stupid," said Apgar. "Many of them don't want to sink their last dime into these places."

Critics say, unlike in true home ownership, maintenance subsidies will keep tenants dependent on government handouts. On the other hand, they say that the limits on resale profits will undermine the new owners' motivation to improve their homes and spruce up their neighborhoods.

But even critics acknowledge there are success stories. They point to the extraordinary efforts of Betha Gilkey, who turned around the massive Cochran Gardens project in East St. Louis and the efforts of Gray at Kenilworth Parkside.

Low Finer, a housing activist with the Massachusetts Affordable Housing Alliance in Boston, said he thought HOPE was essentially benign, but he said it ignored the vast unmet need for low-income housing.

Housing Plan Too Modest For Problem, Critics Say

BEYOND THE BELTWAY

Harvard University. "What we are getting is a modest, gimmicky set of proposals that doesn't have the scope to address the problem."

Apgar points out that government figures indicate there are 33.6 million individuals living below the poverty line in United States and only 1.2 million units of public housing nationwide. Thus, the vast majority of poor people—urban, suburban and rural alike—are already in the private housing market or homeless.

"I would characterize it as wholly inadequate," said Michael A. Stegman, chairman of the department of city and regional planning at the University of North Carolina and one of the nation's leading authorities on housing issues.

"When you talk about housing conditions in south-central Los Angeles and the enormous rent burdens that poor families bear, to talk about the centerpiece of the urban agenda being the sale of public housing that reduces the supply of permanently affordable housing, I think it's laughable," said Stegman.

The target of the criticism is the attractively labeled Project Hope, the brainchild of Kemp, which is intended to bring "empowerment" and "self-sufficiency" to the urban poor by enabling them to buy public housing units.

First enacted in the National Affordable Housing Act of 1990, the program languished until May after the rioting when Bush—with Kemp's urging—made it a key element in the administration's six-point urban agenda. On June 13, Kemp flew to Los Angeles to announce the first \$24 million in HOPE grants to 40 states.

The grants will not build any new units or change anyone's housing status, but they will allow 184 tenant groups nationwide to begin the lengthy planning process for eventually converting public housing into private homes.

Kimi Gray, president of the Kenilworth Parkside Resident Management Corp. in Northeast Washington, has said tenant management "gives residents back the responsibility of taking care of their community. It provides jobs. Maintenance calls are answered within 24

FIXING AMERICA'S CITIES HUD'S HOPE PLANNING GRANT AWARDS



Kimi Gray, center right, speaks with Kenilworth Parkside residents.

Development Name	City	Funding
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA		
Capitol View Plaza	Washington	\$158,200
PENNSYLVANIA		
Abbottsford Homes	Philadelphia	\$318,000
Lemonwood Acres	Uniontown	\$138,570
Spring Garden Apartments and Ludlow Homes	Philadelphia	\$200,000
Morton Homes Public Housing Complex	Philadelphia	\$200,000
Ruth L. Bennett Homes	Chester	\$208,000
Queen Lane I and III	Philadelphia	\$200,000
Lamokin Village	Chester	\$208,000
Coatesville-Hillcrest/Broadview	West Chester	\$97,700
E.R. Crawford Village	McKeesport	\$200,000
Penn Village and William Penn Homes	Norristown	\$136,691
VIRGINIA		
Seven Oaks	Lebanon	\$200,000
Hudson & Monroe	Lynchburg	\$23,600
Lassiter Courts	Newport News	\$200,000
Cedar Lawn Estates	Petersburg	\$39,918
Pecan Acres Estate	Petersburg	\$119,540
Randolph Neighborhood	Richmond	\$198,900
Overlook & Mimosa Neighborhood	Richmond	\$71,825
Litchfield Manor	Wise County	\$195,850
WEST VIRGINIA		
Littlepage Terrace	Charleston	\$100,000
HUD Region 3 Total		\$3,214,794

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Kemp Calls on Mayors For 'Audacious' Effort

Enterprise Zones, New War on Poverty Urged

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, June 22—Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp met with the nation's mayors today and called for an "audacious, dramatic effort" to restore economic growth, educational opportunity and, particularly, homeownership for poor people.

Speaking at the 60th annual U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting here, Kemp challenged the predominantly Democratic crowd to support the Bush administration's enterprise zone proposal pending before Congress and the homeownership program created by the National Affordable Housing Act, for which President Bush has asked \$1 billion in funding this year.

Kemp, whose urban policies were embraced by the Bush administration only after the Los Angeles riots, suggested that he could be an ally of the mayors in "waging—and this time winning—a new war on poverty."

"Can anyone doubt that an alliance between a radical, bleeding-heart, progressive-conservative HUD secretary and equally activist mayors from across the political spectrum would be unbeatable?" Kemp asked the mayors.

Kemp said that when he toured riot-torn Los Angeles, he found no looting or indiscriminate property destruction where residents owned their homes. Instead, people patrolled the streets and defended their communities, he said.

"That should come as no surprise. When people have a stake in their communities, they will not only defend their own homes, they'll defend their neighbors' homes as well," Kemp told the mayors.

He quoted Rep. Mike Espy (D-Miss.), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus and a key supporter of Kemp's Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE) initiative, as saying, "Whoever controls your home controls your life."

Kemp also asked the mayors to put partisanship aside and pressure congressional leaders to swiftly pass the enterprise zone initiative and to put



SECRETARY JACK KEMP
... pushes "alliance" of mayors, self

the urban agenda ahead of a balanced-budget amendment.

"You simply cannot fix the budget without fixing the economy. You can't balance the federal budget without getting our nation back to work," Kemp said.

However, Kemp warned, "the defenders of the status quo will use any reason to stop enterprise zones... [which] represent a fundamental shift in power from the federal government to local government and to the people."

He released a list of 300 states, cities and communities that would qualify as potential enterprise zones under Bush's recently announced six-point urban aid proposal. Investors in the targeted areas could receive tax incentives to stimulate development and earned income tax credit to employ low-income workers.

Kemp's remarks, for the most part, were warmly received by the mayors, some of whom said the enterprise zone and homeownership programs could help alleviate poverty in their cities.

"It's an excellent beginning. Let's empower the people instead of the bureaucracies. That's the major difference between the two political parties," said Victor Ashe, Republican mayor of Knoxville, Tenn.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Court Excerpts: Adding Free Speech 'to the Fire'

Following are excerpts from the Supreme Court opinions in *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, in which the court declared unconstitutional the St. Paul Bias-Motivated Crime Ordinance, which says: "Whoever places on public or private property a symbol, object, appellation, characterization or graffiti, including, but not limited to, a burning cross or Nazi swastika, which one knows or has reasonable grounds to know arouses anger, alarm or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender, commits disorderly conduct and shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Justice Antonin Scalia's opinion for the court, joined by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Anthony M. Kennedy, David H. Souter and Clarence Thomas:

... The Minnesota Supreme Court ... rejected petitioner's overbreadth claim because, as construed in prior Minnesota cases, the modifying phrase "arouses anger, alarm or resentment in others" limited the reach of the ordinance to conduct that amounts to "fighting words," i.e., "conduct that itself inflicts injury or tends to incite immediate violence" ... and therefore the ordinance reached only expression "that the First Amendment does not protect." The court also concluded that the ordinance was not impermissibly content-based because, in its view, "the ordinance is a narrowly tailored means toward accomplishing the compelling governmental interest in protecting the community against bias-motivated threats to public safety and order."

... The ordinance is facially unconstitutional. Although the phrase in the ordinance, "arouses anger, alarm or resentment in others," has been limited by the Minnesota Supreme Court's construction to reach only those symbols or displays that amount to "fighting words," the remaining, unmodified terms make clear that the ordinance applies only to "fighting words" that insult, or provoke violence, "on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender." Displays containing abusive invective, no matter how vicious or severe, are permissible unless they are addressed to one of the specified disfavored topics. Those who wish to use "fighting words" in connection with other ideas—to express hostility, for example, on the basis of political affiliation, union membership, or homosexuality—are not covered. The First Amendment does not permit St. Paul to impose special prohibitions on those speakers who express views on disfavored subjects.

In its practical operation, moreover, the ordinance goes even beyond mere content discrimination, to actual viewpoint discrimination. Displays containing some words—odious racial epithets, for example—would be prohibited to proponents of all views. But "fighting words" that do not themselves invoke race, color, creed, religion, or gender—aspersions upon a person's mother, for example—would seemingly be usable *ad libitum* in the placards of those arguing in favor of racial, color, etc., tolerance and equality, but could not be used by that speaker's opponents. One could hold up a sign saying, for example, that all "anti-Catholic bigots" are misbegotten; but not that all "papists" are, for that would insult and provoke violence "on the basis of religion." St. Paul has no such authority to license one side of a debate to fight freestyle, while requiring the other to follow Marquis of Queensbury Rules.

... One must wholeheartedly agree with the Minnesota Supreme Court that "it is the responsibility, even the obligation, of diverse communities to confront such notions in whatever form they appear," but the manner of that confrontation cannot consist of selective limitations upon speech. St. Paul's brief asserts that a general "fighting words" law would not meet the city's needs because only a content-specific measure can communicate to minority groups that the "group hatred" aspect of such speech "is not condoned by the majority." The point of the First Amendment is that majority preferences must be expressed in some fashion other than silencing speech on the basis of its content.

... The reason why fighting words are categorically excluded from the protection of the First Amendment is not that their content communicates any particular idea, but that their content embodies a particularly intolerable (and socially unnecessary) mode of expressing whatever idea the speaker wishes to convey. St. Paul has not singled out an especially offensive mode of expression—it has not, for example, selected for prohibition only those fighting words that communicate ideas in a threatening (as opposed to a merely obnoxious) manner. Rather, it has proscribed fighting words of whatever manner that communicate messages of racial, gender, or religious intolerance. Selectivity of this sort creates the possibility that the city is seeking to handicap the expression of particular ideas. That possibility would alone be enough to render the ordinance presumptively invalid, but St. Paul's comments and



ANTONIN SCALIA

... wrote opinion for court majority



BYRON R. WHITE

... called logic "mischievous at best"

concessions in this case elevate the possibility to a certainty.

St. Paul argues that the ordinance comes within another of the specific exceptions we mentioned, the one that allows content discrimination aimed only at the "secondary effects" of the speech. According to St. Paul, the ordinance is intended "not to impact on the right of free expression of the accused," but rather to "protect against the victimization of a person or persons who are particularly vulnerable because of their membership in a group that historically has been discriminated against."

Even assuming that an ordinance that completely proscribes, rather than merely regulates, a specified category of speech can ever be considered to be directed only to the secondary effects of such speech, it is clear that the St. Paul ordinance is not directed to secondary effects. ...

Finally, St. Paul and its amici defend the conclusion of the Minnesota Supreme Court that, even if the ordinance regulates expression based on hostility towards its protected ideological content, this discrimination is nonetheless justified because it is narrowly tailored to serve compelling state interests. ... In fact, the only interest distinctively served by the content limitation is that of displaying the city council's special hostility towards the particular biases thus singled out. That is precisely what the First Amendment forbids. The politicians of St. Paul are entitled to express that hostility—but not through the means of imposing unique limitations upon speakers who (however benightedly) disagree.

Let there be no mistake about our belief that burning a cross in someone's front yard is reprehensible. But St. Paul has sufficient means at its disposal to prevent such behavior without adding the First Amendment to the fire.

Excerpts from Justice Byron R. White's concurring opinion, joined by Justices Harry A. Blackmun, Sandra Day O'Connor and, in part, by John Paul Stevens:

I agree with the majority that the

judgment of the Minnesota Supreme Court should be reversed. However, our agreement ends there.

This case could easily be decided within the contours of established First Amendment law by holding, as petitioner argues, that the St. Paul ordinance is fatally overbroad because it criminalizes not only unprotected expression but expression protected by the First Amendment.

... The majority casts aside long-established First Amendment doctrine without the benefit of briefing and adopts an untried theory. This is hardly a judicious way of proceeding and the Court's reasoning in reaching its result is transparently wrong.

... Today the Court has disregarded two established principles of First Amendment law without providing a coherent replacement theory. Its decision is an arid doctrinaire interpretation, driven by the frequently irresistible impulse of judges to tinker with the First Amendment. The decision is mischievous at best and will surely confuse the lower courts. I join the judgment, but not the folly of the opinion.

Opinion of Justice Harry A. Blackmun concurring in the judgment:

I fear that the Court has been distracted from its proper mission by the temptation to decide the issue over "politically correct speech" and "cultural diversity," neither of which is presented here. If this is the meaning of today's opinion, it is perhaps even more regrettable.

I see no First Amendment values that are compromised by a law that prohibits hoodlums from driving minorities out of their homes by burning crosses on their lawns, but I see great harm in preventing the people of Saint Paul from specifically punishing the race-based fighting words that so prejudice their community.

I concur in the judgment, however, because I agree with Justice White that this particular ordinance reaches beyond fighting words to speech protected by the First Amendment.

Ruling Seen Stifling Controversial Campus Speech Codes

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court's ruling striking down a Minnesota hate crimes law could invalidate the much-debated speech codes at public colleges imposed in recent years to shield minorities and others from offensive remarks.

"This is the first Supreme Court case with real relevance to the speech and harassment codes that universities began adopting in the late 1980s," said Elsa Kircher Cole, the University of Michigan's general counsel.

As a result of the ruling, she said, "colleges will likely go back to general student conduct codes rather than specific ones dealing with speech."

Many educators heralded the ruling as a

victory for free speech on campuses, many of which have been embroiled in controversy recently over rules that critics say seek to impose "political correctness."

The codes generally ban jokes, comments, skits and signs that are considered racist, sexist or homophobic. The University of Michigan, for instance, drafted its speech code after racially abusive jokes were played over the university radio station. The language in the code of the University of Connecticut went so far as to seek to ban "inappropriate laughter, inconsiderate jokes."

Best-selling books, including Dinesh D'Souza's "Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus," decried the movement toward safe speech as a symbol of intellectual spinelessness on campuses.

Defenders of speech codes argue that

they are necessary to guarantee a non-hostile learning environment for all students.

"This is very significant. I applaud it enthusiastically," said Robert M. O'Neil, director of the Center for the Protection of Free Expression at the University of Virginia. "All along I've thought that these speech codes were unwise and unnecessary."

It is unclear how many of the more than 1,500 public colleges and universities have policies outlawing offensive, hateful or bigoted expression. The estimates run from 200 to more than four times that figure.

But higher education officials said yesterday's ruling means public colleges will have to reexamine any rule governing speech of faculty members, students or others on campus.

The ruling does not directly affect pri-

vate universities, which, unlike state-run institutions, are under no obligation to adhere to constitutional commands. However, legislation pending in both the House and Senate would extend First Amendment protections to students and faculty at private colleges and universities that receive federal funds. The sponsors of those bills, Sen. Larry E. Craig (R-Idaho) and Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.), said yesterday that they expected the Supreme Court ruling to generate more enthusiasm for such legislation.

"We in no way seek to condone hateful and bigoted speech," said Hyde spokesman Sam Stratman. "But if free speech means anything, it means the right to say things unpopular—things that other people disagree with."

Sheldon E. Steinbach, general counsel of the American Council on Education, said

the popularity of campus speech codes has already been waning.

The decision, he said, will bring "continued emphasis to find more productive ways of more effectively dealing with cultural, religious and racial clashes on campus."

The speech codes were enacted to protect minorities and others in an academic setting from hateful and abusive remarks and displays. But in the past two years, speech codes at both the University of Michigan and the University of Wisconsin have been struck down by lower courts.

In the aftermath of the Michigan lawsuit, Cole said the school is scrapping its code against unacceptable speech for one that outlines unacceptable conduct.

This month, the American Association of University Professors condemned speech codes. "On a campus that is free and open, no idea can be banned or forbidden," the group declared, saying that however repugnant, "racial or ethnic slurs, sexist epithets, or homophobic insults almost always express ideas."

Death Row Prisoners' Return to Federal Court Is Made More Difficult

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court yesterday made it harder for death row prisoners to get a second chance to prove in federal court they do not deserve the death penalty for their crimes.

The ruling came in a Louisiana case involving Robert Wayne Sawyer, convicted of the 1979 murder of Frances Arwood, who was babysitting for his girlfriend's children. Sawyer and an accomplice beat Arwood, submerged her in a bathtub, poured scalding water on her, and finally doused her with lighter fluid and set her on fire.

Sawyer's conviction and death sentence were upheld by state and

federal courts. He then went back to federal court, arguing that his death sentence was unconstitutional because the state withheld evidence that could have helped him and because his trial lawyer failed to tell the jury about records from his early treatment in psychiatric hospitals.

The justices were unanimous in their conclusion that Sawyer hadn't cast enough doubt on his death sentence. But they divided 6 to 3 about how high a standard must be met to obtain a hearing in such a case, and Justice Harry A. Blackmun penned an anguished concurrence detailing his "ever-growing skepticism" about the fairness of the death penalty given

the restrictions the high court has imposed on federal court review.

Despite his own moral reservations about capital punishment, Blackmun said, he has always voted to allow legislatures to impose the death penalty because of the belief that federal courts could ensure that death sentences were imposed fairly.

"Today, more than 20 years later, I wonder what is left of that premise underlying my acceptance of the death penalty," he wrote in *Sawyer v. Whitley*. "The more the court constrains the federal courts' power to reach the constitutional claims of those sentenced to death the more the court undermines the very legitimacy of capital punishment itself."

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist wrote for the majority and pointedly noted that the crime was committed 13 years ago. In order to get a second hearing in federal court, Rehnquist said, a death row prisoner must prove by "clear and convincing evidence" that, if the additional information were considered, no reasonable juror would have found him "eligible" for a death sentence.

At this stage, Rehnquist said, prisoners are not entitled to bring in new mitigating evidence to show that they should not be sentenced to death. He said that allowing otherwise would interfere with the "finality" necessary to administer the death penalty.

But he rebuffed a Bush administration request to go even further and permit a second hearing only if the prisoner can demonstrate that he is actually innocent of the crime, rather than simply not deserving of the death penalty.

Justice John Paul Stevens, in a concurring opinion joined by Blackmun and Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, said the majority was imposing too high a test and that prisoners should only have to show that the death sentence was "clearly erroneous."

In addition, he said, prisoners should be allowed to bring in mitigating evidence in their effort to have the death sentence overturned since "there may be some

situations in which, although the defendant remains technically 'eligible' for the death sentence, nonetheless, in light of all the evidence, that sentence constitutes a manifest miscarriage of justice."

Any "added administrative burden is surely justified by the overriding interest in minimizing the risk of error in implementing the sovereign's decision to take the life of one of its citizens," Stevens said.

In other action yesterday, the court, ruling 7 to 2, said the rights of criminal defendants are not violated by requiring them to bear the burden of proving they are incompetent to stand trial. The case is *Medina v. California*.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Area Jurisdictions Call Hate-Crime Laws Solid

Statutes Said to Be Narrower Than St. Paul's

By Kevin Sullivan
Washington Post Staff Writer

Officials in Maryland, Virginia and the District said yesterday they are confident their laws restricting cross burning and other hate crimes will stand despite the Supreme Court's ruling in the St. Paul, Minn., case.

"Cross burning and the painting of swastikas simply won't be tolerated in Virginia," said Attorney General Mary Sue Terry (D).

Terry, Maryland Attorney General J. Joseph Curran Jr. (D) and District officials said their hate-crime laws are written more narrowly than the Minnesota law that was struck down by the court.

The Minnesota law banned activities such as cross burning and the displaying of swastikas that "arouse anger, alarm or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender." The court ruled that such broad language is unconstitutional.

Local officials said their laws do not contain such broad prohibitions of free expression, but simply establish increased penalties for crimes motivated by race, religion or other characteristics.

But some analysts said that the fate of such laws remains to be determined in future litigation and that their status is uncertain after yesterday's ruling.

"Local governments around the country are going to have to look at their statutes and make sure that they are written in neutral terms," said Rodney A. Smolla, a law professor at the College of William and Mary who has written on hate-speech laws. He said laws with enhanced penalties for bias crimes "have got to be understood as unconstitutional after this case."

Maryland's hate-crimes statute, enacted in 1988, calls for stiff penalties for anyone who assaults, harasses or damages the property of another person because of that person's race or religion.

The law provides for additional prison time and fines—a maximum of 20 years and \$20,000 if the victim dies—for those crimes if they are found to be racially motivated.

The law was used in March by Montgomery County prosecutors in the case of two white men who allegedly attacked two black women and tried to set one of them on fire. The suspects were charged with hate-crime violations because they allegedly told police they were "hunting" blacks.

Robert A. Zarnoch, an assistant attorney general and counsel to the General Assembly, said the court's decision would not affect the hate-

crime statute because the law simply adds additional penalties to activities that are already illegal.

Curran said his preliminary opinion is that the law is solid, but he said he needs to study the issue further.

Jennifer Burdick, executive director of Maryland's Human Relations Commission, said prosecutors look for swastikas or other symbols to determine if a crime was motivated by racial or religious hatred. If the court's decision means those symbols cannot be considered, it could force changes in the law, she said.

Maryland also has a cross-burning law that bans the burning of "any cross or other religious symbol" on public or private property without first notifying the fire department and getting permission from the property owner.

The law "is clearly directed largely at prevention of trespass and damage to property," Assistant Attorney General Kathryn M. Rowe wrote in a June 1991 opinion.

Del. Samuel I. "Sandy" Rosenberg (D-Baltimore), who sponsored the hate-crimes bill in the House of Delegates, said yesterday he believes the cross-burning statute, enacted in 1966, will not be affected by the court's decision. "Minnesota's law was a politically correct attempt to outlaw politically incorrect speech, and Maryland doesn't do that," he said.

In Virginia, Terry said the hate-crime law, enacted in the 1950s, merely increases penalties for crimes if they are based on bias.

Painting a swastika on a synagogue, for example, involves destruction of property, which is illegal, Terry said. And burning a cross on a black family's yard constitutes trespassing, she said. But the penalties for both crimes are more severe if prosecuted under the hate-crime law.

Anna Blackburne, special counsel to the District's corporation counsel, said that "at this time, it appears [the Minnesota ruling] doesn't directly impact" on the District's law.

Similar to the Maryland and Virginia laws, the D.C. law says that those convicted of crimes ranging from vandalism to murder face a potential 50 percent increase in their sentences if the crimes are determined to be motivated by bias, Blackburne said.

She said the law focuses on acts of violence that appear to be motivated by the victim's race, religion, sexual orientation or other personal characteristics.

Staff writers John Harris, Evelyn Hsu, Brooke A. Masters and Ruth Marcus contributed to this report.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Perot Investigations Not Very 'American,' Bush Says

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush, whose surrogates have sought to portray Texas billionaire Ross Perot as bizarre and dangerous to democracy, gingerly hinted it himself yesterday, noting that investigations Perot launched into his business affairs and record as vice president in the 1980s were not very "American."

Despite the fact that his campaign has spent \$20 million on his reelection this year and he is on the campaign trail virtually every week, the president has tried to maintain that he will not campaign against Perot and Democrat Bill Clinton until after the Republican convention in August.

On Saturday, at a Dallas GOP event, Bush criticized Perot without mentioning him by name, attacking some of his proposals, such as his centerpiece theme of electronic town meetings to ascertain citizen views on White House proposals.

And yesterday, asked about a report Sunday in The Washington Post that described how Perot had inves-

tigated some of Bush's business dealings and possible involvement in the Iran-contra scandal, Bush allowed as how such investigations are "not very pleasant." He added, "I feel a little tense about it. . . . I don't think that's particularly American."

In an interview yesterday with ABC's "20/20" program to be televised Friday, Bush said, "If he [Perot] was having my children investigated, that is beyond the pale. Leave my kids alone, I say."

Referring to the investigations earlier in the day, White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said, "I think its shocking and frightening to see that kind of bizarre behavior on the part of a presidential candidate."

Fitzwater declined to go any further, but mentioned, apparently for the first time, that Perot had called him once in 1986 or 1987, when he was press secretary to then-Vice President Bush, and threatened to "get" ABC News reporter Sam Donaldson. The call, Fitzwater said, "scared me to death" because "I don't get many calls from guys fly-

ing around in their private planes."

Fitzwater said Perot was unhappy with a report Donaldson had done on the prisoner of war issue but that he told Perot he had no control over network news correspondents. Asked why he was revealing the Perot call years after the fact, Fitzwater said he had no ulterior motive but was simply responding to reporters' questions.

James Squires, a Perot spokesman, labeled the allegations another in "a daily attempt to assassinate" Perot's character, Reuter reported.

Vice President Quayle joined in the criticism, telling a news conference in San Diego that Perot "apparently has a compulsion to investigate people," Reuter reported.

"Imagine Ross Perot having the IRS, the FBI and the CIA under his control," Quayle said. He predicted the Texan's popularity will fade because "a lot more will come out" and said the Bush campaign views Clinton as its main opponent.

Speaking to the National Sheriffs Association, Quayle continued his

"values" theme of the past month, this time targeting "big business." In the speech, Quayle continued his attack on Time-Warner for producing a record that he said promotes killing police and assailed other companies for boycotting the Boy Scouts of America for its ban on gay members.

Quayle, reciting some of the lyrics from the Ice-T song "Cop Killer," called it "revolting and outrageous" and suggested a multibillion-dollar corporation such as Time-Warner should "show some responsibility."

Quayle repeated his support of a boycott of Time-Warner by several law-enforcement groups and said his critics are saying he should not back such a boycott. "But I didn't notice them criticizing a different boycott, a truly unfair one," he said, citing the companies that agreed to cut ties with the Boy Scouts.

"If I have to choose between the values of Time-Warner and Ice-T versus the values of the Boy Scouts, I say let us stand up for the values of the Boy Scouts of America," Quayle said.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Sen. Gramm Defies Bush on Balanced-Budget Effort

By Ann Devroy and Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writers

In a sign of President Bush's weakening control over Republican congressional leaders, Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) refused a direct presidential request last week to put aside his campaign for the balanced-budget amendment to allow the Senate to take up a top White House priority, an aid package for Russia.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater confirmed yesterday that Bush, while traveling in California last Thursday, phoned Gramm, head of the Senate Republican campaign committee, to request that he and other conservative Republicans pushing the balanced-budget amendment hold off.

Fitzwater acknowledged that Gramm "believes strongly in his position" and steered clear of any public denunciation of Gramm's position. Others in the administration, however, expressed frustration with the Texas senator's stance.

"This is not one of the president's Senate leadership team. This is Phil

Gramm. He has decided in his wisdom what is best politically for the party and president and the only one who is going to be embarrassed here is the president," said one senior administration official.

Gramm, said another official, "has decided he wants the Republicans to score political points in a moot exercise of having the Senate Democrats vote against a balanced budget right before their convention." The House earlier this month defeated the balanced-budget amendment, making a vote in the Senate a political exercise because both houses would have to pass it in the same session for it to move forward.

Asked if administration officials had been pressing him to drop plans to bring up the balanced-budget amendment today, Gramm said, "I've certainly heard from them, yes." He declined to elaborate.

Last week, at the behest of Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), Bush asked Gramm to go along with a legislative deal worked out by the White House and GOP Senate leaders with Majority Lead-

er George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) for passage of the Russian aid bill.

Under the deal, Mitchell agreed to put the Russian aid package up for a vote today, after three other pieces of legislation were finished, including a short-term urban aid measure, an unemployment benefits extension and a regulatory bill.

But, administration officials said yesterday, Gramm objected to the deal. Bush, Fitzwater said, told Gramm that he "wanted to push for the balanced-budget amendment but we felt it would be better not to link the two. But the senator believes this is the right way to go"

Mitchell said Friday that if Gramm continues to insist on a debate and vote on the budget amendment in the Senate, it will "indefinitely delay" the Russian aid bill. "If he wants to be the person delaying the Russian aid vote, he can do so," Mitchell said.

Having approved the urban bill—which Bush signed yesterday—and the unemployment legislation, the Senate today is scheduled to begin debating the "government-sponsored enterprises" (GSE) bill, which seeks to tighten regulation of such

housing financing agencies as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

Gramm served notice Thursday—and reiterated yesterday in a telephone interview—that he intends to bring the balanced-budget amendment up as an amendment to the GSE bill.

An aide to Mitchell said yesterday that the majority leader is still insisting on passage of the GSE measure before he will bring up Russian aid, and it is this insistence by Mitchell that Gramm says is causing the delay in the aid sought by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

In an interview, Gramm blamed Mitchell for any delay on aid to Russia. "He's the hostage holder. . . . I think the hostage taker should release the hostage," Gramm said.

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp also called on Gramm yesterday to end his tactics, but for a different cause, the administration's long-term urban package. Said Kemp: "You simply cannot fix the budget without fixing the economy. You can't balance the budget without getting our nation back to work."

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Democratic Mayors Hail Clinton's Economic Plan

Candidate Draws Less Enthusiastic Response on Capitol Hill, Where 'Summit' Is Postponed

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, June 22—Gov. Bill Clinton's \$200 billion "people first" plan for the economy won enthusiastic endorsement today from the nation's Democratic mayors, many of whom said they will return to their home cities and make it the battle cry for the presidential campaign.

Assembling for the 60th U.S. Conference of Mayors here, the city leaders said Clinton had improved upon their own seven-point urban aid plan for rebuilding American cities and predicted that his proposals would dominate the national debate on economic issues in the months ahead.

"As far as I'm concerned, the campaign in the cities began today. It's a bold political stroke," said Boston Mayor Raymond L. Flynn (D), who has been under pressure from his own party for holding back on a formal endorsement of Clinton's candidacy for president.

Indicating that his endorsement will not be long in coming, Flynn said, "This year, the only issues are jobs and the economy, and he [Clinton] is the only one to deal with those two things."

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson (D) called Clinton's strategy for raising taxes for the rich, improving education and providing affordable

health care for all "a watershed day in the campaign."

Jackson said that when Clinton detailed his proposals in a private breakfast meeting with about 150 Democratic mayors and other city officials today, "not a single criticism or negative comment" was made and that the mayors gave the governor a standing ovation. He said that only seven or eight questions were asked from the floor, and that all were "constructive and supportive."

According to conference sources, Jackson was instrumental in lining up the unanimous support among the Democratic mayors in meetings last night after Clinton released his new economic manifesto. Jackson sought to play down his role in the meeting with Clinton, saying he had only "buttonholed" some mayors to encourage their unqualified support.

"These mayors have seen everything and heard everything. They flocked around him because the plan is sound, it's aggressive and it's progressive. If you want to see a plan that is supported by this country's mayors, this is the plan," Jackson said.

Clinton, who has been courting a number of big-city mayors, had supported in principle a \$35 billion urban aid plan proposed by the mayors' conference, but was reported to have expressed reservations about how to fund it. In effect, his new economic

plan added \$15 billion a year to what the mayors advocated.

Sharpe James (D), mayor of Newark, said: "I'm honored to go back to Newark and roll up my sleeves and get out the vote. We have a man with a plan, a man with a vision for a better America."

Clinton drew a less enthusiastic reaction in Washington today, when House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) told reporters at breakfast that some of the governor's advisers "have been excessively concerned" about having him "come in contact with Congress."

Foley made the comment in explaining why plans for a "summit" meeting of Clinton, Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) and himself had been indefinitely postponed.

Foley said he believed that Clinton "in a polite way has declined" the suggestion of New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo (D) that the prospective nominee and the top Democratic congressional leaders jointly proclaim an agenda for the first 100 days of a Clinton administration. "He prefers to announce his programs in the hope and belief that Democrats in Congress will support him."

"There is absolutely no evidence he wants to come to Washington and work out a program," Foley said.

Foley emphasized he has no complaint with Clinton but said, "Some of

the advice the governor is getting to run against Congress is a mistake."

As examples of what caused him "irritation," Foley cited a comment by Clinton campaign chairman Mickey Kantor to The Washington Post that Clinton "will be the hammer and Congress will be the anvil" and an anonymous aide's remark that Clinton "does not wish to exonerate the Congress" from all its failings.

In his speech to the mayors today, Clinton said his economic strategy, which would offer \$50 billion in new program spending each year over the next four years, would reverse 12 years of Republican neglect of American cities.

"We have to say to the wealthy that they have to pay their fair share," said Clinton, whose plan calls for savings of about \$250 billion over four years, to help cut a deficit now running at nearly \$400 billion to \$141 billion in 1996 with moderate economic growth, or to \$75.8 billion with strong growth. Slightly more than half the deficit reduction would come from tax increases on the wealthy and corporations, and most of the rest from spending cuts.

Some of the mayors said that Clinton's deficit-reduction plans, including the elimination of 100,000 federal jobs through attrition, would make his candidacy more palpable with their constituents.

Referring to Clinton's job-cre-

ation proposals and other costly programs, Jerry Abramson (D), mayor of Louisville, said, "We now have a game plan for not only how to do it, but how to pay for it. Here it is in black and white. You can grab hold of it and sink your teeth into it and support it."

Unsurprisingly, Republican mayors were less supportive of Clinton's detailed economic strategy, which he titled "Putting People First."

Victor Ashe, Republican mayor of Knoxville, Tenn., said: "There weren't enough specifics on the deficit reduction, and I'm not sure the tax increases [on the wealthy] are going to help. Bringing the deficit down is absolutely critical to the future of the country, and he just didn't show me that he can do that."

Clinton later flew to New York

for a Broadway fund-raiser that featured production numbers from current hits interspersed with speeches attacking the National Endowment for the Arts and poking fun at Vice President Quayle.

A number of speakers talked with great passion about the AIDS epidemic and their hope for more intensive federal action. When Clinton took the stage at the show's end, he was repeatedly interrupted by a heckler protesting Arkansas's anti-sodomy law. Clinton tried several times to respond to the heckler, who continued to shout. Clinton told the heckler and the audience that he had not signed the law, nor had he supported it.

Staff writers David S. Broder in Washington and Dan Balz in New York contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 10:30 a.m.

Committees:

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Availability of capital for inner-city & minority-owned businesses. 538 Dirksen Office Bldg.
Commerce, Science & Transportation—9:30 a.m. Communications subc. Reauth. of programs under National Telecommunications & Information Administration. 253 Russell Office Bldg.
Energy & Natural Resources—2:30 p.m. Public lands, national parks & forests subc. Public lands bills: expand boundaries of Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park in Virginia; allow for land exchange regarding North Charleston, S.C.; rehabilitate historic structures in Gateway National Recreation Area in New Jersey; establish Fox River National Heritage Corridor in Wisconsin; land exchange & Cuyahoga National Recreation Area in Ohio; revise boundaries of George Washington Birthplace National Monument; & establish Steamtown National Historic Site. 366 DOB.
Finance—2:30 p.m. Medicare & long-term care subc. Standards for private long-term care insurance policies. 215 DOB.
Foreign Relations—10 a.m. START treaty. Sec. of State James A. Baker III. 419 DOB.
Foreign Relations—2:30 p.m. Nomination of William Clark as assistant sec. of state for East Asian & Pacific affairs. 419 DOB.
Judiciary—9:30 a.m. Antitrust, monopolies & business rights subc. Inadequate consumer disclosure & fraudulent sales practices in life insurance industry. 226 DOB.
Labor & Human Resources—10 a.m. Legal Services Reauth. Act of '92. 430 DOB.

HOUSE

Meets at noon.

Committees:

Agriculture—9:30 a.m. Domestic marketing, consumer relations & nutrition subc. Welfare Simplification Report Bill. 1302 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Agriculture—3 p.m. Review reorganization of Agriculture Dept. Agriculture Sec. Edward R. Madigan. 1300 LHOB.
Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—9:30 a.m. Financial institutions, supervision, regulation & insurance subc. Reducing regulatory burden on well-run financial institutions. 2128 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Energy & Commerce—10 a.m. Mark up National Waste Reduction, Recycling & Management Act; Food, Drug, Cosmetic & Device Enforcement Amendments of '91; & legislation on impending rail

labor-management disputes. 2123 RHOB.
Foreign Affairs—10 a.m. Europe & the Middle East subc. Developments in Europe. 2172 RHOB.
Foreign Affairs—1 p.m. Africa subc. U.S. policy & current events in Kenya, Malawi & Somalia. 2172 RHOB.
Government Operations—9:30 a.m. Commerce, consumer & monetary affairs subc. Economic outlook for U.S. banking industry. 2247 RHOB.
Government Operations—9:30 a.m. Environment, energy & natural resources subc. Ways to encourage utility-sponsored energy conservation. 2203 RHOB.
Government Operations—10 a.m. Legislation & national security subc. Systematic Approach for Value Engineering Act. 2154 RHOB.
House Administration—2 p.m. Pending business. H-328 Capitol.
Interior & Insular Affairs—9:30 a.m. Energy & the environment subc. Future of Sterling Forest on border of New York & New Jersey. 1324 LHOB.
Interior & Insular Affairs—10 a.m. National parks & public lands subc. Wilderness management legislation: improve Forest Service wilderness research & management; improve National Park Service & Bureau of Land Management wilderness research & management; & improvement Fish & Wildlife Service wilderness research & management. 2226 RHOB.
Judiciary—9:30 a.m. Consider appointment of an independent counsel to investigate Bush administration's assistance to Iraq before gulf war. 2141 RHOB.
Post Office & Civil Service—1 p.m. Census & population subc. Demographic trends & American family. 311 Cannon House Office Bldg.
Public Works & Transportation—9:30 a.m. Economic development subc. Bills to amend & extend Public Works & Economic Development Act of '65 & Appalachian Regional Development Act of '65. 2253 RHOB.
Rules—1:30 p.m. FY93 foreign operations approps. H-313 Cap.
Science, Space & Technology—10 a.m. Science subc. Opportunities in Science & Technology Act of '92. 2318 RHOB.
Science, Space & Technology—1:30 p.m. Technology & competitiveness subc. Small Business Innovation Development Amendment Act of '92. 2318 RHOB.
Ways & Means—10 a.m. Oversight subc. Effectiveness of Treasury Dept. programs to combat money laundering & related federal tax evasion. 1100 LHOB.
Ways & Means—1 p.m. Trade subc. Mark up disapproving extension of most favored nation trading status for China & use of unobligated monies in Customs Forfeiture Fund. 1100 LHOB.

End Attained, Clinton Mutes Talk of Middle-Class Tax Cut *A Campaign Exercise in Rewriting History*

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, June 22—The saga of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's middle-class tax cut is an instructive story of politics and economics and how the two intersect in a presidential campaign.

In the new economic program he announced Sunday, Clinton sharply scaled back—but did not abandon—his support for the measure.

But the bare-bones reference to it in the 22-page document he issued only ratified what has been obvious to anyone following Clinton around the country the past two months. Once the middle-class tax cut had

served its political purpose, Clinton largely quit talking about it.

He and his campaign are now engaged in some rewriting of history, suggesting that the proposal never played a central role in his campaign, and arguing that the press and his political opponents "always made more of the middle-class tax cut than I did even in my speeches."

That may surprise former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, who was Clinton's harshest critic over the issue and may fairly take credit for forcing Clinton's retreat.

It may also surprise voters in New Hampshire, who will recall that in his first television commercial in that state last winter, Clinton bragged that he had a plan for the

See TAX CUT, A12, Col. 1

NEWS
ANALYSIS

Political Purpose Attained, Clinton Plays Down Talk of Middle-Class Tax Cut

TAX CUT, From A1

economy and "it starts with a tax cut for the middle class."

Clinton embraced the issue last November. "Ronald Reagan and George Bush pushed through programs that raised taxes on the middle class," Clinton said in a speech at Georgetown University. "I think it's time to cut them. And in my administration, I will offer middle income tax cuts that will cut rates on the middle class. The average working family's tax will go down about 10 percent, a savings of about \$350 a year, and I won't finance it with increasing the deficit."

Clinton justified the tax cut as part of a short-term economic stimulus package and a down payment on fairness, designed to restore purchasing power to middle-class families whose payroll taxes had risen and real incomes had declined during the 1980s.

But the larger reality was political.

Last fall, the middle-class tax cut was the darling of many Democrats, at a time when Clinton, who launched his campaign from the moderate wing of the party, was determined to prove his political correctness to liberals and traditional Democratic constituencies.

Clinton is correct in one sense about his support for the tax cut. He never made too much of it at the time he first proposed it, perhaps in part because he understood its inclusion was as much political as economic, but also because he recognized that more ambitious steps were needed to assure the country's long-term economic competitiveness, and preferred to talk about them.

The next month, in the first nationally televised debate of the campaign, Clinton and Tsongas clashed over the issue. "The middle-class tax cut did not come out of economists or people struggling to compete," Tsongas said in the NBC debate. "It

came out of polling data. . . . The question I ask, how do you compete?"

"Well, I agree with Senator Tsongas, that we have to have a long-term strategy for global growth," Clinton replied. "I think we can compete and win again. We do have to increase investment. But we also have a terrible short-term recession in places like New Hampshire, where the welfare rolls are up 160 percent in three years."

That debate joined the issue, but it was in New Hampshire, where Clinton aired his ad, that the middle-class tax cut became the symbolic divide between the philosophies of the two men. Clinton suggests others distorted the importance of the proposal to his campaign, but one adviser said the New Hampshire ad was the most effective commercial of the campaign.

Once Tsongas won New Hampshire, he and Clinton carried their fight forward to the South and finally to a showdown in Illinois and Mich-

igan that effectively settled the Democratic nomination.

Clinton was as relentless in his exploitation of the issue—accusing Tsongas of being "coldblooded" for opposing it—as Tsongas was in trying to paint Clinton as a political opportunist whose policies and convictions were driven by popular whim. In the end, Tsongas may have won a moral victory in the economic debate, but Clinton won the political victory.

Once Tsongas had been dispatched, Clinton needed to shift back toward the center to prepare for the fall campaign against President Bush and Ross Perot. He also needed to revise his economic plan both to account for changing economic conditions and to clean up the inconsistencies—particularly with regard to balancing the budget—he had created by three months of political promises.

Clinton has been adept at taking the issue of the moment and using it

to discredit his nearest rival. He did it with Tsongas by advocating the middle-class tax cut and he did it in reverse, with former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., ridiculing Brown's proposal for a flat tax.

His new plan reflects the opponents he now faces. The scaled-down middle-class tax cut survives in Clinton's plan as a political weapon against Bush on the issue of fairness.

But it comes packaged as a part of revised budget and economic proposals that will allow him to attack Perot as an untested candidate who still hasn't told the voters how he would fix the economy.

Both the political and the economic environments have changed since Clinton first proposed the middle-class tax cut, and the plan he released Sunday shows how he is regrouping for the fight ahead.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Souljah's Prior Service In the 'War' Effort

■ Rapper Sister Souljah is no stranger to inflammatory rhetoric. As far back as 1990, the entertainer—then a community activist named Lisa Williamson—advised students at Columbia University to lash back at the white establishment, proclaiming, "We are in a state of war."

"These people are knifing you every day with a smile on their face. I tell you I can do the same thing," Souljah told some students, according to a university newspaper. "I just say, 'Have a nice day, Mr. Goldberg,' or 'Have a nice day, Mr. Feinstein.'"

Williamson/Souljah was also asked about the Central Park jogger rape case. "Nobody asked [the jogger] what the hell she was doing in the park jogging uptown in her hot pants into Harlem," she said.

A relatively new rapper with



Sister Souljah, giving some fiery advice.

a long history of activism, Souljah seized the spotlight last week when Bill Clinton criticized her, thereby inciting what is turning into a marathon spat between Clinton and Jesse Jackson. She could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Lois Romano

'Peter Becket,' Making a Name for Himself

Memo to: Bill Bradley, Jay Rockefeller, Bob Graham, Harris Wofford, Lee Hamilton, Joe Lieberman, Bob Kerrey, Ann Richards and whoever else thinks they're on Bill Clinton's short list for veep.

Warren Christopher (the powerful Los Angeles lawyer heading the No. 2 search for Clinton) has faxed about 40 notes to Dems around the country warning that an impostor calling himself Peter Becket is phoning high-rolling Democrats purporting to be assisting Christopher with the search.

This Becket chap apparently has been asking for relevant info from potential vice presidential candidates. A spokesman for Christopher said yesterday that the former deputy secretary of state was rather disturbed when several Democrats called him in response to Mr. Becket's queries.

The spokesman refused to say to whom the warning faxes were sent last



Keep your day jobs—clockwise from top left: Rockefeller, Richards, Bradley, Lieberman.

Friday.

But a word of advice: If you didn't get the fax by now, cancel the order for the new inauguration tux.

For Rumors, the Rent Reduction Is in the Mail

■ A new, controversial District formula for sidewalk cafe rents may have come too late for Rumors, a popular singles nightspot. The restaurant yesterday filed for protection from creditors under Chapter 11 in the face of \$178,000 of unpaid rent. "This is a war with a landlord," declared Rumors owner Richard Talbert.

Outside cafe rents had been based on the value of the building, hitting Rumors deep in the pocket for its prime 19th and M streets NW location. But last month the

D.C. Council voted to change the fee to a flat rate of \$5 to \$10 per square foot for sidewalk space (which, incidentally, ended up raising the rent for most other outdoor cafes).

But Rumors is set to save \$75,000 annually under the plan, and Talbert had futilely hoped the new ordinance would be retroactive.

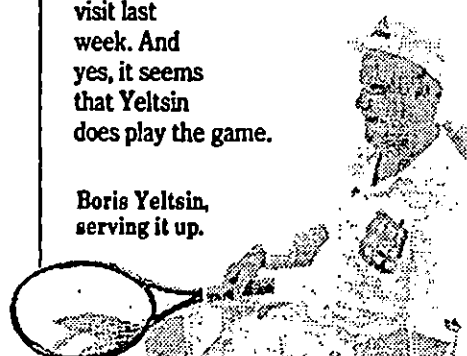
Not to worry: Rumors will still serve up the usual drinks and raucous music while negotiating with the bankruptcy court.

■ The requisite rehearsal dinner, generally given under the auspices of the groom's parents, will most definitely be a bridal affair Friday. The Bushes will be entertaining about 80 guests for a black-tie dinner at the White House the night before daughter Doro LeBlond weds beau Bobby Koch. We'd like to give you a detailed guest list, but the bride has apparently sworn everybody to secrecy. More to come.

■ House Majority Whip David Bonior is scheduled to undergo surgery today on a disc in his lower back at Walter Reed Army Medical Center.

■ Instead of the usual boring porcelain vase or presidential tie tack, George Bush presented his new best friend Boris Yeltsin with a portable tennis ball machine during the state visit last week. And yes, it seems that Yeltsin does play the game.

Boris Yeltsin, serving it up.



The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Scott Simon, who recently turned down an offer to work for ABC News's upcoming Sunday magazine show, has emerged as the leading contender to become co-anchor of NBC News's new "Saturday Today" and "Sunday Today" shows.

Simon, host of the Saturday version of National Public Radio's Weekend Edition, has not signed with NBC but is apparently the choice over two NBC News correspondents who also made the finals.

He would reportedly be teamed with Jackie Nespral, who has been anchor of "Noticias y Mas" ("News and More") on Miami-based Univision, the Spanish-language TV network.

The two would replace Mary Alice Williams and Garrick Utley after "Saturday Today" debuts Aug. 1.

Williams and Utley have been anchors on "Sunday Today" since March 1989 and September 1987, respectively. They were told last Thursday of the plans to change anchors, ostensibly because network affiliates, as the new program debuts, want "consistency and continuity" in the two programs.

Williams, 42, is scheduled to begin maternity leave at the end of July. She expects twins in November and doctors have urged her to take extra time off. The network is reportedly considering a new assignment when she returns early next year. Utley, 52, will continue as anchor on the weekend editions of "NBC Nightly News."

We were unable to reach Simon yesterday for comment. He first joined NPR in 1977.

It appears now that Doug McKelway—an unhappy camper at WJLA in recent months—won't get on the air at Channel Four until mid-August.

Seven officials wouldn't confirm yesterday but the word is WJLA didn't match a recent offer from WRC but did hold McKelway to the standard contract clause that he can't compete on the air for 45 days if he's released from his contract. His last day at the station will be July 3.

McKelway, who had been weekend anchor at Seven, had a window in his three-year pact permitting him to dicker with the NBC-owned station, which is considering a plan to pair him with Susan Kidd in a revamped 5 p.m. news or as an early-morning news anchor too.

And while we're Talking Four, award-winning consumer reporter Lea Thompson still hasn't signed a new deal with WRC but they're still talking while somebody tries to figure out if there is some way to make up for one of those "salary adjustments" NBC is so insistent on these days.

Television Tea Leaves

The Clinton for President campaign's paid half-hour on NBC Sunday night averaged a 4.2 rating and a 9 percent share in the 25 Nielsen big cities, including a 4.5/9 on Channel 4 here.

On Thursday, Gov. Clinton's appearance on CNN's "Larry King Live" was good for a 1.4 rating, which in the CNN universe means 850,000 cable homes.

NBC's "Today" will begin a three-part look at President Bush's "domestic performance" starting tomorrow. The reports, by White House correspondent Jim Miklaszewski, will air each day in the first half-hour.

Communications magnate Rupert Murdoch fired Stephen Chao, one of Fox Inc.'s top executives, last Saturday after Chao hired a male "model to strip in front of company executives and others during a management conference near Aspen, Colo."

Chao, 36, was considered one of the fastest rising executives at Fox. Just eight weeks ago he was named president of Fox Television Stations while retaining the key job of organizing the new Fox News Service.

According to the L.A. Times, Chao was giving a speech on censorship and television Saturday morning to a roomful of managers from Murdoch's News Corp., Fox's parent company, when, to illustrate a point, he had a model come out on stage and remove his clothes. "The surprise," said the Times, "so enraged Murdoch that he immediately afterward told Chao he was dismissed."

Among the witnesses to the unveiling were Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, whose wife, Lynne V. Cheney, chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, was also present as one of the panelists assembled for a discussion

of "The Threat to Democratic Capitalism Posed by Modern Culture"....

Other panelists were conservative critic and commentator Irving Kristol, National Review Editor John O'Sullivan and movie critic and author Michael Medved.

One witness to the bizarre seminar in Snowmass, Colo., recalled yesterday that Chao's address was "very serious, very thoughtful" but that the appearance of the model "just knocked everybody for a loop"....

The Times pointed out that Chao and Murdoch had a close relationship going back several years, to when Chao first worked for him as a vice president of acquisitions.

Yesterday, Murdoch referred to the weekend explosion, telling a meeting of Fox affiliates in Los Angeles that "my friend and colleague made a tremendous misjudgment...."

"Steve was one of the most brilliant young executives we have ever had and it was a tragedy to see the beginnings of a great career self-destruct. But I hope that we have both learned from it. Our lives will go on so I will say no more"....

No one else at Fox would speak for the record yesterday but the company issued a brief statement that Chao "has left the company effective immediately." Fox Inc. said executive vice president and chief operating officer Mitchell Stern "will continue to oversee daily operations at the station group... while Chase Carey, executive vice president and chief operating officer, Fox Inc., will assume Mr. Chao's responsibilities"....

Two additional weekend ratingz notes: The debut of David Lynch's "On the Air" on ABC Saturday night averaged a 5.0 rating and a 20 percent audience share in the 25-city Nielsen overnights.

And on Sunday, the new Fox series "Down the Shore" debuted with an overnight 10.7/18 in the big cities.

In Washington, "On the Air" did a 5.4/11 on Channel 7; "Down the Shore" a commanding 14.9/24 on Channel 5.

Each overnight ratingz point represents 431,151 TV homes; each Washington point, 18,199.

Despite the upheaval at the top, prospects for the Fox News Service brightened yesterday with the announcement at that L.A. affiliates meeting that Fox is canceling its contract with CNN at the end of the year. The cable news operation has been supplying six (including WTTG here) of the seven-owned FOX stations with daily news feeds.

Channel 20, whose transmission problems began in late April when a 20-year-old cable from the station to its nearby tower out on River Road frizzled out, thinks it may finally get the job of repairing the cable done today.

If all goes well—and all hasn't in the past—the station will leave the air at 11 this morning and all repairs should be concluded by 4 p.m. "At the latest," a station executive swore yesterday.

Neither Channel 26 nor Channel 32, whose service has been interrupted several times since the April breakdown as technicians worked on the tower they share with WDCA, will be affected by today's repairs. "Work on their part of the tower is all finished," the executive said yesterday.

And Finally

Also at Fox yesterday, illustrators were busy making changes in the introduction of this Thursday's repeat of "The Simpsons" in an effort to help Bart Simpson "make certain Vice President Dan Quayle knows how to spell 'potato'."....

The hurry-up job to revise an episode that originally aired Nov. 1, 1990, was ordered after reports that the vice president, while campaigning at a school in Trenton, N.J., on June 15, tried to help a 12-year-old spelling bee contestant who had just written "potato" on the blackboard by prompting him to add an "e"....

The opening of Thursday's episode (WTTG at 8) will find Bart at his familiar blackboard writing over and over: "potato not potatoe"....

Said a spokeswoman for the series: "They're doing this specifically to accommodate Mr. Quayle"....

Perhaps the vice president can find some consolation in all this when he learns that in the original opener for the episode Bart wrote on the blackboard "I will not Xerox my butt".... which a producer conceded yesterday "was the crassest one we've ever done"....

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

The Messages

By Don Oldenburg
Washington Post Staff Writer

In an information-glutted nation where the average person is exposed to an estimated 700 advertising messages a day, providing even more data may seem to be an ill-conceived strategy for a corporate America hoping to build "relationships" with consumers.

Educating the public, however, is central to cause-related marketing, the hot trend in public relations and corporate image-building meant to give bottom-lining businesses heart and soul. And there's a growing consensus that it works.

In what some consider the prototype cause-related marketing campaign, for instance, more Americans probably learned of the state of disrepair of the Statue of Liberty in 1983 through American Express ads than from any other noncommercial source. Two years ago, after helping to bring Nelson Mandela to the United States to symbolize and educate about the struggle for freedom in South Africa, Reebok International Ltd. followed up by introducing a human rights curriculum into Boston high schools and bankrolling an annual human rights award. For many American children, what they know of the plight of the Amazon rain forests is somehow connected to Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream.

"This isn't just a feel-good [publicity]. It stands for educating people," Carol Cone says of cause-related marketing. The strategy once was handled by a single division of her Boston public relations firm. Now it has practically become Cone Communications's corporate philosophy. "Some companies are saying 'We have to give back something ... or the country's not going to work.' They know for a lot of their consumers these will be welcome messages."

Here's a sampling from recent cause-related campaigns providing the kind of do-good information some major corporations want to share with you:

■ Did you know that while 59 percent of American adults report using their seat belts in the front seat, fewer than 5 percent of rear seat passengers buckle up regularly?

From the automobile manufacturer that has made safety its calling card comes the Rear Seat Belt Safety Initiative, a long-term program sponsored by Volvo Cars of North America to raise consumer consciousness of the importance of using rear seat belts. Look for a comprehensive public-awareness campaign, including in-school programs in some areas, to educate you and your children about the hazards of not buckling in back.

Volvo's studies show that rear seat belt use alone could save 1,000 lives now being lost in automobile accidents each year. Statistics from the American Trauma Society indicate rear seat belt use would reduce head injuries by up to 40 percent in adults and 80 percent in children.

"Passengers often assume that the risk of injury is less in the rear seat," reads one Volvo release about the campaign. But "the effect of the seat belt is the same whether it is used in the front or back. [And] unbelted rear seat passengers not only could harm

themselves but represent an even greater risk to front seat occupants. ... Back seat passengers in a 30 mph crash can be propelled forward with a force rate equal to 40 times their own body weight"—which turns a 50-pound youngster into a 2,000-pound missile when not strapped in.

■ "Mommy, could you ... um ... take a few years off work?"

Ten-year-old Andrea's question is the kind of innocent comment that stops working parents in their tracks—momentarily. Liz Claiborne Inc., a leading marketer and label of women's clothing, released this month "A Million Moms and Mine," a children's book it published to explore the kids' point of view of what it means to have a working mother.

Written and illustrated by best-selling children's book author Leah Ko-maiko, with the help of 20 elementary school children, the book is part of the company's new Women's Work Program, that is designed to raise awareness and encourage positive social change of issues of concern to women.

The from-the-mouths-of-babes approach of the rhyming "A Million Moms and Mine" is meant to facilitate dialogue between parents and children who have working mothers—touching on many of the concerns of kids, such as not having enough time with their mothers, as well as the needs of the working mothers. Proceeds from the sale of the book (\$5.95 paperback sold at Liz Claiborne stores) go to Reading Is Fundamental (RIF), the nation's largest children's literacy program, and copies are being distributed in community-based literacy programs.

■ Over the "trauma season" of the summer months, hospital emergency rooms see a 50 percent increase in the number of youngsters needing serious medical attention, according to a press release from the National Safe Kids Campaign. The long-term project, whose founding sponsor is the bandaid company, Johnson & Johnson, operates through Children's National Medical Center, in the District, to channel safety reminders to parents.

Among the Safe Kids messages: Teach children how to cross the street—most of them under age 8 believe that if they can see the car, the car can see them; make sure your child wears a bike helmet—400 kids die of bike-related injuries each year and 85 percent of them sustain head injuries; never leave your child unsupervised near a swimming pool, bathtub or natural body of water—drowning is the third leading cause of unintentional childhood death; keep poisonous substances out of your child's reach—more than 90 percent of all poisonings occur at home, with medicines, household cleaners, paints and insect sprays the poison most often; choking on food and objects is the fifth leading cause of death in young children—balloons are the No. 1 choking hazard for kids.

"The number of kids who are injured as the result of preventable injuries almost doubles in warm weather months," instructs Herta Feely, executive director of the National Safe Kids Campaign. "They are not in school, the weather is nice and, unfortunately, many kids ... tend to forget what they learned the year before."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Trends

Socially Correct Marketing

Many Firms Are
Coming Up With
'Big Cause' Ads

By Don Oldenburg
Washington Post Staff Writer

When a publicity representative for Volvo called a reporter recently to announce the Swedish automobile manufacturer's upcoming campaign to promote buckling up back-seat seat belts, she hesitated on the phone, then blurted out what she seemed almost uncomfortable saying: "This is going to sound corny, I know. But, really, this is almost like a public service."

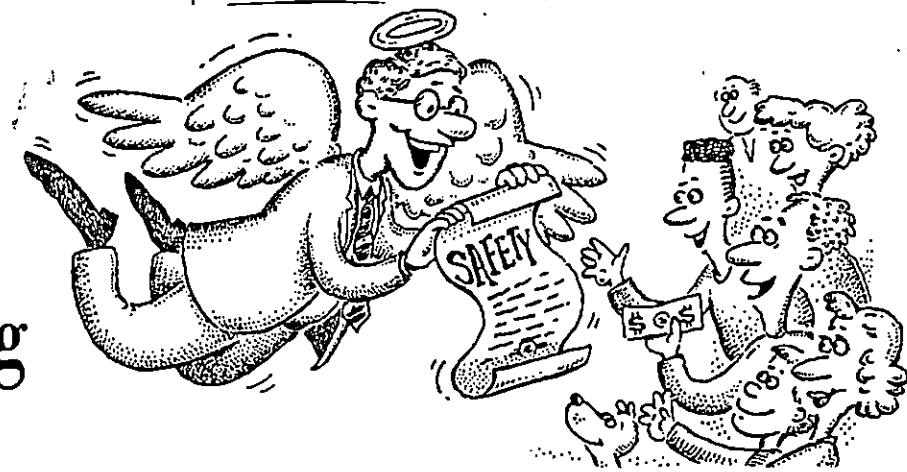
At the risk of sounding corny, welcome to the new age of commercial altruism. For major corporations that typically spend multimillion-dollar advertising budgets to twist the buying arm of the public with high-pressure ads, "cause-related marketing" introduces Madison Avenue to Mother Teresa. Sometimes called "social venture marketing," they are Good Samaritan publicity campaigns that promise to be kinder and gentler than the slick pitches of the past. Indeed, some corporate leaders are banking on this latest trend in commercial persuasion to shift fundamentally the "relationship" between major manufacturer and consumer in the challenging marketplace of the '90s.

And, besides, they actually do some good.

"What's happening is that leading-edge companies are believing that they have to have a corporate soul," says Carol Cone, founder and president of Cone Communications, a Boston-based public relations firm that has pioneered finding the right do-good venue for businesses.

"It's for companies that really have vision," she says. "If you can take a shoe and make it stand for something, if you can take ketchup and make it stand for something, you can do things that really make a difference. And you feel good that you are doing them. . . . It's the wise way of doing business in the 1990s."

And it seems more companies are yearning to make a difference—or, at least, appeal to the increasing numbers of activist-minded boomer consumers who are so inclined. In a recent survey published by the Counselors Academy of the Public Relations Society of America, for instance, cause-related marketing ranked at the top of a list of the 10 hottest trends in the industry.



BY LOEI BARR FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Two weeks ago, representatives of several major U.S. companies converged in Washington to announce the founding of a new trade association "created to revolutionize how business operates in America." Called Businesses for Social Responsibility (BSR), the organization advocates what one of its charter members labeled "the double bottom line," meaning profits plus positive social change. Among the societal problems targeted by BSR: the environment, healthy workplaces, education and training, inner cities, poverty, job creation and housing. One of the strategies some BSR members have already used—cause marketing. "You can't run a healthy company in an unhealthy society for long," points out BSR charter member Arnold Hiatt, chairman of Stride Rite Corp., the shoe manufacturer whose concern about urban issues has motivated it

**"What's happening
is that leading-edge
companies are
believing that they
have to have a
corporate soul."**

—PR executive Carol Cone

to sponsor mentor programs in public school systems and give scholarships to college students working in community service.

Like info-commercials and advertorials, cause marketing is a new media hybrid. By combining public service, advertising and public relations methods, it tries to link corporate identity with good causes or bigger-than-life social issues. When effective, the results speak the kind of a benevolent corporate image that advertising dollars can't buy. But to be effective, the campaigns necessarily must distance themselves from suspicious ulterior commercial motives. Even Anheuser-Busch's erstwhile "know when to say when" ads, for instance, are too tinted by vested interest to dispel skepticism; same for Coppertone dispensing the facts of safe suntanning or American Express's "Don't Leave Home Without It" advisories about the dangers of pickpockets in foreign street markets. In other words, cause marketing can't be seen as just another fashionable way to push a product or service.

"Consumers don't believe a lot of the ads anymore," says Cone, emphasizing that cause-related marketing requires much more than promoting a "cause du jour" or turning a catchy phrase of ad copy or sponsoring a local charity drive.

Generally, convincing the public of sincerity means a cause-marketing company must align itself with a credible nonprofit group, make a long-term commitment, and take on a super cause, an issue of urgency and national dimensions "that you can't deny," says Cone. "You've got the smartest consumers you've ever had in the history of this country," she says. "They are skeptical and they have a tremendous amount of choice. They are buying more, and they aren't just buying the products and services—they're buying the company behind those products and services now."

Even traditionally conservative companies are beginning to understand that. In 1990, Coors Brewing Co. launched a five-year, \$40-million program aimed at teaching a half-million illiterate American adults to read.

"We decided that we wanted to focus on one issue so we could make a difference and have an impact instead of the scattered approach that we've always had before," says Mary Burch, Coors manager of corporate communications, in Golden, Colo.

"We looked at a number of causes. We were looking for something that crossed all geographic and ethnic boundaries and something that was solvable. . . . There is a cure for illiteracy. And we felt it is at the root of many other social problems—homelessness, gangs and drug problems."

As for adding the Coors label to its literacy program, Burch says recognition isn't the company's primary goal in doing good. "We're a family company. We believe in giving back to the communities where we do business. It's not for the publicity."

Nonetheless, Cone advises corporate clients that cause marketing is more than a good deed—it's a good deal. "If companies would put 10 percent of their ad budgets in this kind of thing, they would be amazed of the power," she says. "We have a client who has a \$30 million ad budget and \$30 million doesn't break it through the clutter in this country anymore. But just \$2 million in one of these can have a national impact."

Considerably less than that helped the Rockport Co. take big steps toward becoming a nationally recognized name brand. In 1982, before anyone had heard of cause-related marketing, the small Marlborough, Mass., shoe manufacturer wanted a corporate soul for its comparatively pedestrian walking shoe business. Cone suggested that if the shoe fits, wear it; and Rockport began educating Americans about the health benefits of walking.

The company distributed more than 2 million brochures about a fitness walking test, founded and funded the Rockport Walking Institute—dedicated to studying and promoting fitness walking—and now is credited with kicking off fitness-walking consciousness in this country.

Since then, Rockport sales increased almost 20-fold and the corporate name is synonymous with walking for good health.

More recently, cause-related marketing campaigns have helped

**"We wanted to focus
on one issue so we
could make a
difference and have
an impact."**

—Mary Burch, Coors Brewing Co.

Reebok stand not only for sneakers but for human rights, and Heinz not just for ketchup but for families.

Ryka, which makes women's athletic shoes, has adopted the problem of abused, raped and homeless women. Midas Muffler is promoting safety and baby seats for cars. Liz Claiborne has embraced women's issues and recently—through the Liz Claiborne Foundation—piloted its Community Breast Care Initiative of mammography screening in four cities. MTV has adopted voter registration. Nickelodeon is educating its primary viewers about AIDS.

"This is about needs and values," says Cone. "It aligns all the needs—the company, the nonprofits, the consumer—and puts them all into a strategic alignment and it gives a very powerful message. There's going to be more and more of it."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Quayle Count: One Potatoe, Two Potatoe . . .

■ There are those who might suggest we put to rest the sad story of Dan Quayle and the misspelled potato. But we feel we owe it to our many readers who are intensely interested in the substantive aspects of the political process to drag it on as long as possible.

So today we choose to provide the list of an anonymous Capitol Hill press secretary on:

The Top 10 Reasons to Add 'E' to 'Potato'

10. To effectively humiliate the wife, the children and the Republican Party.

9. To enhance popularity with late-night comedians.

8. To avoid firing the press secretary. He'll quit.

7. To be able to say: "I knew it. I just wanted to see if you knew it."

6. To uphold your reputation.

5. To ensure Dad won't make you a copy editor in the family publishing empire.

4. To demonstrate independent thinking.

3. To get back at grade-school cheats who slipped you wrong answers.

2. That's what it said on the TelePrompTer.

And the No. 1 reason to add "e" to "potato":

To cop some one-on-one literacy training with Barbara Bush.

(Day 6 and still no return call from Dave Beckwith. And we *know* he's returning others' calls. Oh, come on Dave! How can you stay angry over one bad spud?)



Quayle: Counting the ways.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



Briefly . . . A CAPSULE LOOK



USA TODAY'S WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD MARKET SCOREBOARD

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

House Lawmakers Vote to Eliminate Rush-Hour Wilson Bridge Openings

Coast Guard Bridge Administrator Calls Schedule Impractical

By Stephen C. Fehr
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House voted yesterday to sharply restrict openings of the Woodrow Wilson Bridge drawbridge, an action intended to reduce traffic backups on one of the Washington area's worst bottlenecks.

Under the schedule, approved by a voice vote, the bridge would be kept shut during rush hours. Commercial boats could pass underneath the bridge at midday, with 24 hours' notice to drivers. Recreational boats could pass late at night.

The bridge, which carries the Capital Beltway over the Potomac River between Alexandria and Prince George's County, is the only federally owned drawbridge on the interstate highway system. It was built for 75,000 vehicles but carries more than 165,000 vehicles a day.

Congress's entry into the local controversy is unusual because lawmakers traditionally defer to the Coast Guard to regulate the nation's waterways. But Coast Guard officials were unable to reach a compromise on a schedule of openings with local lawmakers, who decided to enact a schedule of their own.

"The Coast Guard has been unwilling to recognize the absolute disaster that raising this bridge can create for this area's economy," Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) said. Hoyer sponsored an amendment to a Coast Guard authorization bill that included the opening schedule. The Senate has not taken action yet.

The Coast Guard's bridge program administrator, N.E. Mpras, said while Congress had the right to enact a schedule, the lawmakers' plan would create problems for commercial and recreational vessels.

Requiring commercial vessels to notify local officials of the need for a bridge opening 24 hours in advance would be impractical, Mpras said, because of changing weather and tides and mechanical problems. He said the number of openings has been cut nearly in half since the Coast Guard began testing temporary schedules in July 1990. A permanent schedule is expected to be adopted by the end of the year.

The main commercial shipper is Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corp., of Alexandria, a newsprint distribution company owned by The Washington Post Co. Company officials agreed with Mpras.

"We want to help and that's in our interest, but it's got to be something practical," Robinson President James G. Boatner said yesterday.

Michael Sciulla, a spokesman for the Boat Owners Association of the United States, said the lawmakers' schedule was "excessive and political overkill" in an election year.

"We're talking about being able to go through during the dead of the night for almost the entire week," he said. "In a sense they are saying they want this to be a port city without the boats."

Rep. Sonny Callahan (R-Ala.), opposed Hoyer's amendment, saying it would set "a dangerous precedent."

"I recognize the unique problem of that bridge," Callahan said. "But at the same time, if Congress is going to begin legislating every local traffic problem then we're going to have an intolerable situation in this country."

The schedule is identical to one approved by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments. It is also supported by the Greater Washington Board of Trade, the American Automobile Association and the transportation departments of Maryland, Virginia and the District.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Rail Contract Talks Appear at a Standstill

Strike Tonight Could Close MARC, Va. Train

By Frank Swoboda and Don Phillips
Washington Post Staff Writers

Negotiators reported little progress yesterday in efforts to head off a crippling railroad strike that could shut down freight and passenger service from coast to coast and strand hundreds of thousands of commuters in the heavily populated Washington-New York-Boston corridor.

Five railroad unions involved in three different contract disputes are free to strike virtually every major railroad after midnight tonight. All of the emergency provisions of federal labor law that have prevented a strike will be exhausted at that time, and Congress would have to enact special legislation to end a walkout.

If Congress is forced to intervene, it could do so in less than a day.

All three Maryland Rail Commuter (MARC) lines could be shut down

by a strike against both Amtrak and the major freight carriers, leaving about 9,500 daily riders without train service. MARC train service to Oriole Park at Camden Yards also would be halted.

If the three MARC lines are struck, Maryland officials said they would provide some limited shuttle-bus service between their stations and Metro stations. "We want to encourage people to consider other modes of transportation," said MARC spokeswoman Dianna Rosborough. "They need to realize we can only provide a limited service. What service you do with rail you can't do with bus."

In addition, Virginia Railway Express trains would be halted. The Express, which just started this week between Manassas and Union Station, would offer no alternative service for commuters.

See RAILROADS, A9, Col. 1

■ *The Virginia Railway Express makes its debut on schedule. Page B1*

RAILROADS, From A1

Refunds and credits for unused portions of weekly and monthly passes would be available from both MARC and the Express, officials said.

The labor negotiations concerning wages and work rules involve three different contract disputes. The International Association of Machinists is negotiating for a new contract with 40 major freight railroads. The IAM and four other unions are in separate contract negotiations with Amtrak, a quasi-government corporation. In the third set of negotiations, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way, which maintains the tracks, is bargaining with Consolidated Rail Corp. (Conrail), the federally operated freight service in the Northeast.

Transportation Secretary Andrew H. Card, who spent much of yesterday shuttling back and forth to the White House plotting legislative strategy in the event of a strike, said it was possible for labor and management to settle their contract disputes, but said: "I haven't seen any sign it is likely to happen." He indicated the White House would support legislation to end any strike.

"Here we have an economy that is moving into recovery," Card said in an interview. "A strike would have a dramatic and immediate impact on that recovery. If all else fails, it is up to Congress to step up to the plate and to force the issue in Congress, and meet its responsibilities."

for passengers to subways or buses in Brooklyn or Queens because it could not operate into New York's Penn Station.

The country's other major rail commuter operation, Metra in Chicago, has said it will continue operating under special agreements with the unions.

A 19-hour strike in April 1991 against the 40 freight railroads ended when Congress ordered the strikers back to work and imposed terms of the contract.

A nationwide strike would have serious economic consequences for heavy industry such as automakers and chemical and steel companies. This is particularly true because of the growing use of the "just in time" manufacturing concept, in which factories depend on frequent deliveries rather than on maintaining large inventories.

Another problem is the rapid growth of "intermodal" freight, in which containers are moved both by truck and rail.

In addition to Card's meetings at the White House, the unions and rail operators held separate strategy sessions yesterday. At a meeting at AFL-CIO headquarters, the unions appeared to be leaning toward the

strategy of targeting specific rail operations. If such limited steps are taken, however, the railroad companies are expected to shut down everywhere to keep from being divided

There were indications yesterday that the unions might stage a series of hit-and-run strikes or targeted walkouts to avoid creating the kind of economic emergency that would force Congress to act.

Amtrak has already begun an orderly shutdown of its long-distance passenger trains. Travel in the Northeast corridor, which hauls more passengers than either of the airline shuttles, would be seriously disrupted.

Commuters would be affected immediately, especially on the East Coast. Even if only Amtrak were to go on strike, rail commuter service would all but end in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, northern New Jersey and Boston, where commuter service is either provided by Amtrak or operates on Amtrak's rails.

New York City would be affected, but some service would continue. The Metro North commuter line would continue to run on its own tracks on three heavily used lines north and northeast from Grand Central Station. The Long Island Railroad, the country's busiest commuter line, would be forced to trans-

IF THERE'S A RAIL STRIKE

A mtrak would not run any trains if a rail strike begins at 12:01 a.m. Wednesday, and local commuter rail systems also would be disrupted. The Metrorail system would not be affected by the strike.

MARC

MARYLAND: If CSX honors the strike, all three MARC lines would shut down. MARC would provide a limited shuttle bus service to Metro stations. Trains to Oriole Park at Camden Yards also would be terminated. If CSX does not honor the strike, there would be partial service on some lines. Refunds and credit for unused passes would be available.



VIRGINIA: The Express, which began service yesterday between Manassas and Union Station, would shut down and would not offer alternative service. Refunds and credits for unused passes would be available.

THE WASHINGTON POST

"If all else fails, it is up to Congress to step up to the plate and meet its responsibilities."

— Andrew H. Card,
transportation secretary

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way, which has taken the lead role in both the Conrail and Amtrak disputes, has indicated that the unions might not strike Amtrak immediately. Instead, union officials have indicated they might wait as late as the July 4 holiday weekend before attempting to shut down passenger rail service. Other union officials warned yesterday they thought such a move would be political suicide for the unions.

On the other hand, congressional officials acknowledge that while they have the legal right to act before a strike it would be politically impossible to do so.

Locally, MARC officials said that a

strike against Amtrak would shut down only the Penn Line between Union Station and Perryville north of Baltimore.

If the freight railroads are also struck, the MARC officials said their other two lines might also be affected because they run on CSX Corp.'s track. CSX is one of the 40 freight lines. The two other MARC lines are the Camden Line, which runs between Union Station and Camden Station in downtown Baltimore, and the Brunswick Line between Brunswick and Union Station.

If all lines are affected by the strike, buses would shuttle riders from the Perryville station to the Camden Station, where they would ride another bus to the New Carrollton Metro station in Prince George's County. Brunswick riders would take buses from there to the Shady Grove Metro station in Montgomery County.

If CSX is not struck, the Brunswick Line would terminate at the Silver Spring station. The Camden Line would end at Rhode Island Avenue. Riders would transfer to Metro at those stations.

The Penn Line is MARC's busiest, with 5,000 riders. Camden has 1,500 daily riders and Brunswick, 3,000 riders. Most riders buy weekly and monthly passes to ride the system. In the event of a strike, commuters who ride buses just need to flash the pass to the bus driver to board, officials said. Fares would be the same on the bus as those charged on the train.

Staff writer Stephen C. Fehr contributed to this report.

Supreme Court Overturns Law Barring Hate Crimes

Free Speech Ruling Seen as Far-Reaching

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court yesterday unanimously struck down a St. Paul, Minn., hate crimes law, casting doubt on the constitutionality of scores of other state and local laws and on campus speech codes that punish students for offensive remarks.

The court was united in its conclusion that the St. Paul ordinance, which included a restriction on cross burning and swastika displays, violated freedom of speech. But the justices were bitterly divided in their reasoning.

The five-justice majority, led by Antonin Scalia, adopted a far-reaching approach that experts said might be used to invalidate other laws that prohibit cross burning—in place in 15 states and the Dis-

trict—or to strike down other statutes that impose stiffer penalties on crimes such as vandalism, arson and assault when they are motivated by racial, religious or other bias.

In its zeal to show minority groups that it abhors prejudice, Scalia said, government is not allowed to selectively silence speech on the basis of its content.

Four justices—Byron R. White, Harry A. Blackmun, Sandra Day O'Connor and John Paul Stevens—agreed with the result but blasted the majority's reasoning, calling it "folly" that threatened to undermine rather than cement free speech protections.

The District of Columbia and all but four states have some form of hate crime law, according to a brief filed in the case by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Local officials expressed confidence

yesterday that laws in the District, Maryland and Virginia would not be affected by yesterday's ruling, but First Amendment lawyers said they were far less optimistic.

"I think it makes almost all of them unconstitutional," said College of William and Mary law professor Rodney A. Smolla, a free speech expert who has written on speech codes. "The court went out of its way to enact a barrier against content-based regulation of speech that has broad implications for all of First Amendment law and goes well beyond the immediate problem it had before it."

Some other experts were not as strong in their views as Smolla, but agreed that the ruling at the very least cast doubt on the constitutionality of other laws and hate speech codes on public college campuses.

See COURT, A6, Col. 1

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

High Court Strikes Down Minnesota Ordinance Barring Hate Crimes

COURT, From A1

"We haven't crafted one that we think would pass muster [after yesterday's ruling] but we're not ready to reach the conclusion that none would," said Deanna Duby of People for the American Way, which argued in favor of the St. Paul law.

The case, *R.A.V. v. St. Paul*, comes at a time of national debate over hate speech laws and campus speech codes that many conservatives and some liberals see as imposing a regime of "political correctness."

With the desire to punish racist intimidation colliding with free speech concerns, the case split groups that are normally allied. Some organizations—the Anti-Defamation League, the NAACP and People for the American Way—supported the law's constitutionality; others, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Jewish Congress, argued against it.

The case had its start in the early morning hours of June 21, 1990, when Russ and Laura Jones, a black family who had recently moved onto an all-white block of east St. Paul, awoke to see a crudely made cross burning in their yard.

Robert Viktora, then 17, was charged with violating a city ordinance similar to those adopted by many localities in recent years in an effort to combat prejudice. It prohibited the display of offensive graffiti or symbols likely to arouse "anger, alarm or resentment

in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender," and specifically cited the Nazi swastika and burning cross.

The Minnesota Supreme Court upheld the law, saying it applied only to speech that was so incendiary as to constitute "fighting words"—conduct that "itself inflicts injury or tends to incite immediate violence." The high court, in earlier cases, has said such "fighting words"—like speech that is obscene or libelous—do not merit protection under the First Amendment.

But Scalia said that even within the category of "fighting words," the government cannot penalize some words and omit others based on their content. "The government," he said, "may not regulate use based on hostility—or favoritism—towards the underlying message expressed."

The problem with the St. Paul ordinance, he said, is that "displays containing abusive invective, no matter how vicious or severe, are permissible unless they are addressed to one of the specified disfavored topics. Those who wish to use 'fighting words' in connection with other ideas—to express hostility, for example, on the basis of political affiliation, union membership, or homosexuality—are not covered. The First Amendment does not permit St. Paul to impose special prohibitions on those speakers who express views on disfavored subjects."

Although the city might want to send a message to citizens that racial and religious intolerance is bad and display its "special hostility towards the particular biases thus singled out," Scalia said, "that is precisely

what the First Amendment forbids. The politicians of St. Paul are entitled to express that hostility—but not through the means of imposing unique limitations upon speakers who (however benightedly) disagree."

He added: "Let there be no mistake about our belief that burning a cross in someone's front yard is reprehensible. But St. Paul has sufficient means at its disposal to prevent such behavior without adding the First Amendment to the fire."

He said the youth could be prosecuted for arson, criminal damage to property and other crimes.

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Anthony M. Kennedy, David H. Souter and Clarence Thomas joined the opinion.

The concurring justices, in opinions that sounded far more like dissents, accused the majority of going out of its way to rewrite First Amendment law.

In an opinion by White, they said the ordinance could easily have been found invalid under the court's "fighting words" precedents, on the ground that it was "fatally overbroad because it criminalizes not only unprotected expression but expression protected by the First Amendment."

White warned that the majority approach turned on its head the general "strict scrutiny" method of judging free speech cases: that restrictions on expression must be supported by a compelling interest (in this case, all justices agreed that protecting members of historically disadvantaged groups sufficed) and be as narrowly written as possible. Instead of narrow bans on

speech, White said, the majority view would result in broader prohibitions.

"Under the majority's view, a narrowly drawn, content-based ordinance could never pass constitutional muster if the object of that legislation could be accomplished by banning a wider category of speech. This appears to be a general renunciation of strict scrutiny review, a fundamental tool of First Amendment analysis."

In a separate concurrence, Blackmun said the majority "manipulated doctrine to strike down an ordinance whose premise it opposed, namely that racial threats and verbal assaults are of greater harm than other fighting words." Blackmun added, "I fear that the court has been distracted from its proper mission by the temptation to decide the issue over 'politically correct speech' and 'cultural diversity,' neither of which is presented here."

"I see no First Amendment values that are compromised by a law that prohibits hoodlums from driving minorities out of their homes by burning crosses on their lawns," Blackmun said, "but I see great harm in preventing the people of Saint Paul from specifically punishing the race-based fighting words that so prejudice their community."

Stevens also looked outside the courtroom to the streets of Los Angeles in arguing that the court erred in tying officials' hands to punish hate speech. "One need look no further than the recent social unrest in the nation's cities to see that race-based threats may cause more harm to society and to individuals than other threats," he said.

"Although it is regrettable that race occupies such a place and is so incendiary an issue, until the nation matures beyond that condition, laws such as St. Paul's ordinance will remain reasonable and justifiable."

Michael Lieberman of the Anti-Defamation League and Jack Tunheim, chief deputy attorney general in Minnesota, expressed optimism that laws providing enhanced penalties for bias-related crimes will survive under the new test. The court yesterday did not specifically address such laws.

In those situations, Tunheim said, "the conduct involved is already a crime. There is an additional element of bias toward a particular person for whatever reason that is not, at least in my view, the kind of speech-related regulation that is clearly implicated in the ordinance."

But Marc Stern of the American Jewish Congress said that the penalty-enhancement statutes are "very doubtful after today. . . . If you enhance for race and not for sexual orientation, you have the same content basis you have here" that invalidated the St. Paul ordinance.

"I think what it means is that statutes of that sort are going to have to be written in content-neutral terms," said Steven Shapiro of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"A law that says you can't deface property is clearly okay. A law that says you can't deface property by painting swastikas but not any other kind of defacement is probably unconstitutional. . . . The only thing you can say for sure is that people are going to be suing over this stuff."

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Bush and Clinton Sag in Survey; Perot's Negative Rating Doubles

Dissatisfied Voters Put Most Candidates in Political Minefield

By ROBIN TONER

The two major party candidates show remarkable weakness in the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll. President Bush's handling of the economy is now as unpopular as President Jimmy Carter's ever was, while only a third of American voters see strong leadership qualities in Gov. Bill Clinton.

Ross Perot, the all-but-declared independent candidate, is faring better with this disgruntled electorate, but even his apolitical allure is showing its limits. Mr. Perot is now essentially tied with Mr. Bush in first place when voters are offered a choice among the three. But the percentage of voters who view the Dallas billionaire negatively has more than doubled in six weeks.

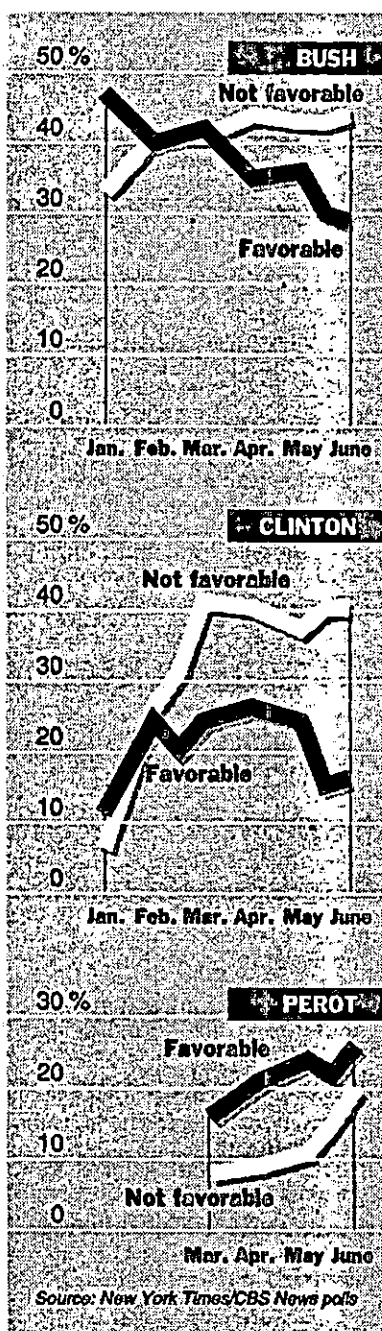
The poll, conducted Wednesday through Saturday, showed nearly all politicians facing a landscape filled with peril four and a half months before Election Day.

4 in 10 Still Dissatisfied

Four in 10 registered voters said they were still not satisfied with the three candidates now running for the White House and wanted more choices. Almost half said the Government might work better if the people voted into the Congress and the White House were all new. And 69 percent agreed with the proposition that there was no connection between what a Presidential candidate promised and what he would do if elected, suggesting that every candidate faces a wall of cynicism this year.

The survey also gave new insight into the demographics of Mr. Perot's support: His backers tend to be younger, tend to have higher incomes and tend to come from the West. In addition, confirming earlier polls, the survey showed Mr. Perot drawing more heavily from men, from whites and from the ranks of self-described independents.

Discontent with Mr. Bush runs



throughout this poll, which was based on telephone interviews with 1,315 adults. Only 34 percent approved of the way Mr. Bush was doing his job, down from 39 percent in early May. Seventy-

Continued on Page A18, Column 1

Bush and Clinton Sag in a Survey, While Perot's Negative Rating Doubles

Continued From Page A1

nt disapproved of the way dling the economy, surpass- percent who disapproved of 's economic stewardship in

Vary of Economy

Black, a senior adviser to ampaign, said, "It's clear ter what the economic sta-, voters still do not feel the getting better."

gets far better marks on cy, with an approval rating nt. And in the aftermath of President Boris N. Yeltsin Washington last week, 69 id they approved of Mr. dling of relations with the still, the domestic agenda powerful drag on Mr. Bush's

-way race, 32 percent of the voters said they preferred 0 percent Mr. Perot and 24 Clinton. Since the last Poll, conducted in early Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton and Mr. Perot has gained. to-head race, Mr. Bush and ould be essentially tied, 42 3 percent. And in a head-to- st with Mr. Clinton, Mr. ad, but not significantly, rvey's margin of sampling is or minus 3 percentage Bush is at 45 percent, Mr. 0 percent.

Downward Trends

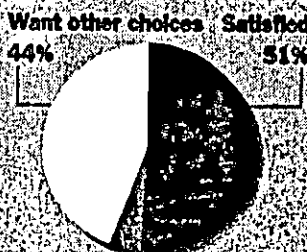
y for Mr. Bush, his personal also declined significantly hree months. In March, 42 d they viewed Mr. Bush 1 percent unfavorably. The showed Mr. Bush viewed y just 29 percent, unfavor- cent.

ut take heart from Mr. Clin- g. The Governor of Arkan-

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

Are Three Candidates Enough?

"If those three men — Bush, Clinton and Perot — ran for President this fall, would you be satisfied choosing among them, or would you want other choices?"



Based on telephone interviews with 1,029 registered voters nationwide conducted June 17 to 20.

Bush voters

Satisfied... 56%

Other choices 40%

Clinton voters

47%

47%

Perot voters

58%

41%

The New York Times

sas had hoped to use this time before the Democratic Party convention next month to repair his image after a bitter primary season dominated by "character issues," including charges that he avoided the draft, which he denied. But Mr. Perot has largely dominated the limelight, and the survey showed that Mr. Clinton's favorable ratings had actually declined over the past few months.

In April, for example, Mr. Clinton was viewed favorably by 28 percent and unfavorably by 40 percent. The latest poll showed Mr. Clinton viewed favorably by 16 percent, with 40 percent holding unfavorable views.

At the same time, the percentage of people who saw Mr. Clinton having

strong leadership qualities dropped from 56 percent in March to 35 percent today. In contrast, 61 percent said in the new poll that they saw those leadership qualities in Mr. Bush and 54 percent saw them in Mr. Perot. Bush strategists are still counting on this perception of leadership ability to save their candidate this fall.

Points for Clinton

James Carville, a top strategist to Mr. Clinton, sought a philosophical tone. "It takes a while for things to happen," Mr. Carville said. "But we've had a good couple weeks, and I think he's starting to define himself. We've had our primary season. This summer is Perot's."

Mr. Clinton is given points for detailing his positions. Forty-three percent said he was telling them enough about where he stood on the issues, while only 30 percent felt that way about Mr. Bush and just 22 percent said they were hearing enough detail from Mr. Perot.

Mr. Perot's recent offering of new detail in one area, with his suggestion that affluent senior citizens give back some of their benefits to help with the Federal budget deficit, seemed a resounding dud. Only 10 percent of the registered voters said they would be willing to give some benefits back, and Mr. Perot's supporters were no more willing to do so than anyone else.

Mr. Perot is showing other bruises from his season of scrutiny. In late April, 21 percent viewed him favorably, 9 percent unfavorably. In the new poll, 26 percent viewed him favorably, 20 percent unfavorably.

Still, he is clinging to his forthright, unpolitical image, more so than his rivals. Forty-three percent agreed that Mr. Perot said what he believed most of the time, while 34 percent said he was just saying what he thought the voters wanted to hear. Thirty-seven percent said that Mr. Bush said what he believed most of the time, while 28 percent saw that level of candor in Mr. Clinton.

Profile of Perot Backers

Mr. Perot's success as a businessman seemed even more of a draw than the fact that he is an outsider: 33 percent said they most liked the fact that he was independent of the two political parties, while 40 percent said they most liked his image as a wealthy businessman who could get things done.

Still, when people were asked what most concerned them about a Perot Presidency, the most frequently volunteered answer was his lack of political experience.

Mr. Perot continues to draw supporters from the ranks of Democrats, Re-

How the Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll is based on telephone interviews conducted Wednesday through Saturday with 1,315 adults around the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii, of whom 1,029 said they were registered voters.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges in the country. The exchanges were chosen so as to assure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. The numbers were then screened so that calls would be placed to residences only. Within each household one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the poll.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region, race, sex, age, and education.

In theory, in 18 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all American adults.

The potential sampling error for smaller subgroups is larger. For example, for results based on those registered voters who said they would vote for Ross Perot for President, it is plus or minus six percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

publicans and independents, and his backing has a strongly centrist cast. On three issues, however, Perot backers looked distinctive: They were most in favor of a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution; they were most likely to say the United States should have continued the fighting in the Middle East until President Saddam Hussein of Iraq was ousted, and they were least likely to support economic aid to the former Soviet Union.

The poll also indicated that 58 percent of those surveyed agreed with the idea that the "the country needs a new political party to compete with the Democratic and Republican parties in offering the best candidates for public office." But by a margin of 4-to-1, those people said that Mr. Perot should not be the one to start it, indicating that they preferred Mr. Perot's continued independence.

Perot supporters were particularly in favor of creating a new party, with

76 percent of them saying they supported that course.

On other matters, the poll suggested that not everyone considered this to be the "year of the woman." Fifty-two percent said it was "not so important" to elect more women to the Senate this year, while 43 percent said it was "very important." And fewer than a third said they wanted to see one Presidential candidate name a woman as his running-mate; 57 percent said it did not matter much to them.

Even women seemed to be less than consumed with the idea of adding a woman to the ticket: only 37 percent said they wanted a candidate to name a female running-mate, while 49 percent said it did not matter much and 12 percent rejected the idea flat-out.

Women were far more likely than men to put a priority on adding women to the Senate: 50 percent said it was "very important."

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

U.S. Helps Russians Search For Missing in Afghanistan

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 22 — The United States is helping Russia and other former Soviet republics track and identify prisoners of war held in Afghanistan by Afghan guerrillas who fought the Soviet Army from 1979 to 1989, officials said today.

American officials visiting Kabul recently stopped in Moscow and Kiev on the way home to deliver photographs of prisoners obtained from the Afghans, along with other information on P.O.W. cases. These officials say they believe that Afghan militias hold 30 to 50 former Soviet soldiers, most of the from Russia or Ukraine.

Washington, while observing events in Kabul to determine at what point the United States can safely reopen an embassy, has also been helping the Afghan interim leadership find about 500 children taken to the Soviet Union in the 1980's by the K.G.B. or the Soviet military.

Moscow has said the children were orphans. Afghans said the children had been rounded up, often snatched from their families, and taken away, apparently to be indoctrinated and perhaps returned to support the Najibullah Government. President Najibullah's Government collapsed in April.

300 P.O.W.'s and M.I.A.'s

When Soviet troops withdrew in 1988-89, Moscow estimated its number of prisoners and missing at 300. American officials say the Russian effort is still a delicate issue for the Afghans because of the destruction and death Afghanistan suffered at the hands of the Soviet Army.

President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia added a plea for help in a letter to the Senate Select Committee on P.O.W.-M.I.A. Affairs on June 12, in which he promised to "provide answers to the mysteries of the past" involving missing Americans brought to the Soviet Union as prisoners since World War II.

"I am hopeful that the Government and the Senate of the United States will help resolve the issue of our P.O.W.'s in Afghanistan, which is so important to Russia," Mr. Yeltsin wrote. "We know that many of them are still alive; their mothers, wives and children are waiting for them."

American officials monitoring Kabul, where a collection of a dozen or more former rebel groups are jockeying for power, say security there seems to be improving slightly in at least some neighborhoods.

The practice called "happy firing," shooting into the air before and after evening prayers, has been curtailed, they say. Apart from adding tension to city life, the firing also wounded and sometimes killed people. Night patrols have been organized by various groups to try to curb criminality and inter-group violence after dark.

Officials here and diplomats in Kabul are watching a Saturday deadline for the rotation of Government leader-

Seeking former Soviet soldiers being held by Afghan rebels.

ship from Sibgatullah Mojadedi to Burhanuddin Rabbani, former rivals, under a formula accepted by the fractious groups on April 24.

In recent weeks, Mr. Mojadedi has been saying he would like to stay on as interim President until a national council is elected. If he persists, officials say, a result could be turbulence among the groups now trying to cooperate in governing a country short of food and replete with arms.

In the meantime, refugee officials say, 4,000 to 5,000 Afghans have been returning daily to their country from exile in Pakistan and Iran. They will face severe food shortages until they can resume farming and bring in the first harvest.

Before Russian aid ended on Jan. 1, Moscow had been propping up the Najibullah Government with 400,000 tons of food a year. A recent plea for grain enlisted a promise of 30,000 tons from the United States and another 10,000 from the European Community, far short of Afghanistan's needs.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Political Week

Possibilities for Clinton In a Close 3-Way Race

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 22 — The word among Washington insiders these days is short and sweet: We're heading for the House of Representatives.

With most national opinion polls showing President Bush, Ross Perot and Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas closely bunched, a panel of 50 Republican and Democratic campaign consultants, assembled by the Hotline political news service, predicted late last week that no candidate would be able to muster a majority in the Electoral College and the House would have to decide.

The panel as a whole put Mr. Bush first, Mr. Clinton second and Mr. Perot third (winning two big states, California and Texas, but only two others). Conventional wisdom apparently knows no partisan boundaries: The Republicans on the panel predicted a Bush-Clinton-Perot finish, as did the Democrats.

But that would require a considerable change from the situation as it now stands, at least according to the polls and the considered judgment of politicians outside the Beltway.

Take Illinois. The Hotline panel gives it to Mr. Clinton, even though the polls show Mr. Perot in the lead. The panel also awards Michigan to the Arkansas Governor, although the

A few votes here and there could put Clinton in the White House.

polls there, and most top party politicians, put Mr. Perot narrowly ahead of Mr. Bush, with Mr. Clinton in third place.

Mr. Perot may fade, as many have suggested, once the voters get to know his position and his record. His two opponents, and especially Mr. Bush, have been striving of late to make him look dangerous; today the President brought up the howitzers, asserting that the billionaire's alleged use of private investigators to look into Mr. Bush's affairs was basically un-American.

But he has not faded yet, and he has already kept rallying much longer than most of the political establishment thought he had any chance of doing.

In fact, a new state-by-state analysis by Mervin Field, a veteran poll taker and political analyst in San Francisco, indicates that "as of now, Perot and Bush are dividing the large bulk of electoral votes, and that Clinton is getting so few that he is currently not a factor." In other words, Mr. Field said, if the election were held today, Mr. Bush or Mr. Perot would win outright and there would be no need for the House to enter the picture.

Only in his home state, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia, which have a meager total of nine electoral votes, is Mr. Clinton ahead, the Field survey reported. In 15 other states with 147 electoral votes, the polls show races rated too close to call.

About 1,000 cellular telephones will be used at the Democratic convention, an easy mark for eavesdroppers. Business Day, page D1.

although in most of those the race is a toss-up between Mr. Bush and Mr. Perot, according to the Field tabulation.

Mr. Perot is apparently benefiting from a western populist surge, fueled like similar surges early in the century by resentment of Washington and New York. Mr. Field puts him ahead in every state west of the Mississippi except five Great Plains States (North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma) and Hawaii. Those six have only 29 electoral votes among them.

Most of the South favors Mr. Bush, who is also maintaining a lead in two traditionally pivotal Middle Atlantic States, Pennsylvania and New York, Mr. Field said. The electoral vote allocations are based on state polls where available, plus estimates based on interviews with local politicians.

At the moment, Mr. Clinton is running third in most national polls, but within striking distance of the two leaders. Under the winner-take-all electoral system, third-place finishers suffer, like third parties in Britain's parliamentary system, because their support is broad but not deep enough.

In the 1912 Presidential race, which has many similarities to this year's, the incumbent, William Howard Taft, a Republican, finished third behind Woodrow Wilson, the Democrat, and Theodore Roosevelt, running on the Bull Moose slate. Taft received 23 percent of the popular vote nationwide, but he carried only two states, which gave him 8 electoral votes, only 2 percent of the total.

Such is the peril facing Mr. Clinton. But it masks an opportunity.

A gain of relatively few percentage points could vault him into second or even first place in the contest for popular votes, and that would pay a disproportionate benefit in electoral votes as one of his rivals fell back and suffered the grievous disadvantages of running a close third.

In a year like this one, moreover, it is possible to think of a large number of developments that could produce such a swing: a particularly impressive performance at the convention, for example, or gaffes by one or both of his opponents, or a popular new policy, or a powerful advertising campaign.

It is not unreasonable to assume, furthermore, that if Mr. Perot started losing support fairly rapidly, making it look like a two-man Bush-Clinton race, the former Perot supporters would gravitate to the candidate who looked more likely to promote change, since their discontent with the status quo was powerful enough in the first place to propel them toward Mr. Perot.

And that could help resuscitate the Clinton campaign. Mr. Bush is trying hard to portray himself as a reformer, but that is never easy for an incumbent seeking re-election, even one who insists that he spent half his adult life as a businessman, not a politician. Mr. Clinton is also a political professional, but Little Rock seems a lot more outside than Washington.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992



Paul Hase/row/The New York Times

President Bush preparing yesterday to sign the \$1 billion emergency urban aid and summer jobs legislation passed last week by Congress. With him, from the left, were the Republican sponsors, Senator Ted

Stevens of Alaska, Representative Joseph M. McDade of Pennsylvania, Senator Orrin G. Hatch of Utah and Senator John Seymour of California, and Lynn Martin, the Secretary of Labor.

White House

Bush Aides Try to Paint Perot as a Threat to Liberties

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 22 — Seeking to weaken a Presidential rival who has sometimes seemed immune to criticism, the Bush campaign is starting to emphasize what it sees as a trait in Ross Perot that most concerns voters: an authoritarian streak that threatens their liberties.

In comments this weekend and again today, White House and campaign aides trained streams of adjectives at Mr. Perot to assail his well-documented practice of investigating the private and business lives of people with whom he disagrees.

"We made a decision a couple of weeks ago that it would be fine for the surrogates to dust him up a little bit," Charles Black, a senior official of Mr. Bush's campaign, said in an interview today. "People don't know much about him, and he doesn't have any particular negatives right now."

The effort is being conducted largely through White House aides and loyal Republicans who can speak out more frequently than the President — and with far more bite — about Mr. Perot's past and his positions.

Vice President Dan Quayle offered a foretaste of the tactic in a June 12 speech in which he labeled Mr. Perot "a temperamental tycoon who has contempt for the Constitution of the United States." Mr. Bush's campaign manager, Robert M. Teeter, weighed in on Sunday, saying Mr. Perot appeared to

lack "the judgment or temperament or respect for our laws to be President."

On the advice of his strategists, Mr. Bush has sought to appear above his aides' scathing remarks.

But the effort gained momentum today, allowing even the President to take a few swipes at his fellow Texan, after a report in Sunday's Washington Post that Mr. Perot had pried into the business affairs of Mr. Bush and his family in the mid-1980's.

In an interview to be broadcast Friday night on the ABC News program "20/20," Mr. Bush said that the Post report was "beyond the pale."

"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 another American," he said.

"Leave my kids alone, I say. They're good, honest boys and a daughter, a good, honest girl."

Portions of the transcript of the "20/20" interview were released today.

An Outraged Fitzwater

Mr. Bush's press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, managed to cram three scare words into one sentence today in describing his reaction to the reports.

"I think it's shocking and frightening to see that kind of bizarre behavior on the part of a Presidential candidate," Mr. Fitzwater said.

And Vice President Quayle, on the road in San Diego, unloaded with both

barrels, saying that Mr. Perot "apparently has a compulsion to investigate people."

"Imagine having the I.R.S., the F.B.I. and the C.I.A. under his control. Who would be investigated next?" he asked during a news conference at a local youth center.

That is just the question some of Mr. Bush's closest advisers hope the public's now beginning to ask.

Mr. Bush's campaign has long insisted that polls showing Mr. Perot leading in the Presidential race are but early beauty contests, and that voters will not form serious opinions about the candidates until after Labor Day, when the contest begins in earnest.

But with the first euphoric response to Mr. Perot's maverick candidacy now cresting, they say, voters are beginning to look more closely at their hero and are spotting some warts. In particular, Mr. Black and others say, average citizens whom the Bush campaign assembles for interviews in "focus groups" are starting to spontaneously worry whether about Mr. Perot has enough patience with the grind of democratic processes to be trusted with the enormous power of the Presidency.

Earlier focus groups also talked spontaneously about Mr. Perot, but usually only in favorable terms, Mr. Black and others have said. Now, Mr. Black said, "The thing that gives people some hesitancy is his M.O. — he's authoritarian; his use of investiga-

tions; the appearance that he's not very tolerant of dissent."

"The job of the President comes down to basic things," said another Bush aide, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "It's a pretty darned important job. You do want a heavy hitter in there. You do want a very solid character."

The aide added: "Characteristics and traits are appearing in Ross Perot that make you think he doesn't fit that equation."

To be sure, Mr. Perot's record is providing ample ammunition for Mr. Bush's surrogates. The Washington Post reported that Mr. Perot likened Mr. Bush to a "rabbit" and investigated the business dealings of him, his children and friends. The opinion journal New Republic reported last week that Mr. Perot had investigators shadow two of his own children.

The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal have disclosed several instances in which Mr. Perot assigned aides to investigate business rivals or employees of his companies, sometimes with an emphasis on their private sexual conduct.

Mr. Fitzwater added his own fillip to the record today, saying that Mr. Perot called him from an airplane about five years ago to suggest that the White House "get" the ABC News correspondent Sam Donaldson in retaliation for a piece on American prisoners of war that apparently roused Mr. Perot's ire.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Now, Where's Their Beef?

So far, Bill Clinton is the only Presidential candidate to offer an economic plan. He has just issued a revised version, and it gives a sound answer to every important question:

How much must the deficit be cut? In half, Governor Clinton says, which avoids dogmatic calls to eliminate it no matter what the consequences. Should taxes be raised? Yes, he answers, with some political courage, by \$150 billion. Can spending also be cut? Yes, by an equal amount — and he would plow the savings into a \$200 billion program of public investment.

The new plan, like the one he published last winter, trips over details and is full of election-year feints and evasions. Even so, it puts Mr. Clinton a full lap ahead of his opponents in the substance sweepstakes. Ross Perot is still hiding behind vapid promises to act smart. President Bush doesn't even bother to promise. By offering his plan, Mr. Clinton may constructively impel his opponents to tell, in some detail, what they stand for.

Mr. Clinton's new plan withdraws his pledge to eliminate the deficit within four years, proposing instead to draw it down to about \$150 billion a year. At that level, the deficit would not strain private capital markets. But it would allow Mr. Clinton to pump money into public infrastructure, education and worker training. Facing up to fiscal reality, he also has reduced the middle-class tax cut he promised early in the primary campaign.

Mr. Clinton's document nevertheless reflects a

high political polish. He would have voters believe that the deficit can be controlled by raising taxes only on corporations and the super rich. He proposes taking only a nick out of entitlements, even though they are expected to explode by 2000. He takes easy shots at unpopular targets like high executive pay, foreign corporations and domestic firms relocating abroad. The plan pretends that bold solutions will be painless.

But at least Mr. Clinton addresses problems, which is more than can be said of his opponents. Mr. Perot writes off social problems with empty assumptions. Whatever the problem — health care, deficits, crime, urban blight — the answer is the same: "Let's figure out what has to be done and just do it."

Does that mean older adults should be called on to give up cost-of-living adjustments to retirement benefits? Should middle-class families pay higher taxes, farmers give up subsidies and homeowners part with their mortgage-interest deduction? Mr. Perot doesn't say.

President Bush so far won't even make promises. He renews tiresome calls for pending legislation on crime, job training, enterprise zones, homeownership and school choice. Not one of these talking points includes serious dollars or matches the magnitude of the problems.

Beyond the specifics of his new plan, Governor Clinton now offers thoughtful voters the start of a credible debate. For the moment, alas, it's the sound of one hand clapping, and voters are left waiting to hear the other two.

Plenty of Smoke About Iraq

As even Administration officials now concede, President Bush's attempt to domesticate Saddam Hussein by giving him arms was bad policy. But was it a crime?

Congressional hearings beginning today may shed light on this question. Internal Government memos suggest that U.S. firms shipped technology to Iraq that might later have been used to manufacture missiles and biological, chemical and nuclear arms. These shipments may have skirted the law, and the licenses may have been illegally doctored. And Iraq may have diverted U.S. aid intended for other purposes to buy arms.

There is also an underlying constitutional issue: Did the Administration try to circumvent Congress? Given the gravity of these questions, hearings may not be enough. Congress might consider appointing an independent prosecutor.

During the Iran-Iraq war, the U.S. cynically helped arm both sides, but Baghdad was the main beneficiary. It got some arms via third-party transfers and manufactured others from U.S.-made dual-use equipment that the Commerce Department licensed for export. These licensing records, according to an internal Commerce Department memo, may have been doctored.

Iraq also got credits from the Export-Import Bank and the Commodity Credit Corporation. Mr. Bush, then Vice President, helped convince the Ex-

Im Bank to put aside its doubts about Iraq's creditworthiness. Iraq may have used these credits to buy pesticides to use in chemical weapons.

As President, Mr. Bush continued to believe he could bring Saddam Hussein around. He knew that Iraq had two pressing needs: aid and arms. In an effort to make Iraq dependent on the U.S. rather than other countries Mr. Bush decided to provide help. In October, 1989 he signed National Security Directive 26 authorizing aid.

Though Iraq was too strapped to qualify for credits, the Administration waived normal financial requirements. Providing military assistance was more problematic, since it would require Congressional approval or notification.

At that point, the memos suggest, the Administration resorted to the device of issuing licenses to U.S. firms to export materials to Iraq and allowing Iraq to divert commodity credits to pay for them. That would avoid having to notify Congress. The Administration could have tracked the transactions because U.S. intelligence agencies had ties to some of the banks and exporters involved.

So far, the evidence that the Administration was playing an extra-legal game is circumstantial. But there's enough of it to warrant a thorough investigation to determine whether U.S. officials knowingly allowed the Iraqis to divert aid to arms — and if so, on what authority.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Killing South Africa's Dream

Two utterances measure the racial chasm that sunders South Africa. "I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to the regime which is murdering our people," said Nelson Mandela after last week's bloodletting in Boipatong, a black township near Johannesburg. "This Government does not kill people," rejoined Hernus Kreil, Minister of Law and Order, who vowed a full inquiry into the seemingly wanton massacre of blacks by police.

Unless justice is done, and is seen to be done, the hopes for democratic change inspired by President F. W. de Klerk could vanish. It beggars belief that Mr. de Klerk was personally responsible. Yet he seems to have failed woefully to control security police who play on rivalries that divide a frustrated and impoverished black majority.

A January report by New York-based Africa Watch found "abundant evidence" that state security forces have contributed to township violence. Amnesty International and the International Committee of Jurists offer similar judgments. Only last

week, a commission appointed by the South African Government said that an elite army unit used inexcusable force against black squatters.

These findings buttress charges repeatedly made by Mr. Mandela's African National Congress, Pretoria's main partner in constitutional talks. But the congress, too, rides a tiger: since it was legalized two years ago, thousands of its exiled members have returned to the townships, armed and impatient. In recent weeks alleged black turncoats have been murdered, some with flaming tires around their necks. Ominously, when Mr. Mandela called for a suspension of multiracial talks, youngsters shouted, "We want arms!"

Last March, Mr. de Klerk gambled boldly, winning overwhelming white approval in a referendum that buried apartheid. He needs now to show comparable courage to make the police stop inciting the violence they are meant to prevent. Anything less than a credible housecleaning risks surrendering the dream of change to zealots on both sides of the racial divide.

Mr. Rudman to the Rescue

The man who introduced the 1992 legal services bill in the Senate last week was Warren Rudman, who's retiring this year. The New Hampshire Republican chooses to devote what's left of his tenure to things that matter. "The time has come," he said, "to reach a bipartisan agreement on the reauthorization of this important program."

Was anyone from the White House listening? Presidents Reagan and Bush both tried to kill the agency that finances hundreds of law offices serving poor people across the country. Failing that, they've tried to wound it. Dangerous social engineers, they have called those poverty lawyers. Fortunately, Mr. Rudman and other responsible lawmakers from both parties disagree.

Congress designed the Legal Services Corporation in 1974 to preserve one of the Great Society's most successful programs for the poor and give its

lawyers some protection from hostile Presidents. But White House animus, fed by farm organizations and other employers who don't like being sued, produced yearly stalemates over funding.

From the moment Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, the program has failed to win formal reauthorization. Instead, Congress has negotiated a thin lifeline of annual appropriations loaded down with restrictive riders to curb the energetic, underpaid attorneys.

Last month the House passed a comprehensive renewal of the corporation's mandate, 253 to 154. That's not a veto-proof majority; but the growing support of mainstream Republicans in the Senate might be enough to deter Mr. Bush. The mere fact that Warren Rudman has chosen to push this moderate bill as he leaves the Senate sends a strong and welcome signal.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

Jesse Jackson's Enemy

Once again, and before the whole country, Jesse Jackson is exposing and pointing straight at the one man who damages him most — Jesse Jackson.

And once again he is making many people happy. They are Americans who either despise him, fear him or think that all these years he has been passionate about and true to only one cause — Jesse Jackson.

That's good news for them. The cry of "I told you so" is loud in Democratic politics. Republicans are laughing. Perot people are publicly putting out the word to Mr. Jackson to get lost.

But it is sad news for those Americans, black and white, who have vivid differences with Mr. Jackson, but still believe he is worth the country's careful attention and decent respect.

They feel that way for some things he has done. He helped bring millions of Americans to the voting booth. He speaks the truth about the new slavery of drug addiction. And by hard campaigning within the democratic system he became the first, and still only, African-American politician of national importance. That's a lot of somethings.

We were not entire fools. We did not forget his various nastinesses nor his embarrassing third-world pieties. But, particularly after Los Angeles we felt that the country had to put aside old hurts and angers, at least try.

We did not believe that the racists and haters would suddenly convert and be redeemed.

But we did feel that at last white and black leaders could now turn entirely away from those ugly people, defeating them by refusing them tolerance or respectability.

And to do that, few people seemed more important than Jesse Jackson, and still do.

But at his own Rainbow Coalition meeting in Washington he again raised the question: Can he really be counted on to help? Or will he respond to every test as he did to the Sister Souljah episode — with wrath not against black racists but against those who bring them up at times he finds inconvenient?

Sister Souljah regularly soils herself with the racism that has become so common among rap singers — the usual devil-whitey garbage. She is disgusting.

She was invited to a seminar at a meeting sponsored by Mr. Jackson. Later, Bill Clinton spoke at the conference, a long speech full of the kind of ideas and thoughts Mr. Jackson says he wants from candidates.

Toward the end of the 12-page speech Mr. Clinton dared include five paragraphs about Sister Souljah's

They meet each other again in Washington.

rantings about killing whites, the dirty nature of whites, and how she had never met a good white. Mr. Clinton said that if you reversed the words white and black, you would get David Duke — although I doubt even Mr. Duke has been that vile in public.

It was Mr. Clinton's plain duty to denounce the rap racist once he found himself appearing at the same conference she graced.

Mr. Jackson went into a rage — stepped up for days — not at the racist but the man who criticized her.

Why? Was it because Mr. Jackson was disappointed that a plan by Felix Rohatyn calling for massive public and private investment did not get the attention he hoped it would bring the Rainbow Coalition? Mr. Jackson has a complaint against the press, not against the Governor.

Mr. Jackson says Mr. Clinton should have informed him in advance that he would criticize Sister Souljah. Tut. Maybe, but it is startlingly vindictive of Mr. Jackson to say that it was a "character flaw" — a phrase carefully crafted to stab deeply.

What? A character flaw for a Presidential candidate to speak up about a racist without getting the advance permission of her protective host?

The flaw, I am afraid, was in Mr. Jackson. It is an old one. He loves to take the high road — but not the one so strangely hard for him. He refuses to cut himself off from the racists — or cut them off from whatever power they get from his company or silence.

Sister Souljah's presence was Mr. Jackson's own opportunity to tell rap racists off plain. He would have burned his name. He blew it.

Mr. Clinton's own forthrightness must have seemed a rebuking contrast to Mr. Jackson. So then he listened to the one man who damages him most.

How long can he do that before it ceases to matter? □

Nuclear Peril, Israel's Non-Issue

By Benny Morris

JERUSALEM
Israelis vote today on a new government, with none of the parties making an issue — even a small issue — of the main threat to the country: the non-conventional, and particularly the nuclear, weapons development programs of Israel's enemies and potential enemies.

Some in the Israeli military have warned of the danger posed by the nuclear programs of Iran, Iraq and Algeria. While the gulf war has temporarily curbed Iraq's nuclear program, Iran is said to be less than a decade away from the bomb. According to intelligence and news reports, it is ailing former Soviet nuclear weapons scientists. Algeria, whose Government is under threat from a powerful Muslim fundamentalist movement, is said to be closest among the Muslim states (apart from Pakistan) to achieving nuclear capability.

But Israel's political leaders, including Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Likud and the Labor Party leader, Yitzhak Rabin, have failed publicly to address the problem.

There is logic to their silence. Sounding the knell of nuclear disaster is unlikely to win many votes. And neither major party has a solution. Both probably know that the nuclear

Benny Morris is author of "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949" and "The Roots of Appeasement."

threat will develop regardless of what Israel says or does. Iran, Iraq, Libya and Algeria's fundamentalists make no bones about regarding Israel as Satan incarnate or at least as Satan's right arm. Nor do they hide their desire to see Israel destroyed.

Mr. Shamir and Mr. Rabin understand that the Islamic extremists of Iran and Algeria and the megalomaniacs of Iraq and Libya will seek Israel's destruction whether or not

In the campaign, both parties have ignored the threat of an Arab bomb.

Israel annexes the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or rules and oppresses 1.7 million Palestinians. For the Muslims who hate Israel, it is not a question of the state's size or policies: It is a question of its very presence in the Arab heartland.

Few Israelis believe Arab and Muslim claims that their nuclear programs are peace-oriented. Every Israeli (and Arab) knows that if and when these countries obtain nuclear weapons, Israel will be in mortal danger. Delivery is no problem, as Iraq's Scud attacks on Tel Aviv and Haifa during the gulf war proved. Israel is too small and its population too con-

centrated to survive a nuclear strike.

Syria's stated policy of attaining "strategic parity" with Israel — which is reported to have dozens of atomic bombs — ultimately must lead to achieving a credible nuclear option. Iran's nuclear ambitions may in large measure have been triggered by the Iraqi threat, but once Iran has nuclear weapons there is every reason to believe they will be directed against the Zionist "Satan."

Even without war, Israel would be imperiled by Muslim nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons in enemy hands would undermine Israeli life and morale: Jews would stop emigrating to Israel, Israelis would emigrate and investors and loan guarantors would be deterred. The threat of Arab nuclear powers could intimidate the international community into ostracizing Israel.

Maj. Gen. Herzl Budinger, the commander of the Israeli Air Force, said Israel must take political and military measures to prevent its enemies from attaining a nuclear capability. But it is doubtful, given political and military realities, whether Israel can militarily frustrate the Muslim march toward the bomb.

The destruction of nuclear reactors and weapons plants — like raids carried out by Mossad agents in France in 1979 and by the Israeli Air Force in Iraq in 1981 — is probably no longer feasible. There are problems of distance and plant dispersal, not to mention the immense political and military hazards such operations would entail. Neither Labor nor Likud have solutions.

In this sense, the electorate will be casting its ballots to decide on such "marginal" issues as the economy, the occupied territories and the Palestinians, Russian immigration and the coveted \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees. Who wins will not substantially affect fundamentalist Muslim abhorrence of Israel, or Iranian, Iraqi and Algerian nuclear weapons programs.

Yet indirectly the election will have a bearing on this vital issue. The solution to the problem lies, if it lies anywhere, in Washington, Bonn, London, Paris, Tokyo and perhaps Moscow. Only the West's deployment of economic, political and maybe even military threats and sanctions can block the Arab drive for nuclear weapons.

The avoidance of a nuclear war in the Middle East should be a major Western interest, irrespective of Israel. But the West's vigor and enthusiasm in pursuing this goal, in some degree, will be influenced by the type of government it has to deal with in Jerusalem.

A Likud-led government that defies or subtly subverts Western and moderate Arab efforts at peace-making is certainly less appealing to the West than a more tractable Labor-led coalition. And a Labor-led coalition, conciliatory on the Palestinian issue and perhaps over the Golan Heights, may also reduce the neighboring Arabs' motivation to go to war and to provide the trigger for a nuclear confrontation between Israel and the fundamentalist Muslims of the periphery.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

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I'm a Minor League Father

By Laurence Goldstein

TANN ARBOR, Mich. here should be a support group for fathers who didn't keep any of their baseball cards."

The fiftyish dad made this plaintive remark grew in a different coast, but we had one defining experience of African childhood. We both had collected shoe boxes full of baseball cards, "commons" and stars alike, both of us had sometime in our teens sold, given away or thrown away every single one of them.

Our sons have not neglected to remind us of this catastrophe. A rookie key Mantle, of which I no doubt have dozens, sells for \$30,000, and its value increases \$1,000 per month. The Mays goes for \$2,000, Roy Camilla for \$1,800 — even Andy Pafko is \$1,300.

Monthly price guides feature a directory of dealers and a calendar of shows in every city. The bull and market for blue chip cards commands the spellbound attention of our sons, as actual players commanded in the early 50's. We thought baseball was the game of life. We were wrong; the traffic in baseball cards was the unacknowledged model of postwar social dynamics.

The anthropologist James Clifford has recently said "collecting and displaying are crucial processes of modern identity formation." Is this so? In five minutes a man from a town who watched my friends and I open our gum-scented packs, lovingly lay out the cards for trading, flip them against the garage and count our winnings, would have conceded that the species has a profound psychological need to surround itself with images of cultural significance, the more the better.

Adults tend to measure their status in the parade of celebrities on Children achieve self-esteem by buying and manipulating their treasured possessions, gazing at the

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acquisition, passes over them."

Whatever generational tensions divide us, my two sons and I share this occult bond. They pooled their cash from paper routes to purchase a 1952 Enos Slaughter and mount it between hard plastic plates as an object of devotion. I did nearly the same with my first edition of Hart Crane's "The Bridge." As we admire our trophies

together, a family of happy fetishists, my mad give-away of 1960 is forgotten. For a moment.

Then the corrosive memory comes creeping back. "How many Roberto Clementes did you have, dad? They're \$1,400 each in the new Beckett [Baseball Card Monthly]." No, the reproaches will never stop biting, not even when I snap back that someday their kids will make them feel just as guilty. My sons too will backslide from the iron American law: Thou shalt not let any collectible pass from thy house. Even now they regret disposing of their old He-Man and Star Wars figures at last summer's yard sale.

But there's no comparison with my irreparable loss that they can never forgive. "Ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects," Benjamin says. Tell me about it. Me who unwittingly threw back into the sea the pearl of great price.

players' faces with parental fondness, perpetually arranging and rearranging them in combinations varied as the grammar of language itself.

For some of us, books were the

All the baseball cards (a \$30,000 Mantle!) are gone.

idols that replaced baseball cards. In his essay on book collecting, Walter Benjamin claims that "the most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of



The New York Times

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

Back From the Dead

Now that Governor Clinton has dumped Jesse Jackson, President Bush may have to dump Dan Quayle. This has nothing to do with the Vice President's inability to spell "potato." George Washington was a terrible speller too, but a pretty good President nevertheless.

On the other hand, President Bush needs a gesture that will make millions see him as decisive and politically courageous. Mr. Clinton showed the way by dumping Mr. Jackson in the now famous dust-up about Sister Souljah.

By deliberately embarrassing Reverend Jackson, Mr. Clinton was declaring independence from an important branch of his party which has made insistent claims upon recent Democratic nominees.

With this stroke, we are told, Mr. Clinton has either (1) thrown away the black vote which is part of his party's "core" strength, or (2) won the hearts of both working-class whites and family-oriented blacks who don't hold with Sister Souljah's apocalyptic vision of interracial relations.

What's remarkable is that, where, as Mr. Clinton's campaign last week was as silent as the grave where it seemed at rest, there is now almost as much talk about Clinton as about Ross Perot.

This raises the question whether Mr. Perot may now have to dump somebody, especially if Mr. Bush seizes the courage-and-independence initiative by dumping Dan Quayle. It's hard to think of somebody Mr. Perot could dump with any chance of making a splash as loud as you get by dumping a Jackson or a Quayle.

Governor Clinton
showed the
way by
dumping
Jesse Jackson.

He reaped a two-day media uproar recently by hiring Democrat Hamilton Jordan and Republican Ed Rollins as deputy masterminds for his campaign, but these are not the kind of people whose dumping amazes all humanity. I'd guess that Ross Perot will have to dump himself if he wants to keep up with competitors who have the likes of Jesse Jackson and Dan Quayle ripe for the dumping.

Still, one never knows how these things will cut. Dumping himself might set off such a demand for Perot for President that the election would be a mere formality. On the other hand, a lot of people might think that dumping himself showed Mr. Perot lacked the famous "fire in the belly" without which, political columnists insist, nobody is fit to be President. Which would be the end of him.

In the meantime, back at the White House where Mr. Clinton's Jackson dumping is being watched with, we can assume, the usual total confusion, what might a less than totally confused White House be thinking?

First, it might be struck by the strong parallels between Messrs. Jackson and Quayle. Each represents a faction within his party which is highly suspect among middle-of-the-road folk.

Jackson represents Democratic liberalism, now denounced by conservatives as "ultra-leftists," "left-liberals," "archliberals" and, by whatever name, the source of all troubles since the Fall. Quayle is the hero of the conservative right with a passion for ideological purity that makes the faithful despise Mr. Bush's pragmatism.

Neither crowd has much appeal for the bulk vote, the big middle-of-the-road crowd, which seems to be turned off by both parties but enchanted with Mr. Perot, part of whose charm seems to be that he has no ideology whatever.

Logic might argue the case for a Quayle dumping by Mr. Bush. As with Mr. Clinton's Jackson dumping, it might suggest he is a fellow with the courage to assert his independence of contentious and insistent ideological factions and might revive public credibility in him as a candidate genuinely determined on change.

Dumping also has its dangers, of course. It can justly be said, for example, that Mr. Clinton has now played the race card in a calculated effort to win white working-class Democrats back from the Republicans. Sister Souljah made it easy for him, however, with her overwrought rap chants and off-the-cuff oratory extolling bloodshed.

Her art exploits a black rage about American racism which is surely justified. Whether commercial exploitation of it is justified depends on how you feel about throwing around kerosene when your house is on fire. After Mr. Jackson accepted her in his Rainbow Coalition, it was easy for Mr. Clinton to make him seem like a kerosene salesman.

Our Thieving Allies

By Peter Schweizer

If most Americans thought the end of the cold war meant an end to spying, they should think again. Industrial espionage against the U.S. by its friends and allies is on the rise.

John Davitt, the former director of internal security at the Justice Department, says our allies are increasingly using spy methods "every bit as sophisticated as those of the K.G.B. in order to gain access to American high-tech secrets."

Among the countries most often cited by U.S. intelligence agencies as seeking technological and financial secrets are France, Germany, Japan, South Korea and Israel.

Pierre Marion, the former director of French intelligence, told me this year that in 1981 — at the request of President François Mitterrand — he established a branch to spy on U.S. high-technology companies. The

Peter Schweizer is author of the forthcoming, "Friendly Spies."

branch still exists.

In April, Ronald Hoffman, a rocket scientist in California, was sent to prison for selling Strategic Defense Initiative and rocketry technology to four Japanese companies for more than \$700,000 between 1986 and 1990. The four companies, Mitsubishi, Nissan, Ishiawaji-Harima and Toshiba, have pledged to capture 20 percent of the aerospace market by the year 2000.

During the summer of 1991, I.B.M. accused the German intelligence service of eavesdropping on its telecommunications and passing stolen information to German companies. I.B.M. lost several important bids in Europe around this time, possibly because of inside knowledge obtained by its German competitors.

Last year, an Illinois-based aeronautics company, Recon Optical, accused the Israeli Air Force of espionage. An independent arbitration board in New York sided with Recon, and the Israeli Government quietly agreed to pay the company for damages.

Between 1987 and 1989, French intelligence planted moles in several U.S. companies, including I.B.M. In the fall of 1991, a French intelligence

team attempted to steal "stealth" technology from Lockheed. Only the Federal Bureau of Investigation's persistence ended these operations.

U.S. trade negotiators complain that our trading partners are increasingly targeting them for "friendly" espionage in the hopes of getting a

Industrial spying is in from the cold.

peek at the U.S. negotiating position. One former negotiator claims he repeatedly found electronic bugs in his room whenever he visited Tokyo.

During the cold war, the U.S. was reluctant to discuss friendly spies. "We tended to look the other way," says Herb Meyer, a former special assistant to the Director of Central Intelligence, "they were taking advantage of us while we felt we had a larger interest." But that attitude is changing.

The F.B.I.'s cold war "count

terial list" of enemy countries whose personnel in the U.S. needed close scrutiny was recently replaced by the "New Security Threat List" that encourages bureau agents to go after any intelligence agent, foe or friend, who conducts espionage operations in the U.S. or against U.S. interests overseas.

Although the C.I.A. Director, Robert Gates, has pledged that the U.S. "will not get into the industrial espionage business," his Science and Technology Advisory Panel is quietly discussing the topic. However, Federal economic espionage is unlikely to happen. Because American business culture is dead set against governmental industrial planning, the C.I.A. would not be free to pass any secrets it might obtain to one American company at the expense of its domestic competitors.

The most sensible recourse for the U.S. is to make economic espionage costly to its practitioners. Currently, they face no legal penalties. If a foreign company or country gets caught, it should face stiff, mandatory trade sanctions. As political allies are increasingly viewed as economic rivals,

U.S. must come to grips with this of the post-cold-war world. □

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

Perot's probes 'sick'

President bristles at family scrutiny

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush complained bitterly yesterday that Ross Perot's reported investigations of him and family members were un-American and go "beyond the pale."

"I am sick about it, if it is 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," Mr. Bush said in an interview aired on ABC's "World News Tonight."

"Leave my kids alone, I say. They're good, honest boys and a daughter, a good, honest girl," Mr. Bush said.

The July 6 issue of New Republic magazine reports Mr. Perot even had his own children followed as part of what the author called a preoccupation over plots to discredit, humiliate and destroy him.

Yesterday's seething responses were Mr. Bush's first reaction to several reports that Mr. Perot had him investigated. In addition to his interview by Barbara Walters, in an outburst in the Cabinet Room he said, "There's something sick about this ... something that I don't think's particularly American."

The Washington Post reported that in 1986 Mr. Perot told then-Vice President Bush two of his sons were involved in improper activities, including one who visited a gun smuggler, citing a Florida investigator as his source.

In a speech Saturday, Mr. Bush termed Mr. Perot "a pig in a poke"

see PEROT, page A8

PEROT

From page A1

and questioned his temperament and judgment to be president.

Yesterday, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater berated Mr. Perot's investigations and charged that in a conversation with him Mr. Perot once threatened to "get" ABC's Sam Donaldson, then a White House correspondent, if he didn't retract a story.

"I think it is shocking and frightening to see that kind of bizarre behavior on the part of a presidential candidate," Mr. Fitzwater said of the frequent Perot probes of Mr. Bush in 1986 and 1987.

Investigations into the public and private records of elected officials by prospective opponents or political committees are not uncommon, but Mr. Perot was not a candidate at the time and reportedly acted out of pique at Mr. Bush because he felt let down by the White House on his POW-MIA initiatives.

It was that frustration that reportedly led the Texas businessman to call the vice president "a rabbit."

"This world is full of lions and tigers and rabbits. ... And you're a rabbit," he reportedly said to Mr. Bush in a 1986 conversation.

"He doesn't recall it, no," Mr. Fitzwater said when asked if the conversation took place.

The Post said none of Mr. Perot's inquiries turned up wrongdoing by Mr. Bush. Both The Post and New Republic mentioned that Christic Institute leader Daniel Sheehan had talked to Mr. Perot concerning his probes, and perhaps inspired some of them.

The episode involving Mr. Donaldson related to a Feb. 11, 1987, report that the Texas businessman visited then-Chief of Staff Donald Regan seeking designation as official emissary to Vietnam in search of POWs and MIAs but the Reagan White House wouldn't give him that role.

"He threatened to get Sam Donaldson. ... He called me from the airplane and told me that he was going to get Sam Donaldson unless I could take care of [a retraction]," Mr. Fitzwater said. "It scared me to death."

Perot spokesman Jim Squires denounced Mr. Fitzwater's comment as

part of a "hysterical attempt to mischaracterize Ross Perot and create fear of him in the public mind."

Bush campaign press secretary Torie Clarke responded: "The stuff's out there, and it's up to the people to sort it out. I'm really glad my parents never had me followed."

Although Mr. Fitzwater said he told Mr. Donaldson of the threat, the ABC newsmen said yesterday that he doesn't recall it.

"He never threatened me, not to my face at least," Mr. Donaldson said in a telephone interview, suggesting the flap might help him get an interview he's sought with Mr. Perot for more than two months.

"He dumped all over General Richard Childress, who headed the MIA and POW project then, and all over the White House," Mr. Donaldson said, declining to characterize the reputed threat or Mr. Fitzwater's revelation of it.

"I don't want to get injected into the political dispute," he said.

The words used by Mr. Bush and Mr. Fitzwater — temperamental, frightening, scary — were the same ones being used by other Republican officials, including Vice President Dan Quayle, House Republican Leader Robert Michel and Massachusetts Lt. Gov. Paul Cellucci, who heads the New England Bush-Quayle re-election campaign.

Mr. Squires called it politics by fear.

"In the end, it's going to be 'Are you afraid of Ross Perot or not?'" said Mr. Perot's top media adviser.

An article by Sidney Blumenthal in the July 6 New Republic says Mr. Perot frequently speaks about plots to assassinate him and fears that his children will be taken hostage.

"According to a reliable eyewitness, he has had his children followed systematically by a small

brigade of private investigators, off-duty policemen and company employees," the article says.

It reports that he forced his children to break off relationships with acquaintances he didn't approve of. It also accuses him of "personally threatening to ruin the lives of certain friends he didn't like."

The article, riddled with quotes from many publications, retold many of the episodes portrayed in The Post. It also said he canceled his \$2.5 million pledge to the Reagan Library.

In the June 29 edition of U.S. News & World Report, Mr. Perot challenges "these charges that I want to win at any price."

In a first-person article, he says: "In my whole life, I can think of just three or four times I've used private investigators. I never wiretapped anybody. It's a feeding frenzy by the press."

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

Gingrich decries Bush campaign, fears voters will 'gamble' on Perot

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich has fired his sharpest public criticism yet at President Bush, charging that he has failed to provide the country with "consistent, clear leadership for change."

The Georgia lawmaker expressed deep frustration that Mr. Bush has not taken the offensive against the Democratic-controlled Congress, and he warned that if the president does not act soon, the voters are ready to support "a total outsider" such as Texas billionaire Ross Perot in November.

Mr. Gingrich also attacked the president's Treasury Department, and by implication Secretary Nicholas Brady's policies, blaming them for the sluggish economy.

"Supply-siders are so disgusted and so fed up with the way the Treasury has mismanaged this economy that the supply-siders are beside themselves over the current lack of economic growth," he said in a weekend interview with The Washington Times.

"What they see now is a Treasury which blocks the president and a

policy process which is muddled," he said. "You clearly see significant leaders in the business community now saying that they believe their economic future is better with Ross Perot."

"This administration is not currently providing consistent, clear leadership for change."

Mr. Gingrich voiced his strongest fears to date over the way the Bush re-election campaign is being run.

"It doesn't just worry me, it frightens me," he said. "The American people, if they are frustrated enough, will gamble on a total outsider about whom they know little."

"Ross Perot would be an extraordinarily dangerous gamble, and I think we would be much better to have leadership with the current administration."

It is time for the White House and Mr. Bush's strategists to begin listening "seriously to what the American people are telling us in every way they know how — that they want much stronger leadership for change," he said.

Mr. Gingrich characterized the president's two rivals as formidable opponents, either of whom can beat Mr. Bush in November if he doesn't

overhaul his re-election strategy and his campaign operation soon.

He described Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, who has clinched the Democratic nomination, as "the most consistently determined, persistent, professional politician I have ever seen, with the exception of Richard Nixon," adding: "He is in the same tradition as Nixon. Nothing stops him, nothing slows him down."

He characterized the Bush re-election committee as "a team that learned politics 20 years ago and which I think is not yet focused and has not yet shaped where it wants to go."

He said the president "has it within his power to solve 80 percent of his problems by consistently, repetitively, systematically fighting for changes that the American people want."

If he is to stop his fall in the polls, Mr. Bush has to be seen as an activist president "fighting to cut the bureaucracy, fighting to cut spending, to fight for things like enterprise zones," he said. "Ross Perot would melt away in the face of an aggressive Bush presidency."

ALLEGRA BENNETT

The other night Madonna and her friend, comedian Rosie O'Donnell appeared as guests on the "Arsenio Hall Show." The two women spoke with such vulgar freedom that the censors did the electronic version of wincing and bleeped and bleeped and bleeped the blue language.

However, the epithet "bitch" as epithet got through. Over time, the censors have determined that belting "bitch" is OK in the airwaves. But that was not all. Madonna's father appeared as a surprise guest. At least, he was a surprise to her, but that did not restrain the Material Girl from broaching sexually explicit subjects that in another time a son or daughter would never think of raising in the presence of an adult let alone a parent and certainly not on national television.

A week earlier Mr. Hall, a youth icon, lashed out at President Bush for supposedly saying he would not consider appearing on that show as did Bill Clinton. "I don't remember inviting your ass to my show," Mr. Hall jabbed in a monologue. We have arrived at a startling point where a talk show host can berate the president and keep his job.

It is this environment of outrageous behavior that gives us such performers as Guns N' Roses, 2 Live Crew, Public Enemy and Sister Souljah, a k a Lisa Williamson from the Bronx. They are a youth-led cult of social dissidents with a permanent scowl on their faces, a bad attitude and a public platform on which to make a living shocking the establishment, a k a adults.

The Catholic Church is Madonna's target of outrageous behavior, so she wears a crucifix around her neck while misbehaving.

Miss Williamson takes aim at white people, and her talent on the shock patrol is in fomenting conflict among the races. She is what is called in the music world a rap

Allegra Bennett is an editorial writer for The Washington Times.

Youth-led dissidents

singer or rapper. If there is a definition for a rapper, it would be "one who says what they want to say anyway they want to say it with no particular redeeming musical or intellectual value."

Miss Williamson, who has one rap video to her credit was heretofore a gnat until her dyspeptic views of life were repeated and denounced by democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton.

"If black people kill black people every day why not have a week and kill white people," she reportedly told The Washington Post's reporter David Mills in the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots. She concluded, "So if you are a gang member and you would normally be killing somebody, why not kill a white person?"

Miss Williamson later called a press conference to say she was merely expressing the likely mindset of gang members following the Rodney King verdict. Of course, her earlier remarks could have been dismissed as those of a callow youth just spouting off in a stream of consciousness. Except she has a national forum for her inflammatory expression. What she said was incendiary. And Mr. Clinton, whether through genuine conscience or politically strategic guile, felt obliged to say so in front of an audience no less than the Rainbow Coalition, an organization that its founder, the Rev. Jesse Jackson purports to be the prototype for racial inclusiveness and harmony.

But the Rainbow fell short. Mr. Clinton felt that the organization gave tacit approval to violence by

ignoring Sister Souljah's printed comments. The criticism stung Mr. Jackson, who only minutes before had proudly noted that the rapper had appeared on the Rainbow's program the previous night. Mr. Jackson advised Mr. Clinton to apologize to her. A rapper himself, Mr. Jackson preceded to explain the psyche of young folks much in the way disbelieving parents make excuses for their children's maximum rude behavior. He said Sister Souljah was the embodiment of young black people who are consumed with the pain of racism. And that is what she was expressing.

But there is no need in trying to get poetic about it. Sister Souljah is

a sister with a bad attitude, rude thoughts and a rude mouth. Not all young people feel the way she does, nor would they articulate it in public if they did. But we don't get to hear from them because what they have to say is not shocking enough for television and therefore not marketable.

And market is what Mr. Jackson seeks for a coalition that is failing to coalesce. Instead of leading youths, he is following them, ignoring their filthy mouths and unformed ideas. Mr. Jackson noted that starting at a very early age Miss Williamson had performed commendable acts that included working with homeless youths and expanding voter regis-

tration. Well, perhaps this rage she expresses is only 20 percent of who she is. But that 20 percent bad behavior cannot be excused by good deeds.

These young people are not all that deep. They are like every youth who is just trying to figure out the world in a culture that confuses them with mixed messages on right and wrong. They are always going to explore the language and behavior of beligerence. Testing is what young people do. It is just another version of throwing a temper tantrum on the supermarket floor. But it is up to adults like Mr. Jackson to move decisively to let them know when they are wrong.

DOUG BANDOW

No human right is more fundamental than that to own property. Only economic liberty allows us to satisfy the material wants of ourselves and our families as we see best. Yet property rights are out of favor in this nation. For instance, to win confirmation by the Senate, Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas was forced to publicly repudiate the argument that the Constitution protects economic liberties.

But there is more to property rights than limiting when the state can seize and regulate land. There is also the principle that landowners shouldn't expect fellow taxpayers to underwrite their property values. Being left alone by government means forswearing benefits as well as costs. Unfortunately, a lot of coastal dwellers don't understand that the two go together.

The proximity of water is both the primary benefit and most significant hazard of beach living. When storms occur, losses naturally follow. Private insurance is available, but it is expensive, with annual premiums often as much as 10 per-

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Property rights not moored to subsidies

cent of a property's value. So in 1968 generous Uncle Sam created the National Flood Insurance Program to provide subsidized coverage for coastal areas. Between 1978 and 1987 the NFIP lost \$657 million, handing the bill to the taxpayers.

Unfortunately, we are likely to face even more red ink in the future. Roughly 2.5 million policies, worth \$240 billion, have been issued; 58 percent of those policies are in the three states with greatest risk of flooding. Even before the March storms in California and April flood in Chicago, the program's reserves, \$293 million, constituted barely 1 percent of its potential liabilities. Yet, reports the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which administers the NFIP, a single heavy storm year could cost the program between \$3.5 billion and \$4 billion. (Hurricane Hugo in 1989 alone caused \$7 billion in damages.)

Moreover, the insurance premiums are based on the experience of

In the case of federal flood insurance, landowners are demanding special favors, not their rights. It's time to end the program.

the last 24 years, which have been unusually calm — with roughly one-third as much hurricane activity as between 1949 and 1969. Alas, the old patterns may soon recur. In April, the National Hurricane Conference forecast that we are entering a more destructive 25-year cycle of hurricanes. Thus, warns former NFIP ratemaker Saul Jay Singer, "The worst flood damages are yet to come." Finally, NFIP rates are not

adjusted to account for the higher flood risk from eroding shorelines. In these areas, reports FEMA, federal premiums are as little as 5 percent of a sound, risk-based price.

The NFIP is not only a bad deal for taxpayers, but it subsidizes environmental destruction, encouraging development of erosion-prone areas. This is not an isolated example — federal timber policy has long promoted uneconomic forest clear-cutting to "create" a few lumbering jobs — but the potential financial risks of the flood insurance program are much greater.

So perverse is this program that even the Reagan administration attempted to reform it. Last year the House approved legislation to curb the subsidized insurance, phasing it out in areas with the most serious erosion problems. The measure was scheduled to come to a vote in the Senate Banking Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs in June as part of a larger housing bill, but opposition from C.M. Schauerte, the head of NFIP, backed by developers, property owners, and realtors caused the subcommittee to drop the flood insurance provision. "So we are back to ground zero," explains one spokesman for FEMA, which, in contrast to Mr. Schauerte, had supported the legislation.

Much of the opposition to reform has been based on protection of property rights. Mr. Schauerte, for one, calls the reform proposal "backdoor federal land-use control." The Florida Shore and Beach Preservation Association complained that "almost overnight there would be a collapse of coastal property values." One FEMA official admitted that "erosion hazards will become a factor of the coastal real-estate market."

But risk of damage should be a consideration in the market process. Washington shouldn't tell people they cannot build on ocean-front lots. But these same landowners shouldn't expect taxpayers to subsidize their construction. Of course, dropping the program would hurt anyone who purchased his land and/or built on it in the expectation of continued subsidies. (The House-passed legislation would phase out coverage over time.) But that is a risk of relying on federal largess: You shouldn't get it in the first place, so you can't complain if you lose it.

Economic liberties deserve steadfast support today, but it's important to recognize when genuine property rights are really at stake. In the case of federal flood insurance, landowners are demanding special favors, not their rights. It's time to end the program.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Crisis in the return to normality

Writing (skeptically) in Time magazine about the appeal of Ross Perot, Garry Wills observes (unhappily) that "Americans have had a succession of presidents who said in effect that government is good for nothing but fighting communism."

Mr. Wills, who is himself of the big-government persuasion, may have inadvertently explained the weirdest election year in living memory.

This is the first election year since 1928 in which the federal government doesn't profess to be protecting us from either a foreign threat or a domestic crisis. For the first time in most voters' lifetimes, therefore, it has to justify itself in terms of normal rather than emergency conditions. It can't invoke familiar apocalyptic contingencies that have allowed it to multiply its functions and powers without limit.

The return to normality has caught the U.S. government flat-footed. The result is a curious legitimacy problem.

The reason most people put up with the state at all is that they believe it protects them from something. The basic evil we need protection from is human violence: crime or foreign invasion. Violence is the state's chief legitimating device, and the threat of a communist nuclear strike was hard to beat as a device for persuading Americans to trust their government and accept its excesses.

Few Americans really believe in the kind of social engineering liberals like Mr. Wills want the government to engage in. They suspect that the government does more to foster crime than to extirpate its "root causes," especially when they see, a generation after "war on poverty" was declared, that winning a basketball championship is more likely than poverty to inspire urban rioting.

But even the most principled conservatives were willing to tolerate an expansive welfare state while the alternative seemed to be destruction or enslavement by communism. The foreign menace provided the cover of legitimation for unrestrained government spending at home.

Just what is government protecting us from now? Not only has the foreign threat evaporated; domestic crime has wiped out the everyday safety most Americans of a certain

age grew up taking for granted. What's more, a very large segment of the population feels not only that abortion is seriously wrong, but that the government itself is responsible for promoting the killing of innocents in the womb. Such things can powerfully corrode the childlike trust that the government, however imperfect, is trying to act for the common good. We seem to be getting ubiquitous government and anarchy at the same time.

Public officials appear inept at best and, all too often, just venal. The succession of scandals is punctuated by the hilariously embarrassing spectacle of a vice president losing a duel of wits to an elementary school pupil on the spelling of "potato." If this is the apex of the pyramid, what must the base be like?

All in all, government is seen not as our protector but as a bumbling agent of aggression against our freedom, wealth, privacy and general well-being. The reasons for thinking it mischievous are far clearer than the reasons for thinking it is, or even can be, beneficent.

Not that the government is unbearable. It's just a stupendous superfluity. George Bush isn't the sort of ruler to rouse an Alexander Solzhenitsyn. He's the sort whose nemesis is Jay Leno or Dana Carvey. But in his frantic fecklessness, he may be even more lethal than any bloody tyrant to the faith that government can touch a large social ill without making it worse.

This year's discontents aren't really directed against Mr. Bush himself. He just happens to symbolize, all too perfectly, the absurdity of an enormous institution with no clear rationale proportionate to its power, and therefore no legitimacy.

Liberals this year expected that Mr. Bush's weakness would be their strength. But they were using a simple two-party, zero-sum calculus that is suddenly obsolete. When the electorate has a third option, liberals turn out to be even less popular than this derisible president.

All through the Cold War, liberals dreamed of converting the giant state to what they thought of as humanitarian purposes. They never grasped that the justifying principle of protection was not convertible. The welfare state could exist only by the grace of the warfare state.

Now that the government can no longer pretend to protect us, we want to be protected from the government. Legitimated too long by crisis, the government finds that normality has plunged it into a crisis of legitimacy. Enter Ross Perot.

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The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

Moving forward on SDI, maybe

Largely overlooked in all the news of the arms control breakthroughs reached last week by President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin was an agreement to move forward on the development of global anti-missile defenses, something the Soviet Union had always vigorously resisted.

The Bush statement said in part: "President Yeltsin and I have also agreed to work together, along with the allies and other interested states, to develop a concept for a global protection system against limited ballistic missile attack. And we will explore a senior group — or we will establish a senior group to explore practical steps toward that end, including the sharing of early warning and cooperation in developing ballistic missile defense capabilities and technologies."

"This group will also explore the development of a legal basis for cooperation, including new treaties and agreements, and possible changes to existing treaties and agreements necessary to implement the global protection system."

This historic breakthrough had been unheralded in the elite media, of course, because at the very moment this agreement was reached between two world leaders, a group of Washington munchkins who have op-

posed the idea of strategic defense for years was working frantically behind the scenes to scuttle last year's congressional plan to develop a defense against ballistic missiles.

As was noted in this space two weeks back, officials in Mr. Bush's own Pentagon appear to have slid into bed with the SDI bashers, leaving the architect of the congressional plan, Sen. Sam Nunn, in the lurch. The president, of course, has made his support for strategic defense manifest on any number of occasions, not least last week.

But nine years after President Reagan first announced his SDI research project, it is clear that a president's imprimatur is not enough to move the mountainous Pentagon bureaucracy off the dime.

Last week, President Bush announced that a U.S. team headed by State Department official Dennis Ross would be traveling to Moscow within 30 days to begin working on a concept for a global protection system and amendments to the 1972 ABM Treaty. Mr. Ross should be sure that he has the disparate elements of the U.S. government on board before he leaves the hangar. Otherwise, his efforts will amount to nothing but paper shuffling.

Mr. Perot's investigations

Ross Perot's independent presidential bid received a little badly needed context over the weekend in the form of a story by Bob Woodward and John Mintz in *The Washington Post*. From it, it's hard to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Perot has a certain, well, obsession with George Bush, dating to a 1986 conversation with the then-vice president in which Mr. Perot told him, "The world is full of lions and tigers and rabbits. And you're a rabbit." Since then, Mr. Bush seems to have had a special place at the top of Mr. Perot's enemies list. According to *The Post* story, Mr. Perot and his agents have undertaken some elaborate private investigations of Mr. Bush's affairs. Most ominously, some of these investigations seem to have been based on truly kooky premises.

The "rabbit" conversation grew out of the White House's change of mind in relation to a tale of a videotape purportedly showing Americans still held captive in Vietnam, a favorite subject of Mr. Perot's. Mr. Bush learned of the tape from an aide, Craig Fuller, and at first U.S. intelligence services took the matter seriously. The man who claimed to have the tape was one "John Obassy," a British businessman in Bangkok. "Mr. Obassy" wanted \$4.2 million for it.

That's where Mr. Perot came in. He was apparently a believer in the authenticity of the tape, and he would put up the \$4.2 million. The U.S. government would reimburse him if it turned out to be genuine. But U.S. intelligence determined that "Mr. Obassy" was actu-

ally one Donald Gregson, a man who had been linked to other false reports about live prisoners, an area rife with scams. Mr. Bush gave him the news that the U.S. government was out, winning for himself the "rabbit" sobriquet and Mr. Perot's lasting enmity.

The enmity took the form of an extensive investigation of a 1987 tax deduction taken by Pennzoil, whose chairman had been Mr. Bush's partner in the oil business in Texas. And separate investigations of investments Mr. Bush himself made in the 1970s. And meetings with seemingly every crank conspiracy theorist who had a tale to tell in which Mr. Bush was implicated. In the latter category falls the Christic Institute, an organization that alleges that a shadowy "secret team" within the U.S. government is responsible for, well, a lot. (Christic was most recently in the news when the Supreme Court upheld sanctions against it for bringing a frivolous lawsuit.) Mr. Perot also seems to have drunk deeply from the waters of the "October Surprise" conspiracy theory and the Iran-Contra affair, all in pursuit of Mr. Bush's involvement. These investigations have uncovered nothing that is damaging to Mr. Bush.

It's all enough to make Oliver Stone look like an apologist for the Warren Commission. Now, imagine a man of Mr. Perot's evident frame of mind with not just a couple of billion dollars, but the full power of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation at his disposal.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

The tax revolt lives

Back in the days when California officials were doubling and tripling property taxes on homeowners, a man named Howard Jarvis got together with 1.2 million like-minded friends and threw a tax revolt. It was called Proposition 13, and it withstood furious government opposition to win almost 65 percent of the vote and carry 55 of the state's 58 counties in a 1978 referendum.

Now it has withstood good old-fashioned envy. Last week the U.S. Supreme Court overwhelmingly held that although Prop. 13 allows California to tax some people more than others, that disparity does not make the law unconstitutional. The ruling came down in a case in which a Los Angeles County resident named Sharon Nordlinger complained that she was paying five times as much in property taxes as her neighbors. She called the disparity a violation of her 14th Amendment rights to equal protection of the law.

As a matter of fact, Ms. Nordlinger did enjoy equal protection of the law. Prop. 13 sets the property-tax rate at 1 percent of the purchase price with a 2 percent cap on annual increases to account for inflation. The difference between Ms. Nordlinger's bill and that of her neighbors is that she bought her house for a higher price than they did, in part because she bought the house more recently, after a long run-up of property values. But her tax increases, too, will be capped at 2 percent a year.

She at least had a choice: If she didn't like the amount of taxes she would pay, she didn't have to buy the house. That's more than you can say for citizens living under the pre-Prop. 13 system. After buying, they could only watch as their tax bills rose on the whims of an unaccountable cabal of politicians ("don't

blame us for high taxes — we just set the rate") and assessors ("we just set the property value"), in some cases forcing people to move because the taxes had outstripped their ability to pay. Justice Harry Blackmun, writing for the majority, upheld Prop. 13 in part because it furthered a state interest in neighborhood stability.

The ruling left dissenting Justice John Paul Stevens muttering class warfare-speak about the "most fortunate capitalists in the world" and the "tremendous windfall" that had fallen to them, meaning those who had bought houses more cheaply than Ms. Nordlinger did. It's a comment on the level of taxation today that Justice Stevens would argue that keeping more of one's money out of government clutches is a "windfall." His argument grows increasingly shrill, to the point at which he starts talking about Ms. Nordlinger's treatment in the same breath with Herod's slaughter of the Holy Innocents or the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II.

The difficulty for Ms. Nordlinger and Justice Stevens here is not Prop. 13. It's government taxation. While it hardly seems fair for some to pay higher taxes than others for the same government services — as witness the case of the income tax — the problem here began when governments started charging for garbage collection and street cleaning and other services based on the size of one's house — a complete non sequitur albeit a handy means to target "the rich."

If localities charged for the service provided, or better yet, allowed citizens to make their own arrangements, you wouldn't have property taxes, Prop. 13, disparate payments or the resulting envy. That's the next job for the tax revolt.

Bad attitude

It is comforting to think that the rawness that passes for entertainment on television and in the movies has no influence on real-life behavior. After all, it's just entertainment. Recording "artists" who clutch their crotches in front of a camera while spouting misogynist lyrics are merely milking the market and giving people what they want, or so say their promoters.

But just how amusing would it be to see a 5-year-old mimic fondling himself while reciting lyrics about "bitches"? Is that also what people want? There are some kindergarten teachers who could tell stories about such conduct that, even in today's anything-goes atmosphere, would still make some adults blush.

One teacher related the story of three 6-year-old boys who repeatedly raised their hands in the classroom not to participate in a lesson but to make a threatening gesture toward female classmates who "get on my nerve," as they said when questioned. If these little children are learning this behavior from observations

of real life at home, they are also getting reinforcement from what they are bombarded with on MTV.

The so-called hip-hop counterculture, with its vulgar language and mean attitude, is certainly making law enforcement groups nervous. Police organizations in New York and Texas are urging officers nationwide to boycott People magazine and the new "Batman Returns" movie to put pressure on Time Warner Inc. to withdraw an album it produced under the Warner Bros. record label that they say encourages violence against the police. The album, called "Body Count," features a single called "Cop Killer," in which rap "recording artist" Ice-T rhapsodizes about using a shotgun to "dust off some cops."

Maybe the police are overreacting. Maybe not. The singer contends that the song "Cop Killer" sends out no murderous message against the police but rather condemns police brutality and aims to make cops uneasy. "If the record is so powerful, where are all these dead cops?" Oh, OK. So far, so good, one supposes.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

BRUCE FEIN

Victory for the rule of law

Contrary to its myopic critics, the U.S. Supreme Court advanced the rule of law last week in a celebrated and tenditiously reported "kidnapping" case.

In *United States vs. Alvarez-Machain*, the court held that federal courts are authorized to try criminal defendants who have been abducted from a foreign nation with which the United States has an extradition treaty. The decision deserves applause for refusing to create legal sanctuaries abroad that would thwart justice in the United States, a recurring problem recently illus-

trated by Libya's harboring of its nationals indicted for the bombing of a Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland.

The Alvarez-Machain case originated in the kidnap and murder of U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration special agent Enrique Camarena Salazar and his assistant. The defendant, a Mexican national, was indicted for participating in the crimes by prolonging Mr. Camarena's life to permit further torture and interrogation. To bring Dr. Humberto Alvarez-Machain to justice in the United States, DEA officials sponsored his abduction from his medical office in Guadalajara, Mexico. No effort was made to invoke a 1978 U.S.-Mexico extradition treaty.

A federal district court dismissed the indictment and ordered the repatriation of Alvarez-Machain to Mexico, and the court of appeals affirmed. These subordinate tribunals held that the defendant's abduction violated the extradition treaty, and thus deprived federal courts of jurisdiction over the case.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist, writing for a 6-3 Supreme Court majority, reversed. In *Ker vs. Illinois* (1886), Justice Rehnquist explained, a larceny suspect was brought before an Illinois court after forcible abduction from Peru, which went undenounced by the Peruvian gov-

ernment. A private messenger disdained a proper warrant demanding the suspect's extradition pursuant to a U.S.-Peru treaty in favor of kidnapping to prevent circumvention of Illinois law. The Ker decision rejected the claim that the extradition treaty was the exclusive method for returning the suspect to the United States.

For more than a century, the chief justice noted, the Ker ruling has been undisturbed. The only distinguishing features in Alvarez-Machain were the complicity of the U.S. government in the kidnapping and the protests of the Mexican government. But nothing in the U.S.-Mexico extradition treaty suggested that these factors made the abduction a treaty violation.

Justice Rehnquist emphasized that the treaty "does not purport to specify the only way in which one country may gain custody of a national of the other country for the purposes of prosecution"; rather, it created a new obligation on the signatory nations either to surrender individuals in particular circumstances or to prosecute them in domestic courts. Although international law prohibits one government from exercising its police power in the territory of a foreign nation, the violation of that prohibition by the United States in Alvarez-Machain

see FEIN, page F4

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The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

FEIN

From page F1

did not demonstrate a violation of the extradition treaty with Mexico. Whether, in light of Mexican remonstrances or world sentiment, the defendant should be prosecuted or returned to Mexico, Justice Rehnquist maintained, was an issue for the executive branch, not the judiciary.

The Alvarez-Machain ruling commendably promotes the rule of law, although that conclusion at first blush seems counterintuitive. In many circumstances, abductions on foreign soil in violation of international law are necessary to prevent criminals from escaping justice.

In 1960, the Israeli government kidnapped accused Nazi war criminal Adolph Eichmann from Argentina for trial in Israel. Eichmann was convicted and executed. The U.S. government forcibly returned Panamanian archvillain Manuel Noreiga to the United States for trial on drug trafficking charges. Was the rule of law set back by the Eichmann and Noreiga trials? Suppose the United States abducted Chilean suspects in the Orlando Letelier assassination

for trial in this country, would the rule of law weep? (Extradition requests to Chile have been futile.) Would the rule of law frown on abductions from Libyan soil of Libyan suspects in the destruction of the Pan Am aircraft over Lockerbie for trial in the United States and Great Britain? Will justice be done if terrorist Col. Moammar Gadhafi succeeds in shielding them from the law?

Extradition treaties frequently cannot be trusted to ensure justice. Many nations, like Honduras, forbid the extradition of their nationals. Others, like Colombia, may be intimidated by narco-terrorists a la the Medellin or Cali cartels from surrendering an accused. Some nations will balk at extradition either because domestic political expediency dictates an "anti-Yankee" stance, or because a conviction would embarrass the incumbent government.

Extradition treaties also characteristically provide the signatories an option of domestic prosecution of the accused in lieu of surrender. In many nations, that option leaves the treaty without teeth because their domestic prosecutors and courts can be politically manipulated to guarantee acquittal. Does anyone believe the Libyan suspects in the Pan Am bombing would be convicted in Libyan courts? In Mexico, law enforcement in drug trafficking cases is riddled with corruption. Could Mexico be trusted to conduct a firm and fair prosecution of Alvarez-Machain, especially considering Mexico's political tradition of denouncing the United States for intervention in Mexico and other Central American nations?

The charge that the Alvarez-Machain may precipitate widespread kidnapping imitations in the United States by other nations is fanciful. Israel did not experience that phenomenon in the aftermath of the Eichmann abduction, and neither did the United States after the capture of Gen. Noreiga. Further, for more than a century after the Ker decision, the cornerstone on the Alvarez-Machain, the United States has been unplagued by kidnapping on its soil. The United States, moreover, is not in the business of shielding criminal suspects from fair trials.

The United States does not risk international ostracism because of the Alvarez-Machain decision. Criticisms from foreign governments are simply liturgical exercises of amour propre. Indeed, last Wednesday, Mexico lifted its ban on the activities of U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agents there. Similarly, Israel suffered no international isolation because of the Eichmann abduction.

If international law forbids abductions on foreign soil necessary to prevent circumventions of the law, then something is wrong with international law, not the abductions.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 •

LAURENCE SILBERMAN

The judiciary and the media

Now that almost a year has passed since the nomination of Clarence Thomas to be an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, it seems an appropriate time to reflect on the events. There is much for me to remember. Clarence Thomas is my friend, and my wife was one of his most outspoken proponents and defenders during his confirmation, so I admit to have suffered at the misery inflicted upon him. But confirmations — as I have said before — are political, and therefore federal judges should not be heard to express a view as to the right way either interest groups or senators should go about supporting or opposing nominees.

It is, on the other hand, very much the business of federal judges to comment on the manner in which other judges behave during a confirmation. My proposition, which once

would have been thought non-controversial, indeed rather obvious, is that judges assiduously should avoid public involvement in this intensely political arena.

Unfortunately, the intensity of the battle over the confirmation of Justice Thomas led judges to cut the mooring lines that should have restrained them from drifting into the political fray. Perhaps most striking, Judge Jon Newman of the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals wrote an op-ed piece in the New York Times at the height of the struggle, urging the president to withdraw the nomination and to nominate instead another black judge from the 2nd Circuit who is, like Judge Newman, a Carter appointee.

I do not see how it could possibly be suggested that Judge Newman's dramatic entry into the intense political controversy was appropriate conduct for a federal judge. Yet, I saw no public criticism of his extraordinary action. Not from the bar, not from the law schools, and certainly not in the press.

After Justice Thomas was confirmed, another circuit judge, this time from the 3rd Circuit, former Chief Judge Leon Higginbotham,

wrote Justice Thomas an open letter, soon thereafter published in the University of Pennsylvania Law Review. The letter can only be described as a political polemic, which, among other things, attacked Justice Thomas' statements when chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the positions of American conservative political figures such as Presidents Reagan and Bush. The letter's patronizing tone, telling a new justice how to vote, was surely in shockingly bad taste, but its political cast — it could have served nicely as an election campaign speech — breached any conceivable standard of judicial ethics. Again, not a word was raised in protest by the bar, nor in academia. And the press covered Judge Higginbotham's screed with unconcealed admiration and delight.

Leaked opinion

For some of us on the D.C. Circuit, the incident relating to the Thomas confirmation fight that reflected most poorly on the judiciary was the unprecedented and dishonorable leak of the substance of a

see SILBERMAN, page F4

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SILBERMAN

From page F1

preliminary draft of one of then-Judge Thomas' opinions. It is, of course, likely that this violation of the confidentiality of the court's deliberative process was committed by one or more judicial clerks. But we know that the reporter sought to persuade clerks to violate their ethical obligation by arguing that the judge, or judges, for whom they clerked would approve the leak. That suggests that it is also likely that the clerk, or clerks, who did so believed that they were acting consistently with their judge's wishes, whether or not that was true.

Whatever the leaker's exact motive, and it surely included the desire to injure Justice Thomas' confirmation prospects, our court, in my judgment, made a profound mistake in not investigating the matter. Retired 3rd Circuit Chief Judge John Gibbons was surely right when he said publicly at the time "that the judges of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit should immediately take steps to identify the source of the report." We should have used, as did the Senate, a special counsel retained for that purpose. It cannot seriously be argued that a court is powerless to respond, and thus is unable to discourage future leaks of preliminary positions on cases sub judice.

I am quite certain an investigation would indeed have pointed rather easily to the leaker or leakers. It seems that Peter Fleming's effort on behalf of the Senate turned out to be more fruitful than early press accounts revealed — as readers of the Wall Street Journal and The Washington Times editorial pages learned.

There has been a good deal of confusion as to exactly what the D.C. Circuit did about our leak. Two misimpressions have spread. One is that the issue of an investigation is still alive, and the other is that the Chief Judge somehow had authority, which he exercised, to block an investigation. Neither is true.

We actually decided the question last November in a formal manner when we voted 6-6 (with a senior judge voting, as has been our practice) to defeat a motion to conduct an investigation. Thereafter, our deliberations concerned only whether we would disclose our decision — and the vote — to the public and, if so, in what manner.

I thought, and still do, that, given the public importance of the issue, we all had an obligation to tell the public what we decided. There cannot, however, be any valid objection to my open disclosure of our decision now, especially after we have seen a newspaper account that purports to describe the views of judges (distorted I might add) expressed in that private session. It certainly would have been much better if we had announced our decision forthrightly as a court at the time the opinion issued. I have not been able to discern any good reason why the court (or, for that matter, individual judges) should not disclose its (or their) position on such an issue.

In any event, notwithstanding the unprecedented and obviously damaging nature of the leak, again, I did not see any criticism from the bar, academy, or the press as to our inaction. I suppose it was to be expected that the press would not readily bite the hand that feeds it. The Legal Times, the recipient of the leak, sought to protect its source not only from identification but also, in clever ways, from any rebuke. I wonder, however, whether if this sad event had occurred during the nomination of a judge with an apparently different approach to judging, the press would have been more probing and more critical.

All of these episodes that reflect badly on the judiciary occurred in connection with Justice Thomas' nomination, but we see other disquieting signs that federal judges are willing to engage openly in public criticism of the Supreme Court in a political fashion.

Recently, Judge John Noonan of the 9th Circuit wrote an op-ed piece, again, not surprisingly, in the New York Times, openly disagreeing with the court's recent disposition of the Robert Alton Harris case, in which the 9th Circuit was ordered to stop efforts to interfere with Harris' execution. Judge Noonan even accused the court of causing the 9th Circuit to commit "treason to the Constitution." If I am right that this sort of behavior is stunningly inappropriate, and also unprecedented, we must ask, why is it occurring now? What is it in our present environment that causes judges to cut the tacit and explicit ethical restraints that had been thought to prevent such conduct?

To answer the question, one must think about what it is that influ-

The Washington Times

SILBERMAN (CONT.)

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 •

Role of reporters

It is a commonplace that in a democracy we expect the press to patrol the abuses of government officials. Certainly the press often performs that role. Why, then, has it not restrained judges from getting into the political disputes I have described? Why is it that these judges know in their bones, if you will, that a certain kind of public utterance or action, regardless of its impropriety, will not be questioned? The answer, as I have foreshadowed, is that the American working press has, to a man and woman, accepted and embraced the tenets of judicial activism. Unlike the law schools, where one can still find a few professors who assert the virtues of judicial restraint, I have never met a legal reporter who holds to that view. Some columnists and editorial writers, to be sure — but no reporters. And the cumulative weight of American legal reporters overwhelms those few columnists or editorial writers whose opinions are openly on display.

I once thought that was so because journalists covering the courts are primarily non-lawyers and might therefore be thought to be interested only in cases as policy issues. But the truth is that the lawyer/reporters are among the most unbalanced — the least abashed at asserting the value of judicial activism.

The worst, in my view (with the notable exception of the "wicked witch of the airwaves"), are found in the pages of the New York Times, whose general news coverage in recent years has seemed to approach a daily version of the Nation. We never realized how much discipline Abe Rosenthal exercised until he retired and the advocates were allowed to run free. It seems that the primary objective of the Times' legal reporters is to put activist heat on recently appointed Supreme Court justices. Tom Sowell has de-

scribed this technique as the "Greenhouse Effect," after the Times' leading court reporter. Their Washington second stringer, Neil Lewis, covers our court, and his reporting is so obviously distorted and tendentious that it reads as if it were a cross between the columns of his namesakes, Anthony and Flora Lewis.

The New York Times is by no means unique. All American newspapers, with a uniformity that is found with respect to other subjects that a judge does not discuss publicly, conform generally to the same line. The Wall Street Journal — under the direction of its always opinionated Washington Bureau Chief Al Hunt — The Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, the Associated Press, and virtually all other papers and newsmagazines are only a step behind (I exempt, of course, the editorial pages).

The working press covers the federal courts, indeed any American courts, as if judicial decisions were simply the extension of politics by other means. As Justice Antonin Scalia has remarked, they seem uninterested in the reasoning of opinions — which should be even more important than the result since it is the reasoning that is really law. And rather obviously they approve of only certain kinds of results.

It has occurred to me that one could draw a parallel between modern judicial activism and what could be called journalistic activism. Both likely stem from the new class' impatience with the workings of American democracy in the latter half of the 20th century.

Since it is virtually impossible doctrinally to defend judicial activism in a democracy, the strategy of those journalists who wish to support judicial activism is to deny the possibility of judicial restraint — to challenge the notion that there is anything to the pursuit of neutral principles, or, alternatively, to so use the terms as to hopelessly confuse debate.

Playing to the press

The press' ceaseless advocacy of judicial activism not only induces judges to misbehave in the manner I have described, but it also has its impact on judges' decision-making over time. When I served in the executive branch, I watched the press shape the behavior of senior appointees. Some, it seemed, allowed their entire daily agendas to be set by the morning papers. The desire to curry favor with and avoid criticism from the Washington press corps outranked, for many, loyalty to the president or respect for Congress.

I do not think I fully appreciated, until I became a judge, however, how much impact press coverage can have on judges. Of course, those of us who had been involved in judicial selection watched with great disappointment as judges seemed to change on the bench, or, as the press would say, "grew." It was quite frustrating to see those particular jurists come to accept and even relish the temptations of activism. They were rewarded by being described approvingly as "non-ideological" — deciding each case on its merits — which, as far as I can tell, meant that they were expected to reshape the law each time to conform to a desired outcome. (Ironically, hard-core Warren court-type activists are never described as ideological.)

So, I understand better today the reason for the evolution of some judges. More often than not it is attributable to their paying close attention to newspaper accounts of their opinions.

That brings me back to Justice Thomas. He was, of course, not a law professor, and through his years of service in the executive branch he certainly — as would be expected in light of his positions — experienced rigorous, even ruthless, press attacks.

The president, when he announced his intention to nominate Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, nevertheless, described him as the best person available. There are a number of individuals who would make excellent Supreme Court appointments, but I think the president was right. Not only does Clarence Thomas — as all the world now knows — have the courage of a lion, he also has the kind of intellectual integrity that constitutes a solid foundation from which he cannot easily be pushed.

But, in one vital respect, Justice Thomas is absolutely unique, amply justifying the president's characterization. He is the only judge I know who is impervious to the press influences I have described. He has, for some time, resolutely refused to read the newspapers. There will be, I would bet my shirt, no journalistic hole bored in his intellectual ozone level. This time, there will be no "Greenhouse Effect."

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

PAUL GREENBERG

In and out of context

Sister Souljah may be a young rapper, but she fends off criticism with the savvy of an experienced pol.

Every newsroom veteran knows that the first response of a wary politician caught saying something embarrassing is to deny it and, should a tape surface, claim that the quote was taken out of context. That second, slipperier route is the one taken by Sister Souljah, rap singer and newest Clinton-basher, to explain away the unexplainable, namely her now celebrated statement: "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?"

What possible context could justify such a remark? Other than: "I do not believe the following . . ." Sister Souljah says she was only trying to explain the mentality, to use the word loosely, of rioting gangs in Los Angeles. Anyone who read the context of her statement in The Washington Post would know she wasn't just explaining. She was rationalizing and defending race hatred and seemed to take offense when the reporter from The Post kept asking her what was the sense of such violence. ("I don't even understand why

anybody [would] ask me that question.")

Sister Souljah does have a point. (Please don't take that statement out of context.) Hatred does have an irrational rationality of its own. People must give themselves permission to hate, destroy and kill. Maybe there is a natural goodness in man after all, and we must overcome something in ourselves to do evil. That's where the Sister Souljahs of the world — and the Gerald L.K. Smiths and Meir Kahanes and Louis Farrakhans — fit in. They tell us how badly used we are and so would justify our abusing others.

In their own separate but equally artistic ways, the Sister Souljahs and Rush Limbaughs grant us a kind of spurious moral permission to gibe at others. They validate what we know is not valid. And when caught out, they can say they were quoted out of context or only committing satire. There are those voices in the public square that elevate and ennoble, and those that we'd really rather listen to first thing in the morning.

The temptation of a good old-fashioned hate isn't confined to any one race or creed or ideology. All these separate but equal demagogues have more in common with one another than each might admit. And all are most dangerous not to others but to their own cause — because they deprive it of moral legitimacy. That is why the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. preached non-violence and why he was so successful in his time. That is why he towers over various moral pygmies who have tried to claim his mantle, and why they seem unable to make any headway.

Dr. King understood "the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to oppression and violence." He understood he had an ally in the heart of his enemy, and he never ceased addressing it. He would not relinquish the moral offensive — whatever the provocation.

Can anyone say of those who now revel in violence and hatred, who try to make music of it, that they have changed anything or will change anything in the world? What context are they providing for the next generation? And how does their message differ in any essential way from the racism they're supposed to be fighting? Beware, said a German philosopher with problems of his own, that in fighting the monster one does not become the monster.

Not only moral legitimacy is lost in this process, but meaning itself. Have you noticed how the very word racist has lost almost all meaning by its promiscuous overuse? It comes to signify nothing more than someone we strongly disagree with — just as fascist and communist once did. At one time or another, all these terms have been reduced to nothing more than generic cusswords.

Final note: the Rev. Martin Luther King never had to claim that he was being quoted out of context or back away from his words in any other fashion. Because he always took the rhetorical high ground, he never had to explain away his presence in the fever swamps.

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

SAMUEL FRANCIS

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

Inviting chicanery

If you watch a stage magician closely, you can sometimes see how he does his tricks. But if you take your eyes off Congress for even a moment, there's no telling what the wizards of Capitol Hill will pull out of their hats. Last week Congress reached into its bottomless bag and pulled out a whole new electorate.

The trick is called the National Voter Registration Act, which supporters claim will relieve the national crisis that supposedly ensues when many citizens qualified to vote don't bother to do so. Under the bill's terms, people can register to vote at the same time they get their drivers' licenses. Hence, it is sometimes called the "motor voter" bill. Kentucky's GOP Sen. Mitch McConnell, who opposed it, has a better name for it. He calls it the "auto-fraudo" bill.

The case for auto-fraudo is that the act of registering to vote is just too much trouble, especially for people who don't usually care about voting anyway. Such citizens apparently can't be expected to rise from their derrieres long enough to register, so the new law lets them sign up when they do other things they must do.

One such thing is getting a driver's license, but there are other occasions also when they need to bestir themselves. Among these are registering for federal welfare benefits, unemployment compensation and disability payments. The auto-fraudo bill requires states to let people register to vote when they show up at welfare offices, which means that it makes it easier for the welfare proletariat to vote. Guess which party supported the bill and pushed it through both houses of Congress? In the final vote in the House last week, all but 18 Democrats supported the auto-fraudo bill.

But even if you forget to register to vote when you show up to get your welfare check, you'll still have a chance to grab your swag at the polls. The auto-fraudo bill requires states to allow citizens to register by mail, as well as when they apply for welfare and other government benefits, when they get their drivers' licenses and when they get marriage and hunting licenses too. Apparently, you still can't register when you go to pay your parking tickets or visit your parole officer, but probably the Congress is working on that.

That the Democrats expect to gain the votes of the proletarians their bill helps enfranchise is clear from their opposition to an amendment that would have prevented registration at agencies that dispense public benefits. But aside from proletarians of the red-blooded American variety, the new electorate the

bill effectively creates will probably also include illegal aliens.

Though the bill makes vote fraud a federal crime, the enforcement provisions are weak. How do you check whether a person who registers to vote by postcard is a legal citizen? For years, illegal aliens have used fake voter registration cards for the purposes of false identification, and even if they don't want to vote, they now can gain authentic registration more easily.

Thus, Martha Wynans of U.S. Citizens, a group that seeks to preserve the value of citizenship, testified in Senate hearings that, "Alien registration by mail, and at thousands of public service and private agencies, stands little chance of discovery, much less challenge should someone even dare a challenge. The penalties and lawsuits for unproven

challenges are severe, and false documents legion. Indeed, a recent attempt by the Texas secretary of state to crack down on alien fraud resulted in lawsuits, as did a similar effort in California."

Illegal aliens already are voting in some elections, as the Immigration and Naturalization Service showed in Florida in 1989. There, in a special congressional election, the INS proved that no less than 11 percent of all ballots of foreign-born voters sampled were cast by non-citizens. In Los Angeles in 1988, an election official estimated that 20 percent of voters in one polling place were illegal aliens. In 1982, some 45 percent of bilingual ballots in nine California counties were cast by illegals.

Voting in and of itself, of course,

is meaningless. The Soviet Union always had one of the largest vote turnouts in the world. Voting becomes a meaningful representation of a people's will not only when voters have a real choice of whom to vote for but also when the voters really care about who governs them and what the governors do.

Encouraging voting by non-citizens and apathetic citizens too lazy and ill-informed to register by normal means doesn't strengthen a responsible democracy; it weakens it. And it also weakens the votes of responsible citizens who know how to register and why they should vote.

President Bush has promised to veto the auto-fraudo bill, and the Congress didn't pass it by a large enough margin to override a veto. Mr. Bush should fill his fountain pen and push the Congress' trick voting bill back into its bag.

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1992 *

CLARENCE PAGE

Political motives

Should the federal government make it easier for citizens to register to vote?

Neither side has pure motives in the debate currently raging over the issue, but it wouldn't be the first time a good idea came out of partisan motives. Especially in Washington.

White House officials say President Bush opposes the "motor voter" bill Congress approved this week. It passed 268 to 153, six votes short of enough to override a veto. The legislation is called the "motor voter" bill because it would enable all citizens to register to vote when they obtain or renew their driver's, marriage, hunting or fishing licenses.

It would also offer voter registration by mail and at the offices of state agencies like welfare and unemployment-compensation of-

fices. It would forbid the removal of a registered voter's name from the rolls for failure to vote and would encourage, but not require, same-day registration on Election Day.

Because the legislation wouldn't take effect until next year, it won't have an impact on the current presidential race. Yet election-year politics have helped shape the debate.

Democrats offer grand reasons for why the legislation is desperately needed. They include fairness, convenience and a moral imperative to keep democratic principles alive as the nation's Founders intended. On the less pure side, Democrats really like the measure because they hope it will bring out more Democratic voters.

Similarly, the Bush administration offers grand reasons for opposing the bill. They include the possibility of fraud, extra expense and an imposition on the right of states to set their own election rules. But the president and his fellow Republicans really worry that it will do what the Democrats hope: bring out more Democratic voters.

It's not easy to persuade in-

see PAGE, page F4

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

PAGE

From page F1

cumbents to tamper with voting regulations and procedures. Why mess with the system that put you where you are? But for the rest of us in a year of record-high anti-incumbency sentiments, the cynicism of present officeholders may be as good a reason as any for the public to urge the president to sign this bill, and to be mighty outraged with him if he doesn't.

A dirty little secret among party

politicians is their continuing effort to keep voter participation low so it can be controlled more easily. For all their stirring speeches about why Americans should vote, if politicians had their way, only voters from their most dependable support base would use their right to vote. Those pesky independent voters, with their unpredictable ways, would stay home.

Since the demographics of Democratic voters closely match those of the citizens who are least inclined to vote now, Democrats figure they will benefit from any bill that encourages more folks to come to the polls.

But it is important for both sides to recognize that Republicans can benefit, too. One survey taken after the 1988 presidential race, for example, found that if all the eligible voters who failed to vote had cast ballots, Mr. Bush would have won anyway.

That's democracy. More voters means more voices. It doesn't necessarily mean predictable results.

It's hard to oppose any measure that helps keep politicians on their toes. The possibility of vote fraud is another matter. It is important to note that 30 states and the District of Columbia already have enacted

some or all of the bill's provisions and none has reported an increase in suspected fraud.

As for the rest of the country, I see no reason why computer-age enforcement techniques can't help us modernize voter participation without opening the doors to ghost voters and other vote thievery.

As a participant in a 1972 vote-fraud investigation by the Chicago Tribune that resulted in several indictments and a Pulitzer Prize for the newspaper, I am not naive about the nefarious ways of fraudulent politicians. Chicago machines helped write the rules of the game.

But even in Chicago, election watchdog groups have marveled at the effectiveness of stiffer enforcement in recent years.

The argument that the "motor voter" bill is an unnecessary intrusion by the federal government into states' rights may be the weakest argument of all. The nationwide patchwork of state-run rules and procedures does less to protect voters' rights than it does to safeguard the ability of politicians to manipulate the electorate and protect their jobs.

The biggest enemy of legislation to ease voter registration and participation is inertia. Americans are

slow to want to fix something that doesn't seem broken.

But we also have to ask ourselves whether all of the hoops states make prospective voters jump through are really necessary.

More important, we should ask ourselves this: Who benefits from a system that makes it harder for working people who have had to change their address, can't get down to City Hall to register during certain hours, or don't have organized volunteers handy to register them at local shopping centers?

Who benefits? It's obviously not the voters.

daily file

1992- JUNE 23

**Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page**

PEOPLE

On the Main Line



For The Inquirer / JOAN FAIRMAN KAMES

Francis J. "Reds" Bagnell, whom the Hahnemann golf event is named for, stands with his daughter-in-law Catherine Bagnell and grandchildren Margaret and Billy Jr.

Hospital's golf tournament

By Pauline Pinard Bogaert
INQUIRER CORRESPONDENT

You might say a bad hip started the Hahnemann University "Reds" Bagnell Golf Classic eight years ago.

In 1975, Francis J. "Reds" Bagnell of Gladwyne, president of Resource America Inc. of Philadelphia, had a hip replaced at Hahnemann University Hospital by Dr. Arnold T. Berman of Gladwyne.

Bagnell, captain of the 1950 University of Pennsylvania football team and an all-American, was grateful to Berman for the successful operation. When Berman founded the Orthopaedic and Arthritis Center at Hahnemann in 1984, Bagnell agreed to serve as chairman of the center.

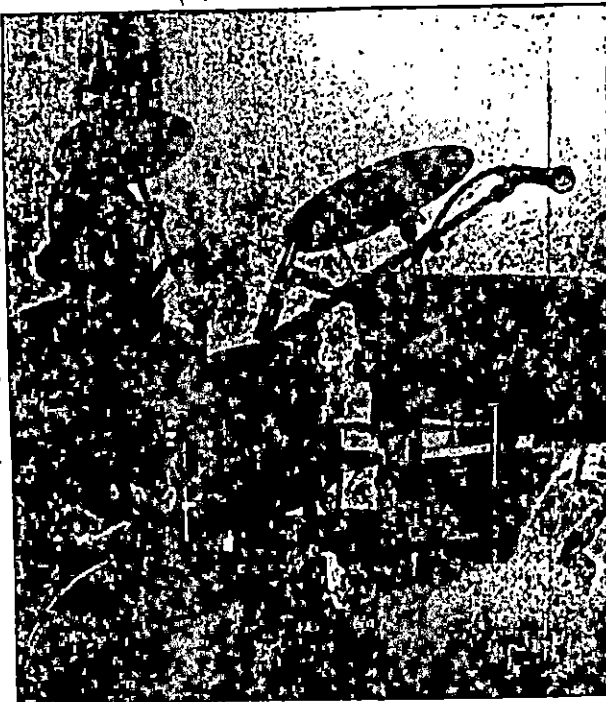
As a way to thank Bagnell for his help in chairing the center, Berman organized an informal golf tournament for friends of the two men.

"I told [Bagnell] we were going to have a golf tournament named after him. The first would be called a golf tournament, and if it made it to a second year, we'd call it the Bagnell Classic," Berman said Monday with mock seriousness.

The classic, held this year at the Philadelphia Country Club in Gladwyne, has grown from a few friends to nearly 175 golfers, with nearly \$130,000 raised for research at the orthopedic and arthritis center.

"He's a great man, a great patriot and a great athlete," Al Martinelli of Gladwyne, chairman of the event, said of Bagnell, who was presented with the Maxwell Award as college player of the year in 1950 and was elected to the College Football Hall of Fame in 1977.

Bagnell was pleased with this year's format, which used the golf club's 27 holes, allowing about 50 more players to participate in the 18-hole tournament.



About 300 came to hear Ken Ulansey's Klezmer Band play King of Prussia Under the Stars. There are four cor

Among those participating this year were: Helen Sigel Wilson, Sam Rabinowitz and Tom Brookshire, all of Gladwyne; Matt Lincoln, Wyndmoor; Larry Cunningham, Fort Washington; Tom Balog, Lower Gwynedd; Val Nichols, Chestnut Hill; Ed Berger, Yardley; Jim Crawford, Swedesboro, N.J.; Jim Palmieri, Edgewater Park, N.J.; Bob Sims, St. Davids, with son, Carter, Wayne; Nick Leasure, Pottstown; Steve Leage, Merion Park; Barry Sweet, Newtown Square, and Alex Stein, Penn Valley.

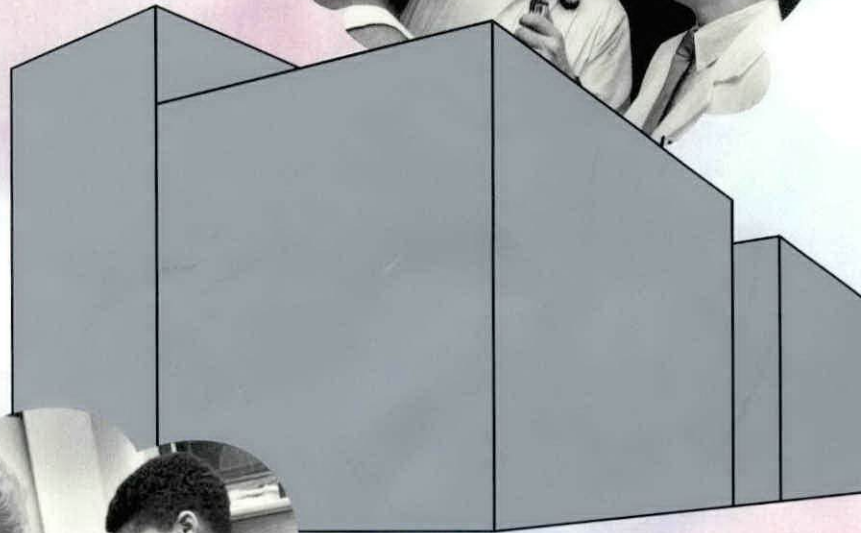
The first Young Alumni Summer Bash for 1988 to 1992 graduates was held Saturday at Cabrini College.

"Most of the time, the alumni only hear

Hahnemann

U N I V E R S I T Y

SUMMER 1992



beyond the campus



*President Bush honors medical students with
Daily Point of Light award*

Hahnemann University magazine is published for the graduates, faculty, staff, students, volunteers and friends of Hahnemann University by the Office of Public Affairs. Address all correspondence to the editor, Hahnemann University magazine, Broad & Vine, Philadelphia, PA 19102-1192, mail stop 614, or call (215) 762-8284. Opinions expressed in Hahnemann University magazine do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the editors or the administration of Hahnemann University.

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On the cover: Going beyond the campus are Hahnemann medical students as they provide health care to Philadelphia's homeless at several shelters. Their work was recently recognized by President Bush. See story on Page 14.

12

Coming Back to Broad & Vine

Commencement / Alumni Weekend brings together old, new



14

Beyond the Campus of Hahnemann University

Medical students reach out to the community

22

An Afternoon in Spring

Bone marrow transplant reunion celebrates life



29

Keeping the Flame

Hahnemann's professors emeritus pass on wisdom, knowledge to next generation
— Part II



2 Compendium

35 Alumni News

44 The Back Page