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News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992
6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

NATIONAL NEWS

PEROT ATTACKS GOP 'ASSAULT' ON CHARACTER -- Ross Perot spent a long day Wednesday attacking what he suggested is a Republican conspiracy to discredit him as an overzealous investigator of the activities of President Bush and others.

(Washington Post, Washington Times)

BUSH TO OFFER CONGRESS NEW SCHOOL CHOICE PLAN -- President Bush plans to confront Congress anew Thursday on the school choice issue, redrafting a plan for \$1,000 tuition grants or scholarships and naming it the "GI Bill for Kids."

(Washington Times)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

IMPROVED U.S.-ISRAELI TIES SEEN -- Bush Administration officials said Wednesday that the election of the Labor Party in Israel should ease the strained relationship with the U.S. and improve chances for early progress in the Middle East peace process.

(Washington Post)

SOME POWS MAY HAVE BEEN LEFT, U.S. AIDE ADMITS -- A senior Pentagon official admitted Wednesday that the government had evidence in 1973 that some American POWs may have been left behind in Vietnam, despite official pronouncements to the contrary at the time.

(Los Angeles Times)

NETWORK NEWS (Wednesday evening)

PRESIDENT BUSH AND PEROT -- Ross Perot was defending himself or on the defensive, depending on your perspective, against high-level Republican allies of the President.

SCHOOL PRAYER/SUPREME COURT -- The Supreme Court reaffirmed that prayer has no place in the public schools.

STUMP SPEECHES/PRESIDENT BUSH -- President Bush, taken from a number of recent appearances.

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-10

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

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NATIONAL NEWS

PEROT ATTACKS GOP 'ASSAULT' ON CHARACTER

ANNAPOLIS -- At times furious, at times jovial, and at times darkly suspicious, Ross Perot spent a long and for him extraordinary day Wednesday attacking what he suggested is a Republican conspiracy to discredit him as an overzealous investigator of the activities of President Bush and others.

"There has been a very highly organized effort, building up over a period of weeks, climaxing in this massive and false assault," Perot charged, speaking at the first news conference of his 3-month-old insurgency.

Richard Bond scoffed at the allegations. "I am a little tired of Perot's paranoia on the subject of the Republican Party." He challenged Perot to back up the charges with facts.

While Administration officials insisted they had little to do with turning the heat up on Perot, they were happy to see it. "Marching orders" at the White House were to "stand back and watch him bleed," one presidential aide said.

"Ninety-nine percent of what is out there is what the media is digging up," said Torie Clarke. "If he can't stand the heat of that, he ought to get out of the kitchen."

(David Von Drehle, Washington Post, A1)

Perot Responds Angrily To 'Dirty Tricks'

ANNAPOLIS -- Ross Perot hurtled through a day-long media blitz Wednesday to answer Republican charges that he is a paranoid billionaire with a hunger to investigate government officials and his enemies.

Perot compared GOP attacks to Hitlerian propaganda, raised the ghost of Nixonian "dirty tricks" and scornfully accused party loyalists of playing "cops and robbers" in pursuit of his late mother's will.

On NBC's "Today" show Perot blamed President Bush for allowing his surrogates to distort Perot's past, calling it "politics at its lowest and worst." He said "Hitler's propaganda chief would be proud" of Vice President Quayle's suggestion that Perot would abuse the CIA, FBI and IRS if he becomes president.

Perot also charged that the press was in league with Bush and his surrogates in trying to distort the Perot image. He said the negative publicity was orchestrated to coincide with his 62nd birthday on Saturday, when many speculate he might announce his candidacy.

(Major Garrett, Washington Times, A1)

**PEROT, RNC CHIEF BATTLE OVER
'DIRTY TRICKS' ALLEGATIONS**

HARTFORD -- Ross Perot's feud with the Bush Administration and Republican officials over alleged "dirty tricks" in the 1992 campaign erupted into a talk-show verbal brawl between Perot and Rich Bond. Bond was the first caller on the line Wednesday night on CNN's "Larry King Live." Perot was the guest and what followed was an internationally televised shootout.

Bond demanded on the CNN program that Perot produce "one shred of evidence" that stories about him were generated by the Republican Party.

But Perot refused to offer anything to back up his assertions. "I've got more (proof) than I need," Perot said. "But I'll pick my time, I'll pick my place... when I think it best serves my purposes." Perot added: "Now, you're telling me you don't have a huge number of people going through every shred of evidence they can find about anything relating to me? You don't have anything like that? That's what you're telling the American people, Rich?"

"Oh, come on," Bond retorted. "It's not a dirty trick to track your words and evaluate your contradictions out there."

Perot added that he was "delighted that you're on the record now and I'm delighted that we have this transcript... and I think it will be fascinating over the coming months.... Maybe you don't know about it... but believe me, (the dirty tricks campaign) is alive and well."

"There is no such thing as dirty tricks in this Republican Party," Bond said. (Tom Raum, AP)

**BEHIND THE SCENES: BUSH TEAM
DIRECTS PEROT ATTACK**

The mounting war of words between President Bush and Ross Perot offers a rare look at the powerful arsenal employed by the Bush team to discredit its rivals.

While the President, for the most part, remains silent, the Bush campaign and the RNC are providing GOP officials across the country with guidelines meant to help coordinate attacks on Perot.

From the headquarters of the Bush campaign and the RNC, officials like Rich Bond were reciting what had become the Bush campaign's unofficial line of the day: Perot should "put up or shut up." And Wednesday's version of a daily "Campaign Briefing," telefaxed by the Bush/Quayle operation to Republican officials nationwide, included a compilation of unflattering recent Perot quotes to suggest that "his views have certainly seemed to change."

"Talking Points" circulated by the RNC offered specific recommendations of phrases Bush allies should use in attacking Perot. A memorandum from Bond to Republican Party leaders cites "private detectives, surveillance photos and tough tactics" in answering the question: "How does Perot get what he wants?"

In an interview, James Lake stressed that the campaign itself did not render such specific advice to its surrogates. He quickly added, however: "We do inform people about the record." For example, the campaign briefing invited its 700 targeted recipients to listen in on one of a series of conference calls meant to provide Bush/Quayle lieutenants with information that could be used against Bush rivals. (Douglas Jehl, Los Angeles Times, A18)

**OLD COMPASS IN NEW WORLD:
A PRESIDENT STICKS TO COURSE**

As Vice President George Bush accepted the Republican presidential nomination on Aug. 18, 1988, he told thousands of cheering convention delegates that his goal as President would be to pick up where Ronald Reagan left off.

As his term comes to an end, a crisis of leadership threatens Bush. The President himself seemed clearly aware of that as he made his argument for another term in an interview in the Oval Office Tuesday.

As voters begin to pass judgment on the very terms Bush outlined -- his record and his ability to lead -- they are doing so in a world very different from the one in which he was elected in 1988. By 1992, America no longer seemed to want a President who could carry out assignments on well-charted ground. The nation and the times demanded one who could set new goals and devise the next mission for a people entering wild territory.

(Andrew Rosenthal & Joel Brinkley, New York Times, A1)

**BUSH, BAKER PLAN ON FISHING
DURING JULY CONVENTION**

It is unclear what they will talk about since Secretary Baker is supposed to be out of politics and into diplomacy, but Baker and President Bush next month will repeat their 1988 routine of spending much of the Democratic convention together in the wilderness.

Bush and Baker aides said Wednesday it would be wrong to assume that the trip presages any move by Baker out of the State Department and that Bush and Baker have had no such discussions.

(Politics, Washington Post, A16)

BUSH SON TAKES LEAVE

Another of the President's trusted political advisers and major troubleshooters, his son George W. Bush, said he is taking a leave of absence as director and consultant at Harken Energy Corp. to help out his father's re-election.

Some Harken critics suggested the company won a chance to drill off Bahrain because of Bush's political connections, but he has denied that and no wrongdoing has been proved.

Campaign officials in Washington said Bush's role as a senior adviser remains the same and that he would not move to Washington and have day-to-day campaign involvement until the fall.

(Politics, Washington Post, A16)

RNC ENLISTS BOND PROTEGE

A third old Bush hand, William Canary, has signed up with the RNC to be chief of staff to Rich Bond. He assumes the job of Norm Cummings, who was named a senior field consultant to the party and the re-election campaign.

(Politics, Washington Post, A16)

**CLINTON PITCHES HIS PLAN
TO BUSINESS AUDIENCE**

Bill Clinton defended his economic plan Wednesday before a business group none too friendly to Clinton's ideas. Elsewhere, the Republicans bashed it.

Asserting that his package of proposals would both reduce the federal budget deficit and spur economic growth through increased investment, Clinton told a meeting here of the National Association of Manufacturers, "We may have differences of opinion over my economic plan, but I want you to know that I believe that this country has to produce to be great... We have got to rebuild our manufacturing base."

OMB Director Darman disputed Clinton's claim that his economic plan was a serious attack on the deficit, saying Clinton's "22-page budget proposed to solve a deficit problem -- never."

Darman called in reporters Wednesday to offer his own critique of Clinton's plan, which he described as being "contrived strictly for media consumption. It's transparently a phony."

Darman, who as budget director has never offered a balanced budget to Congress, said Clinton had effectively abandoned his goal of eliminating the federal deficit and argued that of an estimated \$75 billion in projected savings, "At most half of that is real."

(Maralee Schwartz & Dan Balz, Washington Post, A18)

Darman Bashes Rivals' Economic Plans

Richard Darman summoned reporters Wednesday to a highly unusual, political session devoted almost entirely to critiquing the economic plans offered by President Bush's campaign rivals.

Darman labeled Clinton's plan a combination of platitudes, tax hikes and unrealistic growth projections "contrived strictly for media consumption." He dismissed Perot's ideas as simplistic and technically flawed.

"Neither approach is serious. Neither will do," Darman told economic and political writers over coffee and cookies in his office. Darman said the President and his re-election team knew about the session, but said it was "my own personal idea."

Specifically, Darman said the Clinton plan would require an average annual growth rate of 3.5% to reach its deficit-reduction targets. He said that's not feasible.

Darman said his office never said the government could save \$180 billion by reducing waste, fraud and abuse, a key element of Perot's original plan. He also said Perot's proposal to eliminate Social Security for "rich folks like me" would amount to \$110,000 a year. To save the \$20 billion envisioned by Perot, he said, the cutoff would have to come at the income level of \$50,000. And if he made it voluntary, as he later suggested, the amount saved would be negligible, Darman said.

(Jill Lawrence, AP)

**BUSH UNVEILS BILL TO EASE REGULATIONS
IN BANK LAW, BUT ACTION UNLIKELY SOON**

The Bush Administration unveiled a bill that would roll back many of the regulations created in last year's banking law, contending they are constraining credit.

Despite lobbying from the industry to ease its regulatory burden, however, there is little optimism that such a bill would pass this year, with few legislative calendar days remaining.

"I never thought the sole purpose of legislation is to get enacted in two or three months," Secretary Brady said at a news conference Wednesday. "It doesn't happen that way."

Moreover, consumer groups oppose many of the amendments. "I'm kind of incredulous," said John Taylor, director of the Coalition for Community Reinvestment. "You ask taxpayers to reach in their pockets for billions for these industries, and then they turn around and say they've got too much paperwork."

(Paulette Thomas & Kenneth Bacon, Wall Street Journal, A2)

**BUSH VOWS TO CONTINUE FIGHT
FOR BUDGET AMENDMENT**

President Bush said Wednesday that he would fight "in every way possible" for congressional approval of a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced budget.

In a written statement reaffirming his refusal to accept the House's June 10 "no" for an answer on the budget amendment, Bush vowed to work closely with sympathetic lawmakers and try to mobilize public pressure for the plan.

The White House said Sen. Phil Gramm is "doing an excellent job" in trying to get the budget amendment passed and that "Sen. Mitchell is obviously trying to delay it any way he can." (Reuter)

**BUSH TO OFFER CONGRESS
NEW SCHOOL CHOICE PLAN**

President Bush plans to confront Congress anew Thursday on the school choice issue, redrafting a plan for \$1,000 tuition grants or scholarships and naming it the "GI Bill for Kids."

The plan reportedly would provide \$500 million next year to give 500,000 children from moderate to low-income families tuition help at private secular or religious schools.

"It is our intention to bypass the bureaucracy. Dollars go directly to teacher or principal. It'll upset the bureaucracy, but we're in the kid business," said one Administration official.

Conservatives, while pleased with the President's initiative, doubt it can pass without a major nationwide political effort by the Administration, including vocal support for California's school choice initiative for which only Vice President Quayle has campaigned.

Gary Bauer called the plan's chances slim. "Not with the liberals in Congress who remain horrified by the concept of any competition whatever in education," Bauer said. "The proposal will probably fly among conservatives, but what's unclear is whether the Administration has the stomach to fight for it in the way it will have to be fought for to pass it."

(Frank Murray, Washington Times, A3)

**PANEL CLEARS ENTERPRISE ZONE BILL,
MINUS CAPITAL GAINS BREAK**

The House Ways and Means Committee Wednesday approved a Democratic plan for urban enterprise zones, but the committee, voting along party lines, rejected a capital gains provision advocated by the Bush Administration.

The Democrats rejected President Bush's zero capital gains proposal after some members argued that it would cost billions more to finance than the Administration has acknowledged.

While House Republicans are displeased with the Democratic enterprise zones plan, an aide to Rep. Michel said Wednesday that Republicans might do little to block House passage of the bill next week, in hopes that the Senate would add a capital gains provision more to their liking. (Eric Pianin, Washington Post, A10)

**HOUSE FAILS TO OVERRIDE
BUSH VETO ON FETAL TISSUE**

The House Wednesday failed to override President Bush's veto of a bill that would have ended his ban on the research use of tissue from aborted fetuses, giving Bush his 30th consecutive veto victory. The 271 to 156 vote was more than a dozen votes short of the two-thirds majority needed.

After the vote, Rep. Waxman introduced a new health research bill that he said addressed some of the President's concerns. Waxman would require researchers to get their material from the fetal tissue bank proposed by the President. However, if those supplies proved inadequate, they would be free to find other sources. (Washington Post, A10)

**CONGRESS IS EXPECTED TO ACT BY FRIDAY
TO GET THE TRAINS MOVING AGAIN**

Congress is expected to act by Friday to get the trains moving again. Members of Congress and their aides said Wednesday night that they were drafting legislation to bring before the House Energy and Commerce Committee Thursday. The legislation was expected to get approval by the House and the Senate by Friday.

The legislation could set up an additional cooling off period, or it could simultaneously order workers back to work, while establishing a special mediation panel to make recommendations on a settlement.

Secretary Card, testifying before the House subcommittee on transportation and hazardous materials, urged rapid action by painting a grim picture of what could happen to business, employees and the economy.

Card said only a fraction of the chemicals moved daily in railroad tank cars, for instance, can be diverted to trucks or barges. In addition, manufacturing companies that use rail shipment in "just-in-time" inventory-control systems, in which they keep only on or two day's worth of parts or raw materials on hand, will begin to run short of supplies within a day or two, he said.

"Tens of thousands of workers are wondering if their jobs are threatened by the fact that loaded freight cars stand idle when their contents are needed to keep our factories busy," Card said. (Tom Belden, Knight-Ridder)

Hill Appears In No Hurry To Settle Railroad Shutdown

Congress appeared to be in no rush to end the nationwide railroad shutdown Wednesday despite warnings of economic chaos from both the Bush Administration and a group of railroads that voluntarily shut down all major freight operations in response to a machinists union strike against CSX Corp.

By the end of the day, however, congressional anger appeared to be giving way to the realization that something had to be done to get the railroads back in operation. There were indications that the House may begin work on legislation to end the shutdown as early as Thursday with the hope of completing congressional action before the start of the weekend.

Secretary Card and Michael Boskin warned the House subcommittee on transportation and hazardous materials that a shutdown of even a few days could have serious impacts on the economy. Boskin said the Council of Economic Advisers' best estimate is that the economy will lose about \$1 billion every day the strike lasts, though he said the loss would be recouped quickly if the shutdown is short. He said a prolonged shutdown would push the economy into contraction.

He said a month-long strike would result in a layoff of more than 1 million workers throughout the country, and "never before in American history has the number of laid-off workers increased by 1 million in one month."

Rep. Dingell repeatedly sent signals at Wednesday's hearing that he was in no hurry to impose a contract settlement. He told Card he is considering a number of possible solutions that might stop short of imposing a settlement.

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

CHALLENGING THE CHAIRMAN'S POWERS

Of all the House committee chairmen, Rep. Montgomery has a right few possess: Virtually none of the bills that emerge from his Veteran Affairs Committee can be amended on the House floor.

But now an unlikely pair of opponents -- Secretary Derwinski and Vietnam Veterans of America (VVA) are out to undo Montgomery's advantage.

The VVA, long at odds with Montgomery, earlier this year decided to challenge the chairman head-on over his committee powers. Earlier this month the VVA campaign got an unexpected boost when Derwinski declared war on part of a veterans benefits bill. The measure, approved by Montgomery's committee, allows the return of smoking at VA hospitals, overturning a no-smoking rule that has been one of Derwinski's major accomplishments in the VA's system of 172 hospitals. (Bill McAllister, Washington Post, A21)

HIGH COURT BANS GRADUATION PRAYER AT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A bitterly divided Supreme Court Wednesday prohibited officially sponsored prayers at public school graduations, declaring that they coerce youngsters into participating in religious exercises in violation of the Constitution.

Justice Kennedy, writing for the 5 to 4 majority, said that even non-sectarian benedictions and invocations violate the First Amendment bar against government establishment of religion.

In a written statement, President Bush said he was "very disappointed." And Gary Bauer, President of the Family Research Council, said "Of the five new justices added to the court by Presidents Reagan and Bush, three joined in today's travesty. At that rate, one has to wonder why liberal interest groups bother fighting Republican nominees to the court. Why not just support them and watch them grow?"

Solicitor General Kenneth Starr said he was "disappointed" and "surprised" by the court's "willingness to strike down a well-settled traditional and historical practice." However, Starr said he did not interpret the opinion as placing an absolute barrier to prayer at school graduation ceremonies, suggesting that student-initiated prayers, unsupervised by school officials, might be permissible.

(Ruth Marcus, Washington Post, A1)

SMOKING LAWSUITS PERMITTED

The Supreme Court Wednesday cleared the way for lawsuits accusing tobacco companies of deceiving the public about the health hazards of smoking, ruling that the law requiring cigarette warning labels does not absolutely shield manufacturers from being sued.

Lawyers for the family of a New Jersey woman who died of lung cancer, joined by antismoking activists, hailed the 7 to 2 decision as a significant advance in their effort to hold tobacco companies liable for the harms caused by their products.

Although the Bush Administration did not take part in the case at the High Court, top officials praised the decision, saying it could help hold the tobacco industry liable for some of the estimated 434,000 smoking-related deaths yearly.

"I applaud the Supreme Court's decision to hold the tobacco industry at least partly accountable for the millions of deaths and billions of dollars in medical costs associated with smoking-related illnesses," said Secretary Sullivan.

(Ruth Marcus, Washington Post, A1)

DURABLE GOODS ORDERS FELL 2.4 PCT. IN MAY

Orders for durable goods tumbled in May, the government said Wednesday, underscoring White House fears that the economy's feeble election-year recovery might run out of steam.

The Commerce Department said demand for long-lasting goods such as cars and computers fell 2.4% last month -- contrary to Wall Street's expectations of an increase. In addition, the order backlog fell to a three-year low, indicating the manufacturing sector may be slowing after a burst of strength early in the year.

(Reuter, Washington Post, B12)

**SELLING PACE OF U.S. VEHICLES
FELL IN MID-JUNE**

DETROIT -- The selling rate of U.S.-made vehicles dropped in mid-June from the already-sluggish rate of the previous 30 days, showing that the U.S. economy and the auto industry remain stuck in low gear.

Domestically built cars sold at a seasonally adjusted annual sales pace of 6.4 million vehicles in the June 11-20 period, down from an average pace of 6.6 million vehicles for the previous 30-day period. The results are disappointing for auto makers, who must get to a selling rate of around seven million cars to support their production plans and avoid factory shutdowns for the third quarter.
(Jacqueline Mitchell, Wall Street Journal, A2)

**OFFICIAL PLAYS DOWN PANEL'S
CRITIQUE OF ATOM DUMP**

At the urging of Energy Department officials, National Academy of Sciences President Frank Press has all but repudiated a report by an NAS panel that criticized government plans for testing plutonium waste at a repository in New Mexico.

In a letter this week to three key House committee chairmen, Press noted that the panel's report supports opening the controversial repository and characterized the report's strong criticisms only as "suggestions for improving the effectiveness" of the planned tests.

The House is expected to vote next week on a bill that would allow the Energy Department to open the \$1 billion Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP), where the department has been trying for years to ship drums of radioactive waste from its nuclear weapons factories.

Rep. Miller said a letter from assistant Energy Secretary Leo Duffy asking Press to write to the committee chairmen showed that "this Administration will do anything to get a barrel of waste into WIPP, even manipulate the National Academy of Sciences."

(Thomas Lippman, Washington Post, A4)

EDITOR'S NOTES: "Excerpts Of Interview With President Bush On His First Term," appears in the New York Times, page A25.

"Perot Fields Call From Republican National Chairman," a transcript of Rich Bond's discussion with Ross Perot on "Larry King Live" Wednesday night, appears in the Washington Post, page A18.

"Questioning A Cornerstone Of Urban Aid Plans," an article on enterprise zones by Kenneth Cooper, appears in the Washington Post, page A21.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

IMPROVED U.S.-ISRAELI TIES SEEN

Bush Administration officials said Wednesday that the election victory of the Labor Party in Israel should ease the strained relationship with the U.S. and notably improve chances for early progress in the Middle East peace process.

Secretary Baker said he hopes the next round of the Mideast talks will take place "just as soon as it is conveniently possible" after the formation of a new Israeli government. An Administration official said there is no likelihood Yitzhak Rabin will be invited to visit the White House until he forms a government, but he did not rule out a meeting with Bush soon after Rabin takes over officially. The official suggested there is some possibility that a first-stage agreement in the peace process -- an accord on Palestinian autonomy in the occupied territories -- might be completed before November.

Assistant Secretary of State Edward Djerjian said that "the (U.S.) loan guarantee proposal is very much still on the table." Djerjian testified Wednesday before the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East that the Administration hopes to find ways to provide the guarantees consistent with longstanding U.S. policy against financing Jewish settlements in occupied Arab lands. (Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post, A35)

RABIN PLEDGES TO CURB SETTLEMENTS

JERUSALEM -- Yitzhak Rabin pledged Wednesday to use his triumph in Israel's parliamentary election to put the brakes on expansion of "political" settlements in the occupied territories and to repair relations with the U.S. in hopes of reviving Israel's request for U.S.-backed loan guarantees.

Rabin also declared he intends to move quickly to accelerate negotiations over Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

At a news conference in Tel Aviv, Rabin said he hopes to revive Israel's request for \$10 billion in U.S.-backed loan guarantees. Rabin has pledged to curb what he has called "political settlements" amid large Palestinian population centers, which Likud has been constructing at a rapid pace, while preserving other settlements he said are necessary for Israel's security.

On Israeli television Wednesday night, Rabin indicated he intends to curtail settlement on a wide scale. He said Likud has put 20,000 housing units in the territories since July 1990, and he defined these as "mainly" political settlements. By contrast, he said, in five previous years of national unity governments, only 3,500 units were established.

"I have nothing in my pocket," Rabin said. "I won't come and say I have a promise to show." But he added that he had enjoyed long and frequent contacts with the U.S. and "I have a feeling... it will be easier."

David Hoffman, Washington Post, A1)

U.S. SAYS LIBYAN OFFER FALLS SHORT

Libya's conditional proposal to hand over for trial two men suspected of blowing up a Pan Am plane over Scotland in 1988 "falls far short" of adhering to U.N. requirements, the Administration says.

Libya's parliament voted Tuesday to surrender to "a conscientious, fair court" the alleged intelligence agents charged with the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, a statement from Tripoli said.

The U.S. flatly rejected the offer. Margaret Tutwiler Wednesday grouped it with previous unfruitful attempts by Tripoli to rid itself of U.N. sanctions by partially satisfying international demands.

"Libya has made numerous previous proposals and public statements on this matter, all of which fall short of compliance with relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions," Tutwiler said. "This (latest proposal) falls far short of meeting the requirements of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 748.... The U.N. Security Council resolution calls for action, not words." (Sid Balman, UPI)

CLAIMS OF SCUD DESTRUCTION UNVERIFIED

The U.N. Special Commission on Iraq has not found evidence to confirm a widely publicized U.S. military claim during the Persian Gulf War that American personnel destroyed many of Iraq's mobile Scud missile launchers, a commission spokesman said Wednesday.

The spokesman, Tim Trevan, said that "all of the operational missiles verified as destroyed by the commission were either destroyed under commission supervision or were claimed by Iraq to have been destroyed by Iraq itself. The commission has no evidence to contradict these Iraqi statements, but neither can it be certain that these statements are true." (Washington Post, A5)

**\$100 MILLION OF ABU DHABI'S U.S. FUNDS
BOUGHT IN BCCI CASE**

The Justice Department Wednesday asked a federal judge to seize \$100 million in cash the ruling family of Abu Dhabi has in accounts in the U.S., saying that the funds were part of the family's investment in BCCI.

It was the first major legal strike here against the leaders of the oil-rich emirate, who owned 77% of BCCI when the bank was shut down for widespread fraud nearly a year ago.

"The ruling family intends to assert its claim to the assets, which are all that remain of more than \$2 billion that was stolen from this account by former BCCI management," said W. Caffee Norman, an attorney for the Abu Dhabi ruling family.

"Our position is that the ruling family of Abu Dhabi is no different than the hundreds of thousands of other BCCI depositors who must stand in line for their money with everyone else," said Ira Raphaelson, the Justice Department's special counsel for financial institutions fraud. (Sharon Walsh, Washington Post, B10)

SERBIA CHOKING UP ON SANCTIONS

Serbia's economy is teetering on the brink of disaster as international sanctions begin to sow results, the State Department says.

Margaret Tutwiler said Wednesday that Serbia's textile industry, the Yugoslavian successor nation's most successful exporter, faces "major layoffs" in the next few weeks as a result of U.N. sanctions.

She said one-half of the 230,000 Serbians who work in construction will be placed on paid leave this summer, traditionally the peak time for activity in that industry. Nearly 50% of Serbia's construction equipment is idle, she said, and \$2.2 billion in foreign contracts are jeopardized.

"The government seems to have no plans for dealing with these mass layoffs," Tutwiler said. (Sid Balman, UPI)

**NEW NATO CHIEF SAYS
BALKAN ROLE IS POSSIBLE**

MONS, Belgium -- The new commander of NATO, U.S. Gen. John Shalikashvili, cautioned Wednesday that if the alliance sends peace-keeping troops to the former Yugoslavia, it may be forced to use them in combat.

At a press conference here Shalikashvili said that because of the complexities of the bloody ethnic strife in the Balkans, what might begin as a peace-keeping mission could deteriorate into a combat situation. "At any moment, you might have to extend" the NATO role "into a conflict resolution," Shalikashvili said.

(Steve Vogel, Washington Post, A37)

**IMF SUPPORTS AID ADVANCE
FOR RUSSIA**

The IMF, with U.S. agreement, has shifted its approach toward a Russian aid package and is prepared to advance \$1 billion to Moscow even before reaching a full-fledged agreement with the Russians on economic reform, a senior Bush Administration official said Wednesday.

With the full agreement proving to be more difficult to reach than either the IMF or the Russians had expected, a team of fund negotiators is returning to Moscow Thursday to wrap up at least a preliminary deal on how Moscow will make the transition from 75 years of communism to a capitalist economy.

The hope is to complete at least the preliminary agreement in time for the IMF's executive board to decide on the \$1 billion payment before the summit of the seven richest industrial democracies -- the G-7 -- opens in Munich July 6.

A senior Administration official agreed the early \$1 billion payment could ease pressure on Russia to go through with the complete reform program. But he said the risk is worth taking because "I think it is very important to indicate that we think they are moving in the right direction. They know that if they take the first \$1 billion and don't do anything, they are not going to get the rest."

(Stuart Auerbach & John Berry, Washington Post, B10)

**SOME POWS MAY HAVE BEEN LEFT,
U.S. AIDE ADMITS**

A senior Pentagon official admitted Wednesday that the government had evidence in 1973 that some American POWs may have been left behind in Vietnam, despite official pronouncements to the contrary at the time.

Under sharp questioning by members of a Senate panel investigating the fate of Americans still missing from the Vietnam War, Charles Trowbridge, the deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency's Special Office for POW-MIA Affairs, acknowledged that the DIA had the names of 51 servicemen listed as captured who were not among the prisoners repatriated during Operation Homecoming in April 1973, when all POWs were supposed to have been returned by North Vietnam.

But the fact that not all missing servicemen had been accounted for was concealed from the American people at the time by Defense Department officials.

(Michael Ross, Los Angeles Times, A1)

**POSSIBLY 80 VIETNAM POWS
LEFT BEHIND, KERRY SAYS**

Sen. Kerry charged Wednesday that 80 or more Americans could have been left behind as POWs after the end of the Vietnam War, although there is no evidence any are still alive.

Kerry said the Pentagon was "wrong" to assert in public statements following the return of U.S. POWs in April 1973 that all American prisoners had been repatriated.

"Taken together, the information available to the committee does constitute evidence that some Americans remained alive in Indochina" after all were supposed to have been returned, Kerry said. "This is enough in my mind to contradict official statements made then and repeated for almost two decades."

(John Lancaster, Washington Post, A6)

**ROUND OF TALKS RECESSED AFTER
BOTH SIDES AIR POSITIONS**

MEXICO CITY -- The U.S. and Mexico capped talks on a new extradition treaty Wednesday with both sides saying tensions had eased since last week's Supreme Court ruling that sanctioned the kidnapping of a Mexican doctor.

Amb. John Negroponte said American negotiators had given fresh assurances to Mexico that they would not use the ruling as a license to abduct wanted Mexicans and take them to the U.S.

"There are mechanisms and procedures in place today that would make unlikely any incidents of this kind being repeated," said Negroponte, speaking to reporters as he left the Mexican Foreign Ministry.

Mexico said it would set clear ground rules for the operations of the up to 60 U.S. DEA agents stationed on its territory.

(William Cormier, AP)

**ARISTIDE CRITICIZES U.S.
STAND ON HAITIAN**

KINGSTON, Jamaica -- Exiled President Aristide says the U.S. should work to get his country's new prime minister unseated, rather than suggesting a meeting of the two men.

The State Department said it would be useful for Aristide and Prime Minister Bazin to engage in serious dialogue. On Tuesday, at a news conference in Kingston, Aristide reiterated his opposition to any talks with Bazin while the latter remained in office.
(World, Washington Times, A2)

**MINIVAN 'DUMPING' DECISION
NEGATED BY ITC**

The ITC ruled Wednesday that American automobile makers have not been hurt by the cut-rate pricing of Japanese-made minivans, negating a Commerce Department ruling that would have led to tariffs being imposed on the vehicles.

The ITC vote was 4 to 2 against the domestic industry claim of economic harm. The majority of the ITC cited the 88% share of the U.S. minivan market held by Chrysler, Ford and General Motors as evidence that the U.S. carmakers were not injured by the alleged Japanese dumping.
(Stuart Auerbach, Washington Post, B10)

NETWORK NEWS

(Wednesday evening, June 24)

PRESIDENT BUSH AND PEROT

ABC's Peter Jennings reports Ross Perot was working Maryland today. Perot was also defending himself or on the offensive, depending on your perspective, against all those high-level Republican allies of the President who have been sniping at Perot.

ABC's Morton Dean reports Ross Perot came to Annapolis to celebrate collecting enough signatures to place him on Maryland's November ballot. Later at a formal news conference Perot denied accusations that he conducted an investigation of George Bush's son when Bush was Vice President.

(Perot: "I never spent a penny. I was unsolicited. A person gave me this information. I took it straight to the Vice President and walked away from it. And that is the end of the story.")

Perot said he only passed onto Bush rumors about his sons being involved in improper activity. Perot released a handwritten letter dated December 24, 1986, in which he was thanked by Bush. Bush wrote: "I was very touched by your calls about my kids. They are all straight arrows -- uninvolved in intrigue -- and yet the rumor mill links them, and Ross, it hurts them you understood all this." Perot says the incident has been twisted as part of a Republican dirty-tricks campaign aimed at him.

(Perot: "There has been a ninety-day effort to redefine my personality by a group called Opposition Research in the Republican Party. They're generally know as the dirty-tricks crowd.")

All this talk about dirty tricks and investigations suggest that this presidential campaign has moved into a nasty, new phase.

(ABC-4)

NBC's Katy Couric reports the war of words between Ross Perot and George Bush keeps escalating. Perot today said that some Bush campaign tactics would make Hitler's propaganda chief proud. And the White House called Perot paranoid.

NBC's Lisa Myers reports Perot spent most of the day denying reports that he has investigated everyone from President Bush to his own employees. In an interview with Bryant Gumbel he labeled such reports fantasy and the results of Republican dirty tricks.

(Perot: "The Republican dirty-tricks committee has been carefully putting this together for weeks. This has nothing to do with anything but politics, and it's factually wrong.")

(Gumbel: "President Bush is to blame?")

(Perot: "He is in charge of the whole process. That party does not run out there out of control.")

Later at a news conference Perot portrayed himself as the victim of a conspiracy between Republicans and the media.

(Perot: "So, there has been a very highly organized effort building up over a period of weeks climaxing in this massive and false assault with nobody checking facts occurring, hoping that somehow this will impact me.")

However, the authors of various stories detailing Perot's investigative zeal vigorously denied any Republican involvement. Perot repeatedly denied a Washington Post report that he investigated then-Vice President Bush. He said he did give a reporter information that might involve Bush. Perot also denied investigating Bush's children, saying he merely informed Bush of rumors.

(Perot: "I called him father-to-father, and said I have no idea if there's any truth to this or not, but I felt you should know this is going around.")

In fact, Perot produced a letter from Bush in 1986, thanking him for the information, which left the White House struggling to explain this presidential reaction on Monday.

(TV coverage of President Bush walking down steps from OEOB toward White House.)

(President Bush: "If the reports are true of investigating my children, my family for something -- I don't think that's particularly American.")

Perot insisted that he only used private investigators three or four times -- all when employees were suspected of impropriety.

(NBC-3)

CBS's Eric Engberg the Bush White House, increasingly nervous over Perot's strong poll showings, has dropped plans to ignore him and gone to personal attacks.

(Vice President Quayle: "Imagine Ross Perot having the IRS, the FBI and the CIA under his control. Who would be investigated next?")

Faced with this new assault, on the talk-show circuit Perot fired back in kind.

(Perot, "Today": "Hitler's propaganda chief would be proud of what we're about to see.")

As the mud fight escalated, the White House today called Perot a paranoid. Perot says his decision to hire lawyers to look into tax breaks some former Bush associates had gotten by giving ranch land to the government was innocent.

(Perot: "I was looking at it because twice I considered buying the ranch. That's not running around with a Sherlock Holmes hat and a magnifying glass.")

Perot admitted gathering information about a top Defense Department official but said he did nothing with it but tell the FBI. With the charges now flying like spears, Perot tossed a new one today. Republican gumshoes, he said, have descended on Texas courthouses demanding to see his late mother's will.

(CBS-4)

SCHOOL PRAYER/SUPREME COURT

Jennings reports the Supreme Court reaffirmed today that prayer has no place in the public schools. The Supreme Court has said that a traditional part of public school graduations for generations -- a clergyman delivering a religious blessing -- is not acceptable.

ABC's Tim O'Brien reports the court specifically repudiated arguments by the Bush Administration that benedictions should be allowed because students don't have to attend. The court called graduation one of life's most significant occasions that students are not likely to skip. Today's ruling does not affect benedictions in state legislatures or even on college campuses. The justices emphasized that the public school setting is different, involving impressionable children who rarely feel free to just walk out. (ABC-3)

Couric: Two far reaching Supreme Court decisions today: one involving school prayer forbidden by the court for three decades and a matter of intense debate in this country. The ban remains in place tonight, and President Bush says he is very disappointed about it. Also, a court ruling makes cigarette makers much more vulnerable to lawsuits.

NBC's Carl Stern reports the key votes were cast by recent appointees Kennedy and Souter. Kennedy said that prayer referring even generally to God can be embarrassing and intrusive to some of those attending. Souter said that students and parents are a captive audience: indirectly coerced into recognizing a deity. Four dissenters called the decision a judicial disaster which ignored the nation's religious heritage and tradition. It was Ronald Reagan who chose Anthony Kennedy. George Bush named David Souter.

(TV coverage of President Bush and Souter in Oval.)

The fact that they were the key votes in today's commencement prayer case proves again that presidents don't always get what they expect from their appointees. (NBC-Lead)

CBS's Rita Braver says it was a big loss for the Bush Administration which hoped to use this case to open the door to more religion in public schools and other government-sponsored activities. (CBS-2)

CIGARETTE SMOKING/SUPREME COURT

CBS's Dan Rather: American cigarette makers are taking a deep breath. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled today that tobacco companies can be sued for the damage caused by smoking.

CBS's Edie Magnus reports the Supreme Court ruling clears the way for people to sue the tobacco companies for damages under state personal injury laws. The court rejected arguments by the tobacco industry that federal laws requiring health warnings on cigarette packs effectively shielded them from lawsuits. (CBS-Lead)

RAILROAD STRIKE

Jennings reports on Capitol Hill today there was no indication that Congress is ready to step in, at least right away, to end the railroad strike. A strike by a one union, the machinists, against one railroad, CSX, set off a chain reaction this morning. And within hours all the nation's forty freight lines and Amtrak, many of whose passenger trains run on freight tracks, halted most of its service too. The unions call it a lockout. The Bush Administration calls it a disaster that could jeopardize the national economic recovery. -more- (ABC-5)

NBC's Robert Hager reports for the better part of this day Democrats in Congress have been resisting the Administration's call for a quick vote to impose a settlement right away. Some were talking about permitting the action to a last few days.

(TV coverage of Secretary Card and President Bush in Oval.)

When President Bush's point man, Secretary Card, went to Capitol Hill asking for Congress to order an end to the strike today, Democrats balked.

(Card: "We have to be prepared to act in America's best interest and act quickly.")

(Rep. Eckart: "My fear is that we have a contrived national emergency.")

(Rep. Sikorski: "You come in here and are telling Congress to shut down the collective bargaining process.")

(Card: "No, I'm asking Congress to meet its responsibility for the national economy.")

But there's no doubt Congress will eventually order an end to this. Whether it's tonight or in a few days it's likely to be over before any serious damage is done to the economy (CBS-6, NBC-2)

FETAL TISSUE/HOUSE VOTE

Couric reports the House today upheld President Bush's veto of a bill permitting the use of fetal tissue for medical research. The vote fell well short of the required two-thirds majority. It was the President's 30th undefeated veto. (CBS-3, NBC-5)

STUMP SPEECHES/PRESIDENT BUSH

Couric: The stump speech: a three-part series beginning tonight on America Close-Up. Most of us hear presidential candidates not in person but through TV soundbites. They are short and often less than revealing. In this series we've set aside some time for you to hear the candidates and their own words. Tonight, President Bush, taken from a number of recent appearances beginning in Dallas, Texas.

(President Bush, all locations and dates were unidentified: "I'm making the case that America's best days lie before us. And I realize that I might not be taking the fashionable view. Much of the conventional wisdom these days portrays America in decline: its energy dissipated, its possibilities exhausted, a country overrun by economic predators abroad and crippled by the insurmountable problems at home. The fact is America is more than the world's sole military superpower, though it is that. It's more than the world's political leader, though it is that too. It's also the greatest economic power the world has ever seen -- a country uniquely able to provide each of you unparalleled opportunity.")

(President Bush: "I know that there are those who are deprived, who are born into almost hopeless situations, but there are all kinds of ways that we can help.")

(President Bush: "The longer I'm in this job the more convinced I am that government alone simply cannot solve these problems. It can't be done. And you might say: What keeps a kid in school? What keeps a kid away from drugs? What keeps a kid out of the gangs? It's not government. It is family. And Barbara Bush said it right: what happens in your house is far more important than what happens in the White House.")

-more-

(President Bush: "You and I understand America and her problems. And we understand where we must go. And we all want families strong and united, good schools, safe neighborhoods, job-creating economy and a world at peace. And since becoming your president I have been to all 50 states in the country. I have felt the heartbeat of America. I've felt it up close: farmers and ranchers and cities and city kids and teachers and truck drivers. And I know the American people. And they are with us. But they're angry. They're angry at big government, small results and big excuses. And they are right: government is too big and it spends too much. And we got to change that.")

(President Bush: "This economy is beginning to move, and each inch of the way it starts up, the Democratic Party is panicking because the only way they can win is if things are going to hell in this country. And I wouldn't want that. I think we're much more positive than that.")

(President Bush: "With you at my side we are going to win this election, and we're going to win it going away. America is a rising nation, not a declining nation. And don't listen to the pessimists trying to get my job. They don't know what they are talking about. God bless you all and many, many thanks.") (NBC-6)

ECONOMY

Jennings reports the manufacturing side of the economy can hardly afford any new problems, but orders for durable goods went down 2.4% in May. Orders for military equipment were particularly hard hit. (ABC-6)

AMERICANS' PERSONAL FINANCES

Jennings reports people still are feeling better about their personal finances. ABC News and Money magazine take a poll each week about how Americans feel about their financial situation. And for the first time in a year, a majority, 52%, say their finances are in good shape. (ABC-9)

JAPANESE AUTO INDUSTRY VICTORY/MINIVANS

Jennings reports the Japanese auto industry has won a major victory. Last month the Bush Administration accused Toyota and Mazda of dumping its Minivans in the U.S. Today the U.S. government's International Trade Commission has concluded that U.S. automakers have not been harmed. Therefore, the Japanese will not be punished with higher tariffs. (CBS-5, ABC-7)

POWS IN FORMER SOVIET UNION

Rather reports a U.S. envoy looking for U.S. POWs said his gut feeling is that there are no American prisoners in the former Soviet Union, at least not now. Former U.S. ambassador Malcolm Toon said he expects to know for sure within about two weeks. (CBS-10)

NEW VIETNAM POW CHARGES

Couric says there were some stunning new POW charges today. A Senate investigating committee accused the government of lying about American prisoners left behind in Vietnam.

NBC's Andrea Mitchell reports the charge is as many as 133 American POWs may have been left behind because the Nixon Administration didn't want to reveal the extent of its bombing over Southeast Asia and wanted to end the national nightmare of Vietnam. Today the committee chairman said that classified documents prove that some POWs were abandoned and that the government knew it.

(Sen. John Kerry: "There is evidence that some people were absolutely left behind in that status at that time. And it is sufficient to contradict official statements made then and repeated for almost two decades.")

At first, intelligence officials denied it.

(Charles Trowbridge, DIA: "We held no current information that individuals at that point in time were being held against their will.")

(Kerry: "Mr Trowbridge, you know as well as I do there is signal intelligence that tracked people. Isn't that correct?")

(Trowbridge: "That's correct.")

(Kerry: "The last evidence we held was that people were in captivity, correct? Some people. Yes or no?")

(Trowbridge: "Some people; yes.")

Pentagon officials still say there is no conclusive evidence of any POWs being alive since 1973. (CBS-11, NBC-4)

ISRAELI ELECTIONS

ABC's Dean Reynolds says it is no secret that the White House is happy about Yitzhak Rabin's victory, not only because his policies are more in line with the Bush Administration's, but also because he now has a popular mandate to pursue aggressively the chances for peace. (ABC-11)

NBC's Martin Fletcher reports Israelis have a government committed to give land for peace. That's music to the ears of the Bush Administration. Secretary Baker said he hoped to strengthen relations with Israel and that the peace process would resume soon. One of the new government's top priorities is to improve relations with Washington. Already Rabin's men are saying they'll get the \$10 billion in loan guarantees that Bush refused to give Israel so far. Rabin will use the money to create jobs to boost the economy inside Israel proper at the expense of the West Bank settlements. (CBS-8, NBC-10)

SARAJEVO

Jennings says another U.N. convoy filled with food and medicine has made the dangerous trip to the city of Sarajevo. (NBC-9, ABC-13)

GEORGIA

Jennings says there was a failed coup attempt in what was once Soviet Georgia. Troops loyal to President Shevardnadze turned back the rebels after they briefly held a broadcasting center. At least two rebels were killed and two dozen wounded.

(CBS-9, ABC-12, NBC-8)

SAFETY ON THE JOB/OSHA

Rather reports a federal agency called OSHA is supposed to look after your safety at work. But increasingly over the years there have been accusations that OSHA is falling down on the job.

CBS's Mark Phillips reports OSHA oversees workplace safety but was little help to Craig Fitch. Fitch was doing iron work on a Manhattan skyscraper's fifth floor when a steel brace snapped and caused him to fall 30 feet to his death. For failing to have guard rails in place, OSHA initially fined Fitch's employer, American Steel Erectors, \$720. Across the industrial landscape when fatal or catastrophic accidents have taken place, OSHA penalties assessed are not just low but are actually going down. Adjusted for inflation, median penalties for fatal or catastrophic accidents went from \$2,093 in 1972 to \$511 in 1990. Sources within OSHA told CBS News that as many as half of all industrial accidents go unreported. Despite having the authority to bring criminal charges and actually put people in jail, OSHA hardly ever exercises that power. In fact, the number of people jailed by OSHA in its more than 20 years of existence is just one. And its fines have been traditionally so low they've become merely part of the cost of doing business. That's an attitude OSHA's current head says she's trying to change.

(Dorothy Strunk, OSHA acting administrator: "The Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin -- I think the President and myself feel very strongly about strong enforcement activities in those areas where you have serious violators of OSHA standards.")

A House Justice Subcommittee now wants a special inquiry into OSHA's investigation of Craig Fitch's death. It is recommending that OSHA be able to charge employers with workplace offenses that carry prison terms up to 20 years. (CBS-13)

NAVY SEX HARASSMENT/JENNINGS INTERVIEWS VICTIM

Jennings: We're going to begin tonight by putting a human face [Lt. Paula Coughlin] on the worst case of sexual harassment in the Navy's history. It is the worst case because it involves more than two dozen women; because as many as 70 Naval officers are suspected of being involved; because the most senior officers in the Navy knew that this sort of sexual abuse was a ritual at an annual Naval aviators' convention [Hilton Hotel in Las Vegas] called the tailhook convention; and because until one woman came forward and said enough, there was a very good chance it was going to be covered up. The bare facts are already on the record. (ABC-Lead)

-End of B-Section-

EDITORIALS/COLUMNISTS

NEW AMERICA PLAN

A Matter Of Leadership, Of Vision, Of National Will -- "Last week Congress passed a \$1.1-billion emergency urban aid bill and sent it to President Bush. That is obviously a lot better than nothing, and next to nothing is what was in store for the nation before the L.A. riots, which catapulted domestic ills to the top of public and private agendas. But resolving the problems of the cities will require vision and a national will that transcends politics. What if the nation said let's do what we really need to do instead of what's politically feasible this presidential election year? What would such a big plan look like?... Someone (the President? the Senate majority leader?) should have asked someone of vision (Jack Kemp? Sen. Moynihan?) to draw the big picture and let us all know how much it would cost. Then the taxpayers could decide if they were willing to foot the bill. The wagering here is that more people would be willing than those inside the Beltway assume."
(Los Angeles Time, 6/21)

Urban Band-Aid -- "Congress and the White House have shaken hands on a disappointment of a billion-dollar urban-aid bill. The bill provides (A) \$500 million for a nationwide summer jobs program for teenagers and (B) \$500 million in loans and grants aimed at rebuilding riot-devastated Los Angeles and water-damaged Chicago. Period. There is no (C). The buck pretty much stops there.... Sen. Kennedy claims that a second urban-aid package, this one devoted to longer-term initiatives, is making headway. It'd better be. For all its good intentions, the current bill will only serve to prop up things as they are -- and not for long, either."
(New York Daily News, 6/20)

Finally, Help For Cities -- "Congress and President Bush have thrown a welcome though weak lifeline to the nation's ailing cities in the form of more than \$1 billion in emergency aid. This is a relatively modest sum, but the fact that Washington is willing to give cities any extra money at all suggests that it is finally ready to put pressing urban issues back on the national agenda.... The next step is for Congress to convince Mr. Bush that an urban agenda means doing more than giving tax breaks to businesses and funding minimum-wage jobs to keep kids off the streets during the summer months."
(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/21)

Business Tax Breaks: No Panacea -- "Today, there are some 600 [enterprise] zones in 36 states, including Florida. But the paltry results of many of these projects suggest that even with an expanded federal commitment, enterprise zones alone will not be enough to revive the nation's decaying inner cities.... In overlooking the evidence from enterprise zones that already exist, politicians are missing an all-important point: That enterprise zones can serve, not as the panacea for urban ills, but as an opportunity for providing jobs. Just bringing new businesses is not enough. The true challenge is helping the unemployable of the inner-city join the ranks of the employable."

(Max Friedman, Orlando Sentinel, 6/21)

-End of News Summary-

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Thursday, June 25, 1992

Volume 28, Number 103

News From the Hill

HOUSE FLOOR: Fetal tissue research bill veto upheld.

The House yesterday sustained President Bush's veto of a bill (HR 2507) that would have lifted a ban on federally financed research using tissue from aborted fetuses. (See veto box, p. 5)

The fetal tissue research provision was included in a \$5.4 billion measure that would reauthorize expired programs of the National Institutes of Health.

The 271-156 tally fell 14 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to override a presidential veto. In his veto message, Bush said that money would be spent on "research that many Americans find morally repugnant."

With the Senate likely to override the veto, Bush concentrated his efforts in the House. Christopher H. Smith, R-N.J., an abortion foe, said, "It seems to me we wouldn't treat our pet dog with the same cruelty, indifference... and insensitivity afforded unborn children in this legislation."

But supporters of the bill said that the research could help those stricken with Parkinson's disease, diabetes and other diseases. "The president's veto said: 'I don't care,'" said Louise M. Slaughter, D-N.Y.

After the override attempt failed, Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the Energy and Commerce's Health Subcommittee, announced that he would introduce new legislation that would require researchers to get fetal tissue from a fetal tissue bank proposed by Bush.

If those supplies were inadequate, then researchers could find other sources. "We're making a good-faith effort to meet the president halfway," said Waxman.

HOUSE FLOOR: GAO survives Republican cost-cutting amendment.

Republicans took several shots at a fiscal 1993 spending bill (HR 5427) for Congress and related agencies, but Democratic votes defeated an amendment to cut funding for the General Accounting Office (GAO), and other proposals were ruled out of order. At press time, members were working to wrap up consideration of the measure.

The \$1.8 billion spending bill, which will grow to \$2.3 billion when the Senate adds money for its operations, became a prime GOP target to showcase congressional waste, prompting Democrats to limit amendments to the measure.

Members rejected, 134-292, an amendment by C. Christopher Cox, R-Calif., that would have cut the GAO's proposed budget of \$442.2 million by one-fourth. "The GAO is saddled with too much overhead, it costs too much and it's not independent," Cox complained.

But dozens of members came to the GAO's defense, saying the watchdog agency saves billion of dollars a year in wasteful federal spending. Mike Synar, D-Okla., said that in fiscal 1991 the GAO saved taxpayers \$33 billion.

The House approved, 417-2, an amendment by Bill Thomas, R-Calif., that would bar members from sending taxpayer-funded mailings outside their districts upon enactment of the measure.

Today

Senate Floor: The Senate will debate a proposed amendment to the Constitution to require a balanced budget.

Although the balanced-budget amendment is considered a dead issue for the year since the House rejected it, supporters in the Senate say members should go on record either for or against the amendment.

The House defeated legislation (H J Res 290) proposing a balanced-budget constitutional amendment on June 11 by a 280-153 vote, nine short of the two-thirds majority needed to approve a bill proposing an amendment to the Constitution.

In the Senate, the balanced-budget requirement is in the form of an amendment by Don Nickles, R-Okla., to the government-sponsored enterprises bill (S 2733).

Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., a staunch opponent of the balanced-budget amendment, plans to offer debilitating amendments to the Nickles amendment.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., who also opposes the constitutional amendment, said the House may take the matter up again if the measure passes in the Senate.

House Floor: Lawmakers may take up a fiscal 1993 spending measure (HR 5368) for foreign aid — perhaps the most unpopular appropriations bill Congress must consider each year.

The measure includes \$13.8 billion in spending, nearly \$300 million less than fiscal 1992 appropriations. "This is the smallest foreign aid bill we've had in our history," said David R. Obey, D-Wis., chairman of the Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

With elections five months away and a record federal budget deficit expected in fiscal 1992, members today will take up amendments to make further cuts.

David R. Obey, D-Wis., will offer an amendment to cut the measure's funding level across-the-board by 1 percent, or \$138 million.

An amendment to be offered by Mickey Edwards, R-Okla., that is sure to trigger a debate over abortion would delete \$20 million for the U.N. Population Fund. Abortion foes oppose giving money to the organization because it has funded population-control efforts in China, which has policies forcing abortions in some cases.

Appropriations Markup: Two more fiscal 1993 spending bills will be marked up today, when the House Appropriations Committee takes up draft measures that would fund agriculture and rural

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NEWS from p. 1

The bill originally would have prohibited the practice starting Oct. 1, 1992.

SENATE FLOOR: GSE bill debated; budget battle brews.

The Senate was bogged down in debate all day on legislation (S 2733) that aims to strengthen federal oversight of government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs).

The legislation would establish an office in the Department of Housing and Urban Development to oversee the business activities of GSEs, such as Fannie Mae and Farmer Mac which provide a secondary market for home mortgages.

Members approved, by voice vote, an amendment by Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., that aims to protect investors from being taken advantage of by their investment advisers or the managers of limited partnerships.

The Dodd amendment is essentially the text of legislation (S 1423) that would give investors in limited partnerships more power to fight a reorganization, or "roll up," of their partnership and give them the chance to opt out of any such deal. S 1423 has been stalled in the Banking Committee by Republican opponents.

Late in the day, senators began debating an amendment by John Seymour, R-Calif., and Don Nickles, R-Okla., that would provide for a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

Debate on S 2733 will continue tomorrow but will focus not as much on GSEs as on the balanced-budget amendment.

Backers of the constitutional amendment proposal say the Senate should go on record on the matter, despite the House's rejection of the amendment earlier this month.

U.N. Peacekeeping. Late Tuesday, the Senate cleared, by voice vote, a measure (HR 4548) that would authorize contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities in a number of countries, including Yugoslavia and Angola. The bill calls for the expenditure of \$350 million in fiscal 1992 and \$366.1 million in fiscal 1993.

ENTERPRISE ZONE tax breaks bill approved by Ways and Means.

The House Ways and Means Committee yesterday gave voice vote approval to an urban aid measure crafted by Democrats, after rejecting a Bush administration plan that would have provided more lucrative tax breaks for investment in so-called enterprise zones.

Enterprise zones have long been touted by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack F. Kemp as a key to luring businesses into poor urban and rural areas. Under the measure, as many as 50 enterprise zones would be created by 1996 and the government would subsidize workers — up to \$3,000 annually — hired

by businesses in the area.

Businesses could claim up to a \$20,000 deduction for business property each year and would be given access to tax-free bonds to finance investments. Additionally, any profit from assets would be exempt from capital gains taxes if the money was pumped back into the business. The GOP plan would have exempted the profits from capital gains taxes whether they were reinvested in the business or invested outside the enterprise zone.

Omnibus Tax Package. At press time, the Ways and Means panel was working on a draft \$14.4 billion measure that would repeal the 10 percent luxury tax on yachts, private planes, furs and jewels.

A dozen tax breaks, including ones to promote low-income housing and research and development, that expire at the end of June would be extended.

The measure would be paid for in part by a limitation of \$5,000 on the amount of expenses a family can deduct in connection with a job-related move.

SECURITIES BILL ready for House floor action.

The House Ways and Means Committee yesterday approved, by voice vote, legislation (HR 3927) that would give the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) sweeping new authority to police the loosely regulated \$2.3 trillion market for U.S. government securities.

The bill is aimed at preventing a repeat of last year's bid-rigging scandal involving larger-than-allowed purchases of Treasury bonds by Salomon Brothers Inc. The measure contains several provisions designed to deter trading fraud and increase SEC oversight of the Treasury bond market.

The bill would require large traders of federal government bonds to report their holdings to the SEC periodically. It would also require that bond dealers keep records of their transactions and open them to the SEC upon request.

The House Energy and Commerce Committee has already approved the bill.

• The panel also approved, by voice vote, legislation (HR 5429) that would make the Social Security Administration an independent agency.

CHINA MFN bill sent to floor without recommendation.

By voice vote, the House Ways and Means Committee yesterday sent to the floor legislation (H J Res 502) that would disapprove the renewal of most-favored-nation (MFN) trading status for China. But the panel declined to recommend the measure's approval or defeat.

The legislation, if Congress passes it and overrides a certain presidential veto, would block President Bush's June 2 de-

cision to continue normal trade ties with China for another year.

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

The administration says cutting off MFN status for China would only make it more difficult to influence the hard-line communist government there.

JAPANESE MINIVAN tariffs would increase ten-fold.

The House Ways and Means Committee approved legislation (HR 4318) that would significantly boost the tariff applied to imported minivans, most of which come from Japan.

Panel members voted, 24-12, to add the minivan tariff increase to the bill, which makes a number of relatively minor adjustments to the U.S. tariff code. The language would reclassify the minivan as a truck, subject to a 25 percent tariff.

Currently, imported minivans are classified as passenger cars and are generally subject to a 2.5 percent tariff.

Opponents said the reclassification could mean prices on popular Japanese minivans would rise by about \$4,000.

Under the bill, the higher tariff rate would not apply to the British Range Rover or to any minivan that is imported in small quantities each year.

The Bush administration opposes the tariff increase.

MINING LAW rewrite includes royalty on federal land miners.

Companies mining on public lands would have to pay an 8 percent royalty fee on gross income derived from gold, silver and other minerals found on the lands under a bill (HR 918) approved 26-19 yesterday by the House Interior Committee.

On a close 23-21 vote, the royalty provision was added to the bill over the objections of the mining industry. Supporters of the new fee pointed out that almost every other country imposes a fee on minerals mined on federal lands.

The bill would also increase fees for the use of public lands, and the proceeds would be used in part for the reclamation of abandoned hardrock mines in the West.

The measure would rewrite the 1872 General Mining Law to increase the cost of mineral rights. For example, the Viceroy Gold Corp. currently has the right to purchase 233 acres of California land that the panel estimates has \$280 million worth of gold. But the government will receive only \$1,650.

VETERANS ASSISTANCE bills approved; health measure put off.

Several bills that would increase assistance to veterans won the voice vote

approval yesterday of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee. But the panel, after approving several amendments to an omnibus veterans health bill (S 2575), had to delay final action on that measure.

The panel approved legislation (S 2323) that would increase compensation to disabled veterans and surviving dependents of deceased veterans. Under S 2323, surviving spouses of certain disabled veterans would receive \$725 a month, with additional amounts depending on the period of service or the veteran's disability.

The panel also approved a measure (S 2512) under which 10 percent of Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) properties that have been repossessed because of loan defaults would be leased to non-profit organizations to provide transitional housing for homeless veterans.

During its work on a health bill, S 2575, the panel reached an impasse on an amendment by Alan K. Simpson, D-Wyo., that would allow the VA to buy drugs more cheaply than Medicaid customers.

Since the enactment of a 1990 law allowing Medicaid customers the same bulk rate prices on drugs as the VA, drug companies have raised prices across the board, including sales to the VA, instead of lowering costs, as Congress had anticipated. A temporary provision in the fiscal 1992 veterans affairs and housing appropriations bill to reverse that action expires June 30.

The committee will reconsider the bill in July.

HAITIAN REFUGEE markup stalls after partisan debate.

A dispute between Democrats and a State Department official delayed a final vote yesterday by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on legislation (HR 5360) that would prohibit the Bush administration from sending Haitian refugees back to their country without a hearing.

The measure was introduced by Stephen J. Solarz, D-N.Y., in response to the Bush administration's May 24 decision to stop refugees before they reach the United States and return them to Haiti. It would require that the administration screen fleeing Haitians to determine whether they qualify as political refugees.

In a letter to the panel, the Attorney General's Office threatened a veto by President Bush. And a State Department official said at yesterday's markup that the legislation would prompt Haitians to try again to reach the United States. "There's no doubt that this legislation is likely to stimulate a new exodus," Robert S. Gelbard, a principal deputy assistant secretary of State, told the panel.

But Solarz countered that the dramatic increase in the number of refugees fleeing Haiti since last September's mili-

tary coup that overthrew democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was evidence that many feared persecution.

The debate between lawmakers and Gelbard was interrupted by a floor vote, and Chairman Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., decided to indefinitely postpone completion of the markup.

SMALL BUSINESS investment companies shored up under bill.

A bill that would substantially revise a government program aimed at providing capital to small businesses was approved 39-0 by the House Small Business Committee yesterday.

Currently, the Small Business Administration (SBA) funnels venture capital to small businesses through small-business investment companies (SBICs). But these investment companies have recently been failing, said committee Chairman John J. LaFalce, D-N.Y. The insolvencies were partly because of the faltering economy and also because the SBIC program structure had encouraged firms to borrow money through the SBA and then make long-term investments which did not provide any significant income to the investor for a number of years.

The measure is an attempt to prevent further SBIC failures by allowing institutional investors to invest in the SBICs to improve the cash flow. Under HR 5191, the federal government would be allowed to pay some of the interest on the SBIC loans in return for a share of the profits at a later date.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM bill moves on, despite GOP objections.

By a 5-3 party-line vote yesterday, the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights approved a bill that supporters say would provide stronger protections for the exercise of religious rights.

The measure (HR 2797) would essentially overturn a 1990 Supreme Court decision that said religious activities that conflict with state or federal laws are not protected by the "free exercise" clause of the Constitution if the law has a "rational relation" to a legitimate government interest, in this case preventing the use of illegal drugs.

In the case, two Indians in Oregon were fired from their jobs at a private substance abuse clinic and denied unemployment benefits after they were found ingesting the drug peyote. They said they were taking the drug as part of a religious sacrament.

HR 2797 would require the courts to allow the free exercise of religious practices that conflict with a law unless the state had a "compelling" governmental interest in enforcing the law.

The panel's ranking Republican, Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, objected to the bill, arguing that some women might claim the right to terminate a pregnancy as a religious belief and so not be subject to state laws that restrict abortion.

Hyde offered an amendment, rejected by voice vote, specifying that the bill "does not grant, secure or guarantee any right to an abortion, access to abortion services or funding, or alter or diminish any such rights which may have existed before the enactment of this act."

TECHNOLOGY BILL seeks to sharpen competitive edge.

Legislation that seeks to help small- and medium-sized companies become more technologically competitive was approved yesterday by the House Science Subcommittee on Technology and Competitiveness.

The bill (HR 5231) would require the Commerce Department to develop a national information network for use by manufacturers. The network would carry information on the development and various applications of modern manufacturing technology.

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The legislation would reauthorize the National Institute of Standards and Technology for fiscal 1994-97 at an overall funding level of \$1.4 billion.

The subcommittee also approved, by voice vote, a bill (HR 4400) that would require federal agencies to direct more research funds to small businesses.

The measure would reauthorize the Small Business Innovation Research program until the year 2000. Under the current program, which aims to promote commercialization of the government's technical and scientific innovations, federal agencies set aside 1.25 percent of their outside research and development budget for contracts with small, high-tech companies. The businesses use the research funds to develop commercial applications of new technologies.

The bill would increase the set-aside level to 2 percent.

A version of HR 4400 already approved by the Small Business Committee would put the set-aside at 3 percent.

PIPELINE SAFETY bill wins subcommittee approval.

The House Public Works Subcommittee on Surface Transportation yesterday approved, by voice vote, legislation that would reauthorize the Office of Pipeline Safety at the Transportation Department.

The office regulates oil and natural gas pipelines.

Members approved, by voice vote, a substitute version of the bill that would require the department to consider the environmental impact of its proposed pipeline regulations.

Under current law, the department must consider the impact only on people and property when setting pipeline regulations.

The substitute proposal would also require the department to study the use of flow safety valves that can detect when a leak has occurred and then shut off the flow of gas. An earlier version of the bill would have required the department to issue regulations mandating the use of safety valves.

MILITARY MALPRACTICE bill OK'd by Judiciary subcommittee.

The House Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Law gave voice vote approval yesterday to legislation (HR 3407) that would allow military personnel to bring medical malpractice suits against the federal government.

Under the Federal Tort Claims Act of 1946, members of the Armed Forces are prohibited from suing the government in cases of negligence at military medical facilities.

HR 3407 would allow malpractice suits only in cases where treatment occurred in the United States and at fixed

medical facilities; not field hospitals. Plaintiffs could collect only compensatory damages. No punitive damages could be awarded.

• The subcommittee also approved, by voice vote, a measure (HR 3910) that aims to shield administrative law judges (ALJs) from political pressure by granting them some of the independence currently enjoyed by the federal judiciary.

ALJs are employed by federal agencies to adjudicate certain cases involving the agencies, such as suits by people whose government benefits have been eliminated.

The bill would establish a council to appoint new judges and to set rules of conduct and procedures for ALJs.

The measure would also prohibit the removal of a judge unless sufficient cause, such as misconduct, was shown.

IMMIGRATION-related bills advance to full committee.

A House Judiciary subcommittee yesterday easily approved four bills, all by voice vote, including one that would authorize funding for three years for the Office of Refugee Resettlement in the Department of Health and Human Services.

That measure (HR 5383), sponsored by Romano L. Mazzoli, D-Ky., chairman of the International Law, Immigration and Refugees Subcommittee, would authorize \$521 million for fiscal 1993, \$546 million for fiscal 1994 and \$571 million for fiscal 1995. The office reimburses state agencies for financial and medical assistance given to refugees and provides grants for social services, such as English instruction and employment training.

The subcommittee also approved:

• S 1216, which would allow thousands of Chinese students to apply for permanent residency in the United States in 1993. The bill covers Chinese nationals who were in the United States during the June 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre. They are protected from deportation by a presidential executive order that expires Jan. 1, 1994.

The bill would permit the Chinese nationals to apply for residency starting July 1, 1993. The Senate passed S 1216 on May 21.

• S 2201, which aims to encourage Soviet scientists, particularly nuclear weapons experts, to emigrate to the United States. Under the measure, the scientists would be eligible to enter the United States before getting employment. The bill would reverse a current rule requiring that immigrants must have jobs before they can get visas.

• HR 2357, which would allow Americans working for a U.S. company overseas who suffer physical injury, including torture or death, at the hands of a foreign government to sue that government in U.S. courts.

NOAA FLEET replacement program funds endorsed by panel.

Legislation (HR 5324) that would authorize \$580 million through fiscal 1997 for a fleet replacement and modernization program for National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) ships was approved yesterday by the House Merchant Marine Subcommittee on Oceanography.

The measure, OK'd by voice vote, would authorize \$50 million for fiscal 1993 for the program, which is designed to keep NOAA's fleet of 22 ships in shape. The vessels are used for nautical charting, fisheries research and pollution monitoring.

The authorization level would increase to \$150 million for fiscal 1997. Just over \$33 million was appropriated for fiscal 1992. The bill would require the Commerce secretary to submit a five-year maintenance plan for the ships before awarding contracts to repair existing ships and construct new ones.

MONTANA LANDS bill moves to full panel despite some concerns.

The House Agriculture Forests Subcommittee gave voice vote approval yesterday to legislation (S 1696) that would designate 1.2 million acres in Montana as wilderness, barring development of recreational activities in those areas.

The measure also would set aside 715,000 acres to be studied for possible inclusion in the nation's wilderness system and 285,000 acres for recreational use.

The bill constitutes a compromise between the state's conservation-minded members and pro-industry Republicans because it would allow logging, mining and motorized recreation on 4 million acres of undeveloped forest land.

Environmentalists argue that the bill does not go far enough because it would not protect ecologically important lands.

At the markup, Montana Republican Ron Marlenee said he objected to several sections of the bill but would not block its approval. Marlenee said the water-rights provisions were too vague and do not sufficiently protect the state's authority over its water resources.

But environmentalists also oppose the water-rights language, arguing that it does not ensure an adequate supply of water to wilderness areas.

Marlenee is in a tough race for the state's one congressional seat and has decided not to block a bill that a majority of Montanans support. He may try to amend the measure during consideration by the full committee.

The Senate passed the legislation on March 26.

1897 LAND TRANSFERS are subject of committee-approved bill.

The Senate Energy Committee ap-

proved a number of bills by voice vote yesterday, including a measure (HR 1514) that would allow landowners and their heirs to reclaim, or receive payment for, certain property conveyed to the federal government more than 100 years ago.

The legislation would give a clear title to approximately 28,500 acres of land in 10 Western states. The lands were taken by the government under an 1897 law, and the federal government never paid for them.

The bill would require the secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture to identify which tracts of land are "nationally significant lands" so that they could be retained as national parks or national forests.

Other bills approved include:

- HR 479, which would include part of the Pony Express Trail in California in the system of national historic trails.

The measure also would include the California National Historic Trail in the national trails system.

- HR 2790, which would bar new hardrock mining in Cave Creek Canyon in southeastern Arizona.

- S 684, which would require the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to organize an international conference on the black market trade in international antiquities.

DOD KNEW soldiers were held after Vietnam War, Kerry says.

Members of the Senate Select POW/MIA Affairs Committee yesterday said the U.S. government was aware that Americans were almost certainly being held in captivity after the Vietnam War ended nearly 20 years ago.

Chairman John Kerry, D-Mass., said that after reviewing documents from the Department of Defense (DOD), the committee was able to compile a list of 244 Americans who were not repatriated at

Operation Homecoming in April 1973 and who U.S. government officials suspected were alive and held in Vietnam and Laos after the war had ceased.

"The information available to the committee does constitute evidence that some Americans remained alive in Indochina after Operation Homecoming," Kerry said. "This is enough in my mind to contradict official statements made then and repeated for almost two decades," he added.

But a Defense Department official said that while evidence may suggest Americans were left behind, it was not solid enough to act on.

"There may be evidence, but not good evidence," said Charles Trowbridge, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency's Office for POW/MIA affairs.

Kerry said the committee next Wednesday will hear from Ross Perot, the unannounced independent presidential candidate, regarding his assertions that U.S. soldiers were left behind after the war.

RAILROAD STRIKE focus of lengthy subcommittee hearing.

Members of a House Energy and Commerce subcommittee spent the day yesterday investigating the rail strike that shut down freight lines and halted some passenger service, but members remained skeptical as to whether Congress should intervene to end the strike. A sim-

ilar railroad strike in April 1991 was ended within 15 hours when Congress cleared a resolution mandating further mediations between rail management and striking unions.

Yesterday's walkout began early in the morning after a single union, the International Association of Machinists, announced it was striking against CSX Corp., the nation's third largest railroad. On Tuesday, Amtrak, the nation's passenger railway, reached tentative accords with some of its unions.

At the Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee hearing, Chairman Al Swift, D-Wash., told the railroads' chief negotiator Charles Hopkins that both sides in the labor dispute have been using negotiating tactics, but said "tactics or not, you're the ones that shut it down and you're the ones pedaling all the information about terrible, terrible things being done to the economy" because of the strike.

Earlier in the hearing, Transportation Secretary Andrew Card told the panel, "We have a crisis right now. Today, the stoppage has already exacted a serious toll. Tomorrow the price paid will be much higher. Therefore, Congress must act today."

Later in the day, Transportation panel member Gerry Sikorski, D-Minn., predicted that the House would pass legislation today that would extend a cooling off period in order for both sides to try and reach an agreement. ■

Not As Scheduled

The Senate Energy Committee put off yesterday's scheduled markup of legislation (HR 3359) aimed at preserving the Old Faithful geyser at Yellowstone Park.

The measure would impose a moratorium on federal geothermal leasing within a 15-mile radius of the park.

The moratorium would affect a geothermal well just outside the park boundaries that is being used by a religious sect as a water source in a way that the Interior Department says could sap pressure from the geyser and other geothermal sites in the park.

Republicans on the panel wanted more time to work on amendments aimed at clarifying that the bill would not infringe on the rights of landowners.

Vetoes — 102nd Congress

Here is a list of President Bush's vetoes during the 102nd Congress:

1991

Bill	Bill Description	Date	Outcome*
HR 2699	District of Columbia FY 1992 Appropriations	Aug. 17	No override attempt
S 1722	Unemployment Benefits	Oct. 11	Senate sustained, 65-35
HR 2707	Labor/HHS/Education FY 1992 Appropriations	Nov. 19	House sustained, 276-156
S 1176	Morris K. Udall Foundation	Dec. 20	No override attempt†

1992

Bill	Bill Description	Date	Outcome*
HR 2212	Conditional MFN Status for China	March 2	House overrode, 357-61 Senate sustained, 60-38
HR 4210	Tax Bill	March 20	House sustained, 211-215
S 3	Campaign Finance	May 9	Senate sustained, 57-42
S 2342	Sioux Indian Claims	June 16	No override attempt
HR 2507	Fetal Tissue Research/NIH	June 23	House sustained, 271-156

*Veto overrides require a two-thirds majority vote of both houses.

†Bush asserted he had pocket vetoed the bill, a contention disputed by Congress. However, Congress did not challenge the legality of the veto and similar legislation (S 2184 — PL 102-259) was signed March 19, 1992.

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development programs and postal subsidies, the Treasury Department, the Executive Office of the President and a number of independent agencies.

• **Treasury, Postal.** One possible amendment to the \$22.7 billion Treasury, Postal Service spending bill would target Vice President Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness, which has angered House Democrats with its watering down of proposed environmental and health regulations.

The amendment, offered at the June 10 Treasury, Postal Service Subcommittee markup of the bill by Rep. David E. Skaggs, D-Colo., was withdrawn, but an aide to Skaggs said yesterday that he planned to offer the amendment again in full committee. Two weeks ago, subcommittee members debated whether the cut was worth risking a presidential veto.

The draft bill also includes language that would head off efforts by the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) to scale back federal employees' health benefits. The OPM would be barred from revising health benefits for retired federal workers.

• **Agriculture.** Details of the spending plan for agricultural programs remain undisclosed. The Agriculture Subcommittee, during its June 10 markup, voted to keep the draft legislation secret until it is reviewed today by the full committee.

One of the bill's traditionally popular programs is the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) supplemental feeding program. The House budget resolution called for an increase in WIC allocations of \$282 million, representing a 10.8 percent increase in funding over the current level. Most other programs are expected to be frozen at fiscal 1992 levels.

Pornography Suits: Legislation that would allow victims of rape and other sexually motivated violent crimes to sue the producers and distributors of illegal pornography will be marked up by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The controversial bill (S 1521), which has been at the top of the committee's agenda for months, would give those who claim that pornography was a factor in the crime against them a cause of action in federal court against those who produce, distribute and sell hard-core or child pornography. Plaintiffs would be required to show a link between the pornographic material and the sexually motivated crime.

Howell Heflin, D-Ala., is expected to offer an amendment that would permit such suits only after the perpetrator of the violent crime is convicted of the act.

Arlen Specter, R-Pa., is expected to offer an amendment requiring the defendant in the civil suit to be convicted of the production, distribution or sale of hard-core or child pornography before

the victim can bring a court action.

Soviet Aid: The House Agriculture Committee will mark up portions of a foreign aid bill (HR 4547) that would outline eligibility requirements for 12 former Soviet republics to receive agricultural credits.

The bill is aimed at allowing new food credits to be given to the republics, while ensuring that the credits are paid back.

The committee's product is expected to be melded into the Foreign Affairs Committee's portions of the measure on the House floor.

Under the export credit program of the Commodity Credit Corporation, countries with less-than-perfect credit ratings are allowed to borrow money to purchase U.S. agricultural commodities.

The bill aims to ensure that the former republics are able to repay these credits.

On April 1, President Bush announced his intention to give the former Soviet republics \$1.1 billion in credits. Together with credits given to the Soviet Union before it broke up, the \$1.1 billion would bring the total to almost \$5 billion over the last two years.

Members and staff were "fine-tuning" the measure yesterday, said a committee aide.

Lobbying Changes: Legislation that would overhaul the nation's lobbying disclosure laws will be marked up by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee.

Supporters of the bill (S 2766) contend that current laws requiring lobbyists to register are vague and riddled with loopholes, making enforcement impossible.

The bill would require all those engaged in lobbying the executive and legislative branches to register their activities, unless their lobbying work is incidental to, and not a significant part of their job.

The measure would also establish the Office of Lobbying Registration and Disclosure at the Department of Justice to administer and enforce the act.

The bill has broad bipartisan support on the committee and is expected to be approved easily.

Dolphin Protection: A House Merchant Marine and Fisheries subcommittee will mark up legislation to protect dolphins from purse seine nets used in tuna fishing.

The bill (HR 5419) being considered by the Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation Subcommittee calls for a worldwide moratorium on the harvesting of tuna by the practice of setting purse seines — large nets used to encircle and trap fish for harvesting — on dolphins. Under this technique, the nets are used to encircle dolphins in order to trap schools of tuna that swim nearby. Many dolphins are killed by the practice.

The measure would institute a U.S. embargo on fish and all fish products except shrimp against all nations that do not abide by the moratorium.

Panel member W. J. "Billy" Tauzin, D-La., is likely to offer a controversial amendment that would add shrimp to the list of fish products that would be embargoed. It is estimated that for Mexico, a country currently using the purse seine method, the amendment could amount to \$182 million in lost shrimp revenues per year.

The administration is opposed to the Tauzin amendment on the grounds that the broadened embargo would threaten current environmental negotiations with Mexico.

D.C. Crime: The District of Columbia Judiciary and Education Subcommittee may mark up controversial anti-crime legislation that would make scores of changes in the District of Columbia's criminal code.

The measure (HR 4396) calls for a public referendum on the death penalty in the District for offenses in which death was caused intentionally, knowingly or recklessly with extreme indifference to human life. There is currently no death penalty in the District.

Additionally, the bill would institute much harsher penalties for certain crimes. For instance, the bill would raise maximum penalties for crimes involving firearms or drugs that occur near schools or playgrounds, providing a minimum penalty of five years' imprisonment for those crimes involving distribution of drugs to a minor.

The bill would also reduce the age at which a juvenile could be tried as an adult for serious crimes from 16 to 14, provide for mandatory life imprisonment without parole for first degree murder and give the courts more latitude to detain potentially dangerous criminals prior to trial.

Introduced by subcommittee member Thomas J. Bliley Jr., R-Va., the measure faces Democratic opposition.

Airline Reservations: The House Public Works Subcommittee on Aviation will mark up draft legislation that would require airplane reservation services to show no bias toward one airline.

Airlines own all four computer reservation services now in use, providing schedules and rates for all flights to travel agents nationwide.

The two smaller services claim that the two largest systems — one owned by American Airlines and the other by United Airlines and U.S. Air — steer passengers toward their parent company's airline.

The draft legislation has the support of the other major airlines, who feel that ownership of the largest reservation systems gives American, United and U.S. Air an unfair advantage. ■

Committee Meetings Scheduled Today

Senate Committees

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION

Senate Armed Services Committee

The full committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will meet 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

MARITIME REFORM

Senate Commerce Committee

Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Breaux, D-La.) will hold a hearing on maritime reform.

10am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 25

Witnesses scheduled: John Snow - chairman, CSX/SeaLand Services; John Lillie - president, American President Lines; representatives of other U.S.-flag liner companies, U.S.-flag bulk carriers, carriers engaged in domestic/Jones Act trade, maritime seafaring labor and the U.S. shipbuilding industry

PUBLIC LANDS

Senate Energy Committee

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

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

- 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

SUPERFUND

Senate Environment Committee

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

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

Witnesses scheduled: Richard Hembra - General Accounting Office; Don Clay - Environmental Protection Agency

START TREATY

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

The full 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. The session today will focus on treaty assessment.

★ New listing

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. June 25

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

FOREIGN RELATIONS NOMINATIONS

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

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

4pm SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

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.

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee

The full committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will mark up pending legislation and vote on pending nominations.

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

Agenda:

Legislation:

- 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
 - HR 2850 - Make technical and conforming changes in title 5, U.S. Code, and the Federal Employees Pay Comparability Act of 1990
- Nominations: Stephanie Duncan-Peters to be associate judge, D.C. Superior Court; William Jackson to be associate judge, D.C. Superior Court; Anne Koaroyo to be associate judge, D.C. Superior Court; Judith Retchin to be associate judge, D.C. Superior Court

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for June 17

JUDICIARY MARKUP

Senate Judiciary Committee

The full committee (Chairman Biden, D-

Del.) will meet to mark up pending legislation and vote on pending nominations and commemoratives.

2pm SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

Nominees: Norman Stahl to be judge, First Circuit; Thomas Moore to be judge, District of the V.I.; Eduardo Robraro to be judge, Eastern District of Pa.; Gordon Quist to be judge, Western District of Mich.

Commemoratives:

- SJ Res 248 - Designate August 7, 1992 as "Battle of Guadalcanal Remembrance day"
- SJ Res 252 - Designate the week of April 19 through 25, 1992 as "National Credit Education Week"
- SJ Res 281 - Designate the week beginning September 14, 1992 as "National Small Independent Telephone Company Week"
- SJ Res 287 - Designate the week of October 4, 1992 as "Mental Illness Awareness Week"
- SJ Res 288 - Designate the week beginning July 26, 1992 as "Lyme Disease Awareness Week"
- SJ Res 294 - Designate the week of October 18, 1992 as "National Radon Action Week"
- SJ Res 295 - Designate September 10, 1992 as "National DARE Day"
- SJ Res 301 - Designate July 2, 1992 as "National Literacy Day"
- SJ Res 303 - Designate October 1992 as "National Breast Cancer Awareness Month"
- SJ Res 304 - Designate January 3, 1993 through January 9, 1993 as National Law Enforcement Training Week"
- SJ Res 305 - Designate the month of October 1992 as "Polish American Heritage Month"
- SJ Res 307 - Designate the month of July 1992 as "National Muscular Dystrophy Awareness Month"
- SJ Res 309 - Designate the week beginning November 8, 1992 as "National Woman Veterans Recognition Week"
- SJ Res 319 - Designate the second Sunday in October of 1992 as "National Children's Day"

Legislation:

- S 1521 - to provide a cause of action for victims of sexual abuse, rape, and murder, against producers and distributors of hard-core pornographic material
- HR 2324 - Prohibit the payment of a fee to a prison inmate who testifies as a witness before a federal court
- HR 2549 - Make technical corrections to chapter 5 of title 5, U.S. Code
- HR 3379 - Alter the authorities of the Administrative Conference
- S 1569 - Implement the recommendations of the Federal Courts Study Committee
- S 2099 - Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to designate special inquiry officers as immigration judges and to provide for the compensation of such judges
- S 2087 - Prohibit certain use of the terms "Visiting Nurse Association," "Visiting Nurse Service," "VNA," and "VNS"
- S 1697 - Amend title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 to increase the penalties for violating the fair housing provisions of the Act
- S 2610 - Amend the antitrust laws to provide a cause of action for persons injured in U.S. commerce by unfair foreign competition
- S 2792 - Amend and authorize appropriations for the continued implementation of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974
- S 790 - Amend the antitrust laws in order to preserve and promote wholesale and retail competition in the retail gasoline market
- S 526 - Extend for 10 years the patent for the drug Ethiofos (WR2721) and its oral analogue
- S 1165 - Extend the patent term of certain products
- S 1506 - Extend the terms of the olestra patents

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

ACCOUNTING FOR POWs/MIAs

Senate POW/MIA Affairs Committee

The full 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 25**

Witnesses scheduled:

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

House Committees

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: SOVIET AID

House Agriculture Committee

The full 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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Appropriations Committee

The full committee (Chairman Whitten, D-Miss.) will mark up fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

9:30am 2360 Rayburn Bldg. **June 25**

Agenda:

Agriculture
Treasury/Postal Service

■ LTV MISSILE SALE

House Armed Services Committee

Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Mavroules, D-Mass.) 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**

Witnesses scheduled: Joseph Kelley - General

★ New listing

Accounting Office; Theodore Moran - professor and director of international business diplomacy at Georgetown University

INTERSTATE BANKING House Banking Committee

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

PANEL: Hugh McColl Jr. - president and chief executive officer, NationsBank Corporation; J. Terrence Murray - chairman and chief executive officer, Fleet Financial Group; John Grundhofer - chairman and chief executive officer, First Bank Systems; Richard M. Rosenberg - chairman and chief executive officer - Bank of America

PANEL: Jerome Powell - acting under secretary of the Treasury for finance

SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING & MARKUP: D.C. JUDICIAL REVISION

House D.C. Committee

Judiciary and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Dymally, D-Calif.) 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.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

House Education and Labor Committee

Employment Opportunities Subcommittee (Chairman Perkins, D-Ky.) 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.; Snowe, R-Maine

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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: RCRA/RAIL STRIKE

House Energy and Commerce Committee

The full committee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. **June 25 & addl dates if needed**

Agenda (tentative and subject to change):

HR 3865 - National Waste Reduction Recycling and Management Act

HR 3642 - Enhance the enforcement authority of the Food and Drug Administration

HR— - Pertaining to national rail workers strike

■ UNESCO PROGRAMS

House Foreign Affairs Committee

House Science Committee

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**

Witnesses scheduled: Rep. Torres, D-Calif.; John Bolton - assistant secretary of State; Frank Conahan - assistant comptroller general, UNESCO; Knut Hammaraskjold - chair, International Commission for Improvement of UNESCO Management; C.L. Sharma - deputy director general, UNESCO; Philip Smith - National Academy of Sciences; Richard Getzinger - American Association for the Advancement of Science

■ REDUCING INTEREST PAYMENTS ON GOVERNMENT DEBT

House Government Operations Committee

Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Barnard, D-Ga.) 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.

9am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. **June 25**

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

★ ADMIN CMT BUSINESS:

HOUSE POST OFFICE

House Committee on House Administration

The full committee (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) will meet to discuss pending business, among the items to be discussed are issues relating to the House Post Office.

11:30am H-328 Capitol Bldg. **open/may close June 25**

PUBLIC LANDS SUBCOMMITTEE BUSINESS

House Interior Committee

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) will meet to mark up pending legislation.

1:30pm 1324 Longworth Bldg. **June 25**

Agenda:

HR 762/HR 1369/S 1029 - to designate certain lands in Colorado as wilderness

■ Revised listing

House continued...

- HR 1447 - to designate the Bowen Gulch areas of the Arapaho National Forest in the state of Colorado as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System
- HR 1182 - to authorize and direct the exchange of lands in Colorado
- HR 4404 - to withdraw and reserve certain public lands and minerals within the state of Colorado for military uses
- HR 711 - to validate conveyances of certain lands in the state of California that form part of the right-of-way granted by the United States to the Central Pacific Railway Co.

■ REVOLVING DOOR RULES & FOREIGN ENTITIES

House Judiciary Committee

Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Frank, D-Mass.) 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 2237 Rayburn Bldg. **June 25**

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Glickman, D-Kan., Traficant, D-Ohio, Kaptur, D-Ohio; John Keeney - deputy assistant attorney general, Department of Justice; Pat Choate - managing director, Manufacturing Policy Project; Leslie Harris - American Civil Liberties Union

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP SEAMEN DOCUMENTATION

House Merchant Marine Committee

Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee (Chairman Tauzin, D-La.) 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

House Merchant Marine Committee

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) 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

■ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

House Public Works Committee

Aviation Subcommittee (Chairman Oberstar, D-Minn.) will mark up pending legislation.

10:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. **June 25**

Agenda:

- HR 3537 - Direct the Secretary of Transportation to establish a Civil Tiltrotor Development Advi-

sory Committee in the Department of Transportation

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

■ 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 25**

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Olin, D-Va., Boucher, D-Va.; Ann Johnson - director, Development Office, State of W.Va.; Fred VanKirk - West Virginia Department of Transportation; Bill Dukes - mayor, Decatur, Ala.; Jeffery Morse - town manager, Valdese, N.C.; Thomas Robinson - manager, Burke County, N.C.; Mike Mullins - school director, Hindman Settlement; Philip Koos - Northern Tier Regional Planning and Development Commission; Charles Ernst - dean, Advanced Technology Center, Hagerstown, Md.

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 14.

■ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Ways and Means Committee

The full committee (Chairman Rostenkowski, D-Ill.) will continue to mark up pending legislation.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. **June 25 (if**

needed)

Agenda:**LEGISLATION****AMENDMENTS, DRAFT LEGISLATION AND REPORTS**

- 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

Note: The committee hoped to be able to complete action on Wednesday evening, if that happened there will be no meeting today.

Party Organizations

★ TRADE HEARING

House Republican Research Committee

Task Force on Adversarial Trade and Foreign Investment (Co-chairman Duncan, R-Tenn. and Burton, R-Ind.) will hold a hearing on "U.S. Trade Policies and the Republican Party."

1pm, 2220 Rayburn Bldg. **June 24**

Contact: Ron Phillips, 202-225-0871

Participants: Rep. Mickey Edwards, R-Okla. - chairman, Republican Policy Committee; Pat Choate - author and former Washington lobbyist for TRW; John Cregan - president, U.S. Business and Industrial Council; William Hawkins - University of Tennessee; Lawrence Mattera - president, Business & Financial International Company

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.

EDUCATION BRIEFING

The Triangle Coalition for Science and Technology Education and the Congressional Liaison Task Force on Science and Technology Education sponsor a briefing on the National Education Goals Panel, reauthorization of elementary and secondary education legislation in 1993, and the role of technology in education.

9:30am G-11 Dirksen Bldg. **June 25**

Contact: Judy Coleman, 301-220-0817

Highlight

9:30am: Remarks by Sen. Jeff Bingaman, D-N.M.

9:45am: Remarks by Sen. Thad Cochran, R-Miss.

10am: Remarks by Rep. William Goodling, R-Pa.

TIMBER INDUSTRY BRIEFING

Representatives from the timber industry hold a briefing on the House Interior Committee's recent decision to postpone consideration of federal forest management legislation, last week's action by the House Agriculture Committee on HR 4899, the need to include legal sufficiency language in forest management legislation, and prospects for enactment of forest management legislation. The briefing will be conducted by American Forest Resource Alliance Executive Director Mark Rey, Timber Industry Labor Management Committee counsel Steve Quarles, and Robin Gerber of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

10am UBCJA, 101 Constitution Ave. NW, fifth floor **June 25**

Contact: Tom Donahue Jr., 202-452-9416, or Barry Polsky, 202-463-2467

News Events *continued...*

U.N. CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT & DEVELOPMENT

Environmental and Energy Study Conference will sponsor a briefing on the outcome of the "Earth Summit" recently held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

11am, 2222 Rayburn Bldg. **June 25**

Contact: 226-3300

WHY CONGRESS DONE NOT WORK

Rep. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.) gives a lecture at the Heritage Foundation titled, "Why Congress Doesn't Work."

Noon, Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Ave. NE **June 25**

Contact: Jeff Dickerson, 202-546-4400 ext. 513

"AMERICA: WHAT WENT WRONG"

Congressional Economic Leadership Institute will sponsor a briefing for members of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus by a team from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Noon B-369 Rayburn Bldg **June 25**

Contact: Julia Teuscher at 202-546-5007

Note: This event is by invitation only, for information on how to obtain an invitation call the number listed above.

REVOLVING DOOR

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

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

Contact: 202-862-4383

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

HEALTH CARE NEWS CONFERENCE

House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt,

D-Mo., and Rep. Pete Stark, D-Calif., chairman of the House Ways and Means subcommittee on health, hold a news conference to unveil their health care cost containment and reform legislation.

2pm House Radio-TV Gallery Capitol Bldg. **June 25**

Contact: David Dreyer, 202-225-0100, or Bill Vaughan, 202-225-5065

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.

ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND REPORTS

8:30am: The Labor Department releases the weekly jobless claims report.

8:30am: The Commerce Department releases the final estimate of the first quarter gross domestic product and the revision of first quarter corporate profits.

8:45am: The National Association of Realtors releases the May existing-home sales report. Embargoed copies of the report will be available at 8:30am at 777 14th St. NW, first floor guard's desk. Contact Scott Sherwood, 202-383-1016, or Liz Duncan, 202-383-1043

10am: The Labor Department releases the U.S. import/export prices for May.

2pm: The Treasury Department issues results of 52-week bill auction.

4:30pm, approx.: The Federal Reserve releases weekly reports on aggregate reserves and the monetary base, factors affecting bank reserves and money supply.

Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 25

No campaign events scheduled

Bill Clinton

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

June 25

In Boston, Mass., and Little Rock, Ark.

REPUBLICANS

Pat Buchanan

Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292

June 25 (indefinitely)

In Washington, D.C.

No campaign-related events are scheduled.

Bush-Quayle

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

June 25

PRESIDENT BUSH

In Washington, D.C.

3pm: Addresses the College Republican National Committee convention. Omni Shoreham, 2500 Calvert St. NW

INDEPENDENTS

Ross Perot

Contact: 214-716-6500

June 25

In Hartford, Conn.

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

Senate Committees Future Listings

Appropriations

224-3471

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 DEFENSE APPROPS

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

9am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. date TBA

FY93 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

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

Witnesses scheduled: Michael Porter - professor of business administration, Harvard; George Fisher - chairman and chief executive officer, Motorola; Howard Samuel - president, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; Roland Schmitt - president, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

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.)

★ New listing

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 BROADCASTING NOMINATION

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

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

Finance

224-4515

★ ACCESS TO HEALTH-CARE IN RURAL AREAS

Health for Families and the Uninsured Subcommittee (Chairman Riegle, D-Mich.) of Senate Finance Committee will hold a hearing on access to health care for those who live far from doctors and treatment centers, focusing on legislation (S 773) to amend the Social Security Act to create a program to provide access to services for medically underserved populations not currently served by federally qualified health centers and other qualifying entities and to expand such centers' and entities' capacity and to develop additional centers

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

COMPETITIVENESS

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

Time TBA SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. addl dates TBA

Foreign Relations

224-4651

START TREATY

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

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. June 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 25: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

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

Governmental Affairs

224-4751

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

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...**Indian Affairs**

224-2251

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will mark up pending legislation.

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

Agenda:

- S 2044 - Assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages.
- S 1687 - Increase the capacity of Indian tribal governments for waste management on Indian lands.
- S 2836 - Promote economic development on Indian reservations by making loans to states to assist states in constructing roads on Indian reservations.

INDIAN ESTATE & FINANCIAL ISSUES OVERSIGHT

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

Following full committee markup (above)
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 (Acting Chairman Conrad, D-N.D.) will hold a hearing on draft legislation concerning Indian-made products.

2:30pm Russell Bldg. **July 2**

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.

WATER RIGHTS

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

2:30pm SR-485 Russell Bldg. **July 22**

Agenda:

- Yavapai-Prescott Water Rights Settlement Act
- Ft. Mojave Water Use Authorization

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.

★ New listing

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**

OVERSIGHT HEARING: TRUST FUND MANAGEMENT

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

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **August 12**

Judiciary

224-5225

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.

Labor & Human Resources

224-5375

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

10am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **July 1**

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

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for 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 25 & 30; July 1**

Witnesses scheduled:

June 25: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses
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

SEXUALLY ABUSED WOMEN VETERANS

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

10am SD-G50 Dirksen Bldg. **June 30**

WOMEN VETERANS HEALTH CARE

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

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. **July 2**

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...**VETERANS APPEALS**

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on pending issues.

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. July 22

Agenda:

Court of Veterans Appeals

Housing legislation
General Oversight

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. August 5

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

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

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

9:30am 345 Cannon Bldg. July 9

ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE**Field Hearing**

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

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

Agriculture

225-2171

HEALTH OF U.S. FORESTS

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

10am 1302 Longworth Bldg. June 30; July 1

Agenda:

June 30: Forest health issues

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

WHEAT DEFICIENCY PAYMENTS

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

9:30am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 30

LOAN GUARANTEES TO IRAQ

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

9:30am Longworth Bldg. July 1

★ New listing

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

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, July 2

Tentative Agenda:

June 25:

Agriculture

Treasury/Postal Service

June 29:

Interior

July 1:

Transportation

July 2:

District of Columbia

**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 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

**Banking, Finance
& Urban Affairs**

225-4247

★ BANK INSURANCE FUND

House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on the current condition of the Bank Insurance Fund.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 30

Witnesses scheduled: Charles A. Bowsher - comptroller general, General Accounting Office; Edward J. Kane - professor of finance, Boston College; William Taylor - chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

★ THRIFT INDUSTRY CONDITION

House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on the current condition of the thrift industry and the Savings Association Insurance Fund (SAIF).

Witnesses scheduled: William Taylor - chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; T. Timothy Ryan - director, Office of Thrift Supervision; William Ferguson - Ferguson & Co.; Members of the SAIF Industry Advisory Committee.

**District of
Columbia**

225-4457

**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

**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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

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/RAIL STRIKE

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

10am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. **June 25 & addl dates if needed**

Agenda (tentative and subject to change):
HR 3865 - National Waste Reduction Recycling and Management Act
HR 3642 - to enhance the enforcement authority of the Food and Drug Administration
HR—Pertaining to national rail workers 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.

HOSPITAL OVERHEAD MEDICAID PROGRAM

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) of House

★ New listing

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

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.

Interior & Insular Affairs

225-2761

PUBLIC LANDS

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

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

Agenda:

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. **July 1 & additional dates TBA**

Judiciary

225-3951

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**

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

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 improvements to the census questionnaire.

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

Witnesses scheduled: Representatives from the Census Bureau, the General Accounting Office and the National Academy of Sciences

■ Revised listing

House continued...**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 of violence in U.S. Postal Service facilities.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. July 23

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. July 28

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. July 29

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

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

**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 25; July 9

Witnesses scheduled:

June 25: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 14.

**Science, Space &
Technology**

225-6371

UNESCO PROGRAMS**Joint Hearing**

Human Rights and International Organiza-

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

9:30 2172 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

**ENVIRONMENTAL COSTS OF
TRANSPORTATION ENERGY**

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

Time and room TBA date TBA

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

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 19.

Veterans' Affairs

225-3527

**★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
VETERANS COMPENSATION**

Compensation, Pension and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Applegate, D-Ohio) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will mark up pending legislation.

9am 334 Cannon Bldg. July 8

Agenda:

HR 5008 - Reform the formula for payment of dependency and indemnity compensation to survivors of veterans dying from service-connected causes

HR 4244 - Increase, effective as of December 1, 1992, the rates of disability compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for survivors of such veterans

**★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
VETERANS EDUCATION**

Education, Training and Employment Subcommittee (Chairman Penny, D-Minn.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will mark up legislation (HR 5087) that would provide education assistance to veterans.

9:45am 334 Cannon Bldg. July 9

Ways & Means

225-3625

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

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 30

Agenda:

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

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

**★ MISCLASSIFICATION OF
INDEPENDENT CONTRACTORS**

Social Security Subcommittee (Chairman Jacobs, D-Ind.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on the misclassification of employees and independent contractors for federal income tax purposes.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. July 23

Note

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

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WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
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CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



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--- Thursday --- June 25, 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

HOTLINE WEEKLY SCOREBOARD

Latest 3-way polls from 42 states give Perot a majority in the Electoral College. (#1)

	STATES	ELECTORS
PEROT	22	284
BUSH	15	158
CLINTON	2	16
TIED	3	30

WARNING: In 26 states, results are within the margin of error.

NEW POLLS TODAY: Perot grabs big lead in AK; tight over Bush in GA; 3-way gumbo in LA. (#9)

VIEW FROM THE SIDELINES

Content to let Bush and Perot slug it out, Clinton keeps plugging with Econo-plan. But Manufacturers a tough sell.

GORE: On the Veep Watch charts -- with a bullet? (#7)

SEE DICK SLAM (#6)

Darman hits Clinton plan as no cure. Perot idea reduced to "simple investigator's budget."

MO GOV: DEM DEAD HEAT

Carnahan, Schoemehl in 33-33% tie. Webster holds big lead despite recent bad press. GOP foes just begin TV. (#14)

SPOTLIGHT

"NASTY NEW PHASE"

Most get their news (and attitudes toward it) from TV. As last night showed it may all come down to the BIG EYE of the beholder:

NBC's Myers (on "Inspector Perot"): "He spent most of the day denying reports that he has investigated everyone from President Bush to his own employees."

CBS's Rather: "The Bush/Quayle re-election drive's negative campaign attacks against Ross Perot have finally gotten a response."

ABC's Jennings: "Defending himself -- or on the offensive, depending on your perspective -- against all those high-level allies of the president who've been sniping at Perot ..."

(For TV coverage, see #3)

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

"Right at the moment, it's awfully easy to see a scenario by which Perot and Bush really hurt each other's image, and the beneficiary is Bill Clinton"

-- Analyst Kevin Phillips, CNN, 6/24. (#3)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Norway Prime Minister Brundtland says UNCED was "neither a small step, or a giant leap."
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: The Supreme Court rules state-sponsored prayer in public schools unconstitutional.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: Congress taking up compromise to Freedom of Choice act. Pro-choicers split over support.
FROM TODAY'S HEALTH LINE: Census Bureau reports 26.5% of Americans didn't have continuous health insurance '87-'89.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

HOTLINE ELECTORAL SCOREBOARD: New look at 42 state polls. (#1)
PEROT: Standing at the crossroads. (#2)
"INSPECTOR PEROT": TV covers "Nasty new phase" of campaign. (#3)
PEROT: Excerpts from "Larry King Live." (#4)
BUSH: "I'm going to win this election. Just watch me." (#5)
BUSH: Darman slashes Clinton's budget. (#6)
CLINTON: More from What They Don't Want To Hear Dept. (#7)
MONEY TALKS: Analysis of '92 political contributors. (#8)
STATELINES: Polls in AK, GA, LA. (#9)

SENATE WATCH

KS: Nixon to stump for Dole. (#10)
NY: D'Amato ethics inquiry called on to be reopened. (#11)

ON THE HOUSE

HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS: GA, MA, TX, VA. (#12)

HOTSPOT

LOUISIANA: Edwards rating stays low; more oppose gambling. (#13)

GOVERNORS '92

MO: Schoemehl close to Carnahan; Webster grillin'. (#14)
WA: GOP platform has no candidates to stand on. (#15)

TV MONITOR (#16)

? ? ? ? OVERLOOKED ? ? ? ?

Sister Souljah's album "360 Degrees" has disappeared from
Billboard's R&B and rap charts (N.Y. POST, 6/25).

*1 HOTLINE ELECTORAL SCOREBOARD: NEW LOOK AT 42 STATE POLLS

The Scoreboard is The HOTLINE's weekly compilation of all known 3-way trial heat data from state polling. Of the states listed, all but GA, ID, LA and MO have appeared in the compiled list before. New polls replace last week's data on AK and CO. Some polls are dated before the full strength of the Perot effort was felt in most areas. Obviously, 8 states and DC (with 50 electors) are not included -- and, of the polls listed, the sample size/make-up, question asked, margin of error and polling organization all vary widely. The number of electors is listed after state. The symbol (++) indicates who is ahead beyond the margin of error, with (+) indicating a leader within the margin. WARNING: 26 states show poll leads within the margin of error.

STATE	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT	POLLSTER/DATE/MARGIN OF ERROR
AL (9)	++36%	28%	22%	Mason-Dixon, 5/23-26, +/-3.5%
AK (3)	30	19	++41	Dittman Research, 6/4-9, +/-4.5%
AZ (8)	30	21	++49	O'Neil Assoc, 6/2-7, +/-5%
AR (6)	28	++41	22	Mason-Dixon, 5/18-19, +/-3.5%
CA (54)	25	25	++38	Field Research, 5/27-30, +/-2.8%
CO (8)	30	20	+32	DENVER POST, 5/26-6/2, +/-4%
CT (8)	29	19	+33	UConn, 5/26-6/1, +/-5%
DE (3)	31	28	31	HOTLINE sources, 5/7-15, +/-5%
FL (25)	31	22	+34	Mason-Dixon, 5/29-31, +/-3.5%
GA (13)	35	25	+39	GA State Univ, 6/3-15, +/-4%
HI (4)	+35	27	23	Hon. STAR-BULLETIN, 4/2-5, +/-5%
ID (4)	33	13	++42	Tarrance (R), 6/10-11, +/-4%
IL (22)	27	25	+34	McKeon/Assc (D), 5/30-6/1, +/-4%
IN (12)	++46	18	30	PMR, 4/27-29, +/-3.5%
KS (6)	34	18	34	Sen. Dole (R), 5/14-16, +/-4%
LA (9)	+30	26	25	Mason-Dixon, 6/18-20, +/-3.5%
MD (10)	27	+29	28	Mason-Dixon, 6/3-5, +/-3.5%
MA (12)	22	22	++35	BOSTON GLOBE, 6/10-11, +/-5%
MI (18)	31	24	+33	DETROIT NEWS, 6/2-4, +/-4%
MN (10)	30	23	++40	Mnpls STAR-TRIB, 6/7-14, +/-3%
MO (11)	23	20	+29	POST-DISP./KMOX, 6/13-21, +/-4%
MT (3)	23	17	++42	Univ/MT, 5/13-21, +/-4%
NE (5)	+39	15	36	PMR, 5/5-6, +/-3.5%
NH (4)	++38	25	24	ARG, 4/9-16, +/-3.5%
NJ (15)	++39	24	24	Bergen RECORD, 5/20-29, +/-4.5%
NM (5)	29	25	+31	KGGM-TV, 4/16-19, +/-4%
NY (33)	+34	27	20	BUFFALO NEWS, 3/27-29, +/-3.5%
NC (14)	++39	26	27	Mason-Dixon, 4/26-28, +/-3.5%
ND (3)	+33	17	30	Univ of ND, 6/1-2, +/-4%
OH (21)	34	19	34	PMR, 5/22-25, +/-3.5%
OK (8)	32	19	+34	SOONER SURVEY, 4/21-28, +/-4.3%
OR (7)	31	21	+42	OREGONIAN/KATU, 5/4-7, no M/E.
PA (23)	+31	25	24	Cromer Grp (D), 5/11-12, +/- 5%
RI (4)	20	19	++32	Brown Univ, 6/7-11, +/-4%
SC (8)	++38	15	14	Greenville NEWS, 5/10, +/-3.5%
TX (32)	30	21	++41	Mason-Dixon, 6/11-13, +/-3.5%

UT (5)	32	10	+38	S.L. TRIBUNE, 6/2-3, +/-4%
VT (3)	+33	21	28	Becker Inst., 5/7-9, +/-5%
VA (13)	33	20	+35	Mason-Dixon, 6/6-8, +/-3.5%
WA (11)	29	20	+35	KOMO-TV, 5/8-12, +/-5%
WV (5)	+32	28	25	Mason-Dixon, 5/4-7, +/-3.5%
WI (11)	+36	29	20	Mil. JOURNAL, 3/29-31, +/-3.5%

NOTE: An anonymous poll of NY voters cited 6/22 in the N.Y. POST had the candidates in the same standing (Bush in the lead) as the 3/92 BUFFALO NEWS survey, but due to a lack of methodology or source it is not included here. One HOTLINE source says small recent statewide samples from NY show a Perot lead.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE TALLY: (270 electors needed to win).
From all 42 states, INCLUDING those in which leads are inside the margin of error:

	STATES	ELECTORS
Perot	22	284
Bush	15	158
Clinton	2	16
Tie	3	30

STATES NOT CITED (50 electors): DC (3), IA (7), KY (8), ME (4), MS (7), NV (4), SD (3), TN (11), WY (3).

*2 PEROT: STANDING AT THE CROSSROADS

"Facing the most formidable week yet of his undeclared candidacy, Ross Perot mounted a sudden and quarrelsome defense yesterday against what he called a carefully orchestrated Republican 'dirty tricks' campaign to sully his image" (Firestone, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/25). Perot appeared in Annapolis, MD, arriving at the City Dock as part of a 24-boat flotilla and staging an "old-fashioned political rally and homecoming." After the rally, Perot held a press conference, "an hourlong joust with a challenging national press corps. ... Perot submitted to one of his first major encounters with reporters and seemed to enjoy it" (Smith, Balto. SUN, 6/25). Perot used his appearances in MD and on NBC's "Today" and CNN's "Larry King Live" to "try to quash efforts by [GOP] officials to depict him as a dangerous person who, as President, would abuse the powerful Federal apparatus and trample civil liberties. In seeking to refute such assertions, Mr. Perot went on the offensive and engaged in the type of mudslinging that he and his aides have said they would not use" (Holmes, N.Y. TIMES, 6/25). Perot: "There has been a 90-day effort to redefine my personality by a group called Opposition Research of the Republican Party. They're generally known as the dirty tricks crowd." W. POST's Von Drehle reports Perot "offered little or no evidence to support his wide-ranging theory, saying at one point: 'I've got more than I need,' but 'I'll pick my time' to release it." Perot suggested that the 6/21 W. POST story, which reported he had ordered probes into Bush's official and personal dealings, "somehow was influenced or inspired by Republican operatives." W. POST editor Leonard Downie denied any Bush or GOP involvement in the story, saying it was based on "original reporting that dates back as long as four years ago, well before Perot indicated that he would be a candidate for president" (6/25). W.S. JOURNAL's Noah & Rogers report Perot, responding to charges raised in the W. POST article, "was unwilling to confirm" why he passed information on a Pennzoil land deal to the W. POST and not

the IRS. Perot "played down" inquiries made into ex-DoD official Richard Armitage. Perot said his role in the affair was only as a "conduit" between a VA detective and the FBI (6/25).

REVIEWS: Balto. SUN's Baer writes Perot "seemed to score points, especially in knocking down" the W. POST story. But while Perot "may have pulled himself out of the fire for the moment, the Sherlock Holmes image may trail him as doggedly as Mr. Clinton's 'Slick Willie' label" (6/25). Over excerpts of Perot's responses, N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Ross writes Perot has a new image: "a blend of George Steinbrenner, Sherlock Holmes and J. Edgar Hoover" (6/25). KNIGHT-RIDDER's Paolantonio & Huckshorn write, Perot "did what he does best: He took command" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/25). PHILA. DAILY NEWS' Sandy Grady: "He didn't duck the bombardment of White House insults. He plunged into the offense. ... All Perot mannerisms were on high beam -- the 'Me vs. Them' feistiness, ad-libbed sound bites, harsh edge beneath the humor. Perot was clearly in command 65 non-stop minutes" (6/25). HOUSTON CHRONICLE's Hines: "Perot's good natured, unblinking performance in the hourlong wrangle with journalists probably reinforced his popularity with voters drawn to his take-charge image" (6/25). ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH's Lambrecht reports Perot "denied allegations of snooping ... by portraying himself as the victim" (6/25). USA TODAY's Phillips & Howlett write, "Perot's aggressive response seemed to reflect the influence of hired political hands who know damaging charges must be answered quickly, before they stick." GOP analyst Kevin Phillips: "Perot has done a hell of a job handling this. The administration let this one issue become a battlefield and lost. The president is going to send two days looking like a fool." But marketing expert Peter Gold: "Bush barely laid a glove on him, and they've got him running from dawn until night trying to salvage things" (6/25). COPLEY's Condon writes Perot "regained some of the ground he had lost in recent days," but adds, "Serious questions remain about what seems to be a conspiratorial world view and a penchant for seeing developments through an us-versus-them prism" (S.D. UNION-TRIBUNE, 6/25). W. POST editorial: "Perot seems over the years to have been more than a bit of a dirt-gatherer" (6/25).

HOW'D HE LOOK TO YOU? W. POST's Von Drehle: "At times furious, at times jovial and at times darkly suspicious" (6/25). N.Y. NEWSDAY's Firestone: "clearly rattled by the onslaught of criticism from the White House" (6/25). W. TIMES' Garrett calls his tone "feisty and indignant" (6/25). L.A. TIMES' Broder & Richter: "He took great pains to restrain his natural instinct to it back when cornered, but he also was determined not to let the blows go unanswered. ... [He] appeared both testy and mournful that politics had degenerated to the level of personal mudslinging" (6/25). MEDIA GENERAL's Hall: "Perot did not come across as a paranoid. He also didn't seem like, a Mussolini in chaps. What he came across as was a very canny politician. He seemed to be amused by the whole situation" (RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 6/25). KNIGHT-RIDDER's Paolantonio & Huckshorn: "relaxed and confident" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/25).

CROSSROADS: BOSTON GLOBE's Mashek writes, "For a candidate who is still relatively new to the public, [the recent] allegations could saddle him with a negative impression at a crucial state in his embryonic candidacy" (6/25). N.Y. TIMES' Apple sees a "three-pronged strategy: First, he is denying everything ... Second, he is equating the news media that have been printing the charges with mainstream politicians. ... Third,

he has been blaming the attacks on 'Republican dirty tricks.'" For Perot, "Much will depend on whether there is more to come." Political reporters are "working on hundreds of leads" on past Perot activities. "If their investigations result in an avalanche of believable articles, it could well bury Mr. Perot's political future" (6/25). COPLEY's Condon calls this a "critical phase" for Perot (S.D. UNION-TRIBUNE, 6/25).

LEAVE MY MOTHER OUT OF THIS: Citing an example of "dirty tricks," Perot "said that GOP operatives had been at the Dallas County courthouse recently trying to unearth the will of his late mother, Lulu Perot." Bush campaign research dir. David Tell: "Preposterous" (Broder/Richter, L.A. TIMES, 6/25). COX's Smith writes Perot "trashed an old friendship with President Bush" through his statements yesterday (ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 6/25). CHICAGO TRIBUNE's Royko: "What probably bothers Bush and the Republicans about Perot's alleged snooping is that he appears to be far more efficient than the Democrats. Worse, he appears mean enough to match them trick for trick" (6/24). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Santini writes Bush and Perot are licked in a "wild political fight" with the "mad mudslinging" creating an "impression of two men in a panic about an election campaign that, by tradition, doesn't even begin until Labor Day" (6/25). N.Y. TIMES' Kelly writes both sides of the story "are at least somewhat true." Perot "does indeed have a history of using investigators and threats against opponents." And the Bush campaign and WH "have not been shy about discussing that history, while, more privately, an 'opposition research' team is indeed running the same sort of aggressive investigation" into Perot's past "that he has conducted against others" (6/25). Most accounts of Perot's day included the quote he delivered on NBC's "Today" as the network prepared to air VP Quayle's talking about Perot running the IRS, FBI and CIA. Perot: "Hitler's propaganda chief would have been proud of what we're about to see" (mult., 6/25). Balto. SUN's Theo Lippman, noting the anagrams from Quayle's quote: "And you thought Dan couldn't spell!" (6/25). Clinton spokesperson Dee Dee Myers: "You've got a couple of Texas millionaires out there spitting at each other and we're here talking about the details of our economic plan. I think that's a pretty good position to be in" (L.A. TIMES, 6/25).

*3 "INSPECTOR PEROT": TV COVERS "NASTY NEW PHASE" OF CAMPAIGN

ABC: Peter Jennings on Perot's press conference: "Defending himself, or on the offensive depending on your perspective, against all those high-level [GOP] allies of the president who've been sniping at Perot." Perot press conference segment on whether he investigated Bush sons: "I never spent a penny. I was unsolicited -- a person gave me this information, I took it straight to the [VP] and walked away from it. And that is the end of the story." ABC's Morton Dean: "Perot said he only passed on to Bush rumors about his sons being involved in improper activities. Perot released a hand-written letter ... in which he was thanked by Bush. ... Perot says the incident has been twisted as part of a [GOP] dirty-tricks campaign aimed at him." Perot: "There has been a 90-day effort to redefine my personality by a group called opposition research of the Republican Party. They're generally known as the dirty-tricks crowd." Dean: "Perot was pressed for examples of those dirty-tricks." Perot: "I love the ridiculous ones. The other day they were down looking through my mother's will, which has nothing to do with anything." Dean: "He also referred to a series of news reports that cited

instances of Perot conducting investigations into business associates, competitors and his own family. He claims the information has been fed to the media by Republicans including the president's personal spokesman." Perot: "I love this. It's like you're here to defend anything that they do." Dean: "All this talk about dirty tricks and investigations suggests that this ... campaign has moved into a nasty new phase" (6/24).

NBC: Katie Couric: "Perot today said some of Bush's campaign tactics would make Hitler's propaganda chief proud, and the White House called Perot, paranoid." NBC's Lisa Myers: "This was to have been the day that ex-Navy man Ross Perot celebrated his success in getting on the Maryland ballot. Instead, he spent most of the day denying reports that he has investigated everyone from President Bush to his own employees. In an interview with Bryant Gumbel, he labeled such reports as fantasy and the result of Republican dirty tricks. ... Later, at his first formal news conference, Perot portrayed himself as the victim of a conspiracy between Republicans and the media ... However, the authors of various stories, detailing Perot's investigative zeal, vigorously denied any Republican involvement. And [Fitzwater] said, 'Mr. Perot's paranoia knows no bounds.' Myers showed Perot deny investigating Bush children and quoted from Bush note. Perot: "I'm not running around like Sherlock Holmes trying to do anything." Myers: "A senior Perot advisor says the last two weeks have been damaging and that today's denials aren't likely to completely erase the image of 'Inspector Perot'" (6/24).

CBS: Dan Rather: "The Bush/Quayle re-election drive's negative campaign attacks against Ross Perot have finally gotten a response." CBS' Eric Engberg: "Perot, confronted by the first firestorm of his campaign charges that he's resorted to digging up dirt on various enemies over the years, today, bitterly denounced the Bush White House, for what he charged was a massive smear campaign. ... The Bush White House, increasingly nervous over Perot's strong poll showings has dropped plans to ignore him and gone to personal attacks." Quayle: "Imagine Ross Perot having the IRS, the FBI, and the CIA under his control. Who would be investigated next?" Engberg: "Faced with this new assault on the talk show circuit, Perot fired back in kind." Perot on "Today": "Hitler's propaganda chief would be proud of what we're about to see." Engberg: "As the mud fight escalated, the White House today called Perot a paranoid." Engberg also covered Perot's comments and release of Bush note on investigation of Bush family members. Engberg: "He denied ever probing his own children, but once hired a detective to help one of them find a missing watch. With the charges now flung like spears, Perot tossed a new one today, Republican gumshoes, he said, have descended on Texas courthouses demanding to see his late mother's will" (6/23).

CNN: Mary Tillotson: "On a day President Bush was avoiding reporters, and questions, Ross Perot was holding a news conference, accusing the Bush camp of trying to sink his presidential campaign with what Perot calls slander." Perot: "I'm just saying that the propaganda that comes pouring out of the [GOP] dirty-tricks committee is just a beauty to behold." Tillotson also reported on Perot's release of the Bush note. Perot on investigation: "I never spent a minute, I never spent a second, I never spent a penny." RNC's Bond: "Ross Perot can't handle criticism from his political opponents or from the media, how's he going to handle Saddam Hussein, how's he going to handle Fidel Castro, how's he going to handle when it gets really tough

out there, and this is the man that wants to be President of the United States." Analyst Kevin Phillips: "Right at the moment, it's awfully easy to see a scenario by which Perot and Bush really hurt each other's image, and the beneficiary is Bill Clinton" (6/24). Balto. SUN's Hoesler on Bush letter: "It made Bush look like he was making something up, or that he was a hypocrite" (6/24).

ISSUE POSITIONS: CBS' Bill Lagattuta in the 3rd of a five-part series, went over issues where Perot's position is known. Abortion: Pro-Choice, federal funding for poor people, parental consent. Gay Rights: No to appointing homosexuals to the cabinet or to allowing gays in the military. Gun Control: Against Brady Bill, for the death penalty, for harsher sentencing. Health Care: Doesn't like current system. He has no plan. Education: "closest thing Perot has to a track record." 1980's Texas Plan, No Pass-No Play for high school athletes and merit pay for teachers. Lagattuta: "Social programs cost money, and Perot has not said how he would possibly fund them." He said that the education plan Perot designed for Texas cost Texans a tax hike (CBS, 6/24).

MORNING TV: On NBC's "Today" RNC Chair Rich Bond reacted to Perot's criticism of GOP "dirty tricks": "These are totally wild and reckless charges that he can't substantiate. ... This is a figment of his imagination and it's very scary to go through this ... We have an opposition research operation, which is mostly a couple of dozen cash-starved interns with a couple of analysts. ... Ross Perot implies that we have some cloak and dagger guys going through his gold-plated garbage cans behind his estate every morning, that's just not so. ... Our biggest file on Ross Perot is marked 'contradictions' because he goes out and says one thing and then says another" (6/25).

*4 KING: "Did you expect to happen what has now happened -- the back-biting, the stories." PEROT: "I said I do not want to engage in personalities. We've got one group whose whole life is in character assassination and personality distortion. There's nothing I can do about that. I just ignored it as long as I could, and finally I felt that I had to answer their specific untrue allegations... That's all I've done. I would like to go back to the serious issues that face the country. But we have this one group over here that has a huge organization that does nothing but stir the stuff up." KING: "The Washington Post story Sunday, false? Bob Woodward was wrong? ... Because that broke in the Post, not in the Republican Party." PEROT: "They all break in some newspaper, Larry. You understand how the system works. But the point being, I never investigated the president's children. I have told this story several times today." KING: "The talk in Washington is that there's something deep seated between Ross Perot and George Bush, and it's personal, and something happened. I'm giving you general, you know, table talk. Something goes back a long way we don't know about. Anything to that?" PEROT: "The only thing you would have ever heard me say, fine man, fine family. I have never and don't want to be a part of this whole activity, but .. this is their way of trying to get rid of what they consider a nuisance. And a nuisance is a person that a huge number of the American people want to see on the ballot. ... This is the week they have carefully orchestrated for weeks to take me out. ... They thought that I would announce on my birthday, etc, etc. etc. And when you looked at all the events that are scheduled to occur this

week, you'd say that they are trying to get the job done. ... When I was ahead of the president in the polls, they panicked and decided they had to pull the string, and that's what you see here in the last few days. And it's not working."

ENTER MR. BOND: RNC chair Rich Bond was an unexpected caller to the show. KING: "Is that you, Rich?" BOND: Hey, Larry, how're you? ... I feel you [Mr. Perot] have made some very wild and unsubstantiated charges about dirty tricks by the Republican Party over the last couple of months. Now these charges are simply untrue; they are fiction and they are fantasy.

... Do you have one shred of evidence, do you have any proof right now to back up your allegations of dirty tricks?" PEROT: Oh, sure. I've got more than I need. And at the right point in time, if you guys keep it up, I'll cover it ... This is not the place and the time. When I'm ready, I'll do it. I'll pick my time; I'll pick my place. Now you telling me you don't have a huge number of people in opposition research? You're telling me you don't have a huge number of people going through every shred of evidence they can find about anything relating to me? You don't have anything like that? That's what you're telling the American people, Rich?" BOND: "You're making a dirty trick -- is repeating your own words back to you. That's not a dirty trick ... Mr. Perot, it's not a dirty trick to track your words and evaluate your contradictions out there." PEROT: "But is it a dirty trick to distort the truth? Is it a dirty trick to lie?" BOND: "Mr. Perot, we have no desire to distort the ..." PEROT: "Well, wait a minute. You called in. If you don't have the -- wait a minute, you called in; you called in. You wanted to climb in ..." BOND: "Larry, he has no substantiation, and he knows it. He has not one shred of proof to offer that the Republican Party has engaged in dirty tricks. Now, Mr. Perot, I respect you, okay? And I liked what you said about your high regard for the constitution. But in my America, Mr. Perot, people are innocent until they are proven guilty. Now I'm just asking you right now -- right now -- can you offer one shred of proof that the Republican Party has engaged in dirty tricks?" PEROT: "Yeah, I can spend till midnight, but ..." BOND: "Well, let's go, then." PEROT: "Well, because I'm not going to do what you want done on your terms. I'll do it on my terms when I think it best serves my purposes. But I'm delighted that you're on the record now, and I'm delighted that we have this transcript. ... the thing that I think the American people and anybody listening, it's obvious, number one, you won't come up with a single specific, Larry. I asked you to; you ducked that. Number two, you ducked all over the place about how big your opposition dirty tricks is and where it's located and who runs it." KING: "He said there is none." PEROT: "Oh, give me a break -- who runs it and who they report directly to, etc., etc. ... I'm going to give you the benefit of the doubt. Maybe you don't know it's there; maybe you don't know it's there ... But, believe me, it's alive and well, and it just comes up with one fairy tale after another, poorly constructed." BOND: "... This is fantasy." KING: "Can we put away one thing, though, tonight? Can we say that Mr. Perot has safely answered the charge about investigating the children?" BOND: "Oh, I wasn't even talking about that. ... It's freedom of speech, in case I need to remind you. The Republican Party didn't print that story. The Washington Post did. ... We haven't broken one story, Mr. Perot. Name one." PEROT: "He's living in an isolation booth ... I don't respond to a competitor on his terms. I will wait and wait and wait, and at the right

time and the right place I'll do it" (CNN, 6/24).

*5 BUSH: "I'M GOING TO WIN THIS ELECTION. YOU WATCH."

In a N.Y. TIMES interview, conducted 6/23 and billed as the first piece in a series on "The Bush Record," NYT's Rosenthal & Brinkley write Bush is taking his "old compass" into a new world. He ran in '88 to "complete the mission" of the Reagan/Bush years. "But soon after his inauguration, the world Mr. Bush had known so well dissolved around him. ... Having pursued his career with a bomber pilot's single-minded focus, Mr. Bush now finds himself frozen on the top step, unable to explain clearly what he has tried to accomplish in the last three and a half years or where he would like to take the country. ... Much of what Mr. Bush has done ... has been in response to the startling events that have occurred around him. He has been far less successful at articulating America's mission in a post-cold war world." In citing his major accomplishments, Bush "easily listed": Setting the education goals, child care, Clean Air Act, judicial appointments, "and of course Desert Storm." Personally, Bush "is highly secretive," and has said "he hates to be 'put on the couch' to give voters a glimpse of his psyche." The "most consistent" evaluation of Bush is "while he is a good crisis manager, he has been reactive at a time when the nation needs a creative, forward looking leader." But "politicians and academics across the political spectrum believe that at its core, Mr. Bush's problem is one of credibility." The piece quotes many experts politicians. Also focused, Bush's penchant for secrecy, his personal relationships with foreign leaders, and the search for "Bush Country" (6/25).

EXCERPTS FROM THE INTERVIEW: On "family values": "I can't accept as normal life style people of the same sex being parnets, I'm very sorry. I don't accept that as normal. ... the best shot that a kid has is to have a mother and father that love that child, that will educate that child, that will care for that child." On the economy: "I happen to think the economy is better than most of the people in America think. We saw polls somewhere last week 60 percent of the people think the economy is getting worse. The economy is getting better. In some areas, it may not be getting better, but I think we should stimulate it through the methods that we've talked about." On his prospects: "In the final analysis, people are going to say, 'Who do we want sitting behind that desk? Who has the temperament? Who do we trust? That's why I'm going to win this election. You watch" (6/25).

TV: NBC's Jim Miklaszewski: "One question voters are asking this election year is just what does George Bush stand for. Well, the answer could be everything. Bush is probably the ultimate candidate of change, he's been doing it his entire political career. ... Throughout his career Bush has been a political chameleon, willing and able to adapt his positions to the current environment." On Bush's abortion position: "Bush was such a strong advocate of family planning the late Wilbur Mills nicknamed him 'Rubbers'." On electorate: "To reassure the voters Bush may have to nail down his positions between now and November. That leaves him plenty of time to make up his mind or change it" (6/25).

*6 BUSH: DARMAN SLASHES CLINTON'S BUDGET

OMB Dir. Dick Darman "derided the economic proposals" offered by Clinton and Perot, saying "neither approach is serious. ... playing on news reports" of Perot, Darman called his

verbal plan "the simple investigator's budget" (Lee, USA TODAY, 6/24). N.Y. TIMES' Greenhouse, under header, "Darman Crunches, Then Criticizes, Clinton and Perot Numbers," writes Darman was "joining in an accelerating round of attacks by [Admin.] officials" on Perot and Clinton. Darman "reserved most of his fire for Clinton," saying his proposal "has been contrived strictly for media consumption" (6/25). W. POST's Schwartz & Balz note Darman "as budget director has never offered a balanced budget" (6/25). Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX) was another "Bush backer" who was "rolled out by Republicans" to respond to Clinton's plan, saying it "would result in the largest dollar increase in federal spending in American history" (RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 6/25). Balto. SUN's Lewthwaite reports Darman said Clinton's proposal must "have been put together at night by someone wearing very dark glasses, perhaps while playing a saxophone" (6/25). N.Y. NEWSDAY's Page writes Darman invited reporters to the WH, "served them assorted cookies and coffee in china cups, and proceeded to read a lengthy statement ridiculing" the proposals (6/25).

GINGRICH GRINCHES: W. TIME's Lambro notes House Min. Whip Gingrich's "growing frustration" with "a whimpy White House that has been reluctant to go toe-to-toe" with Congress, and is the "latest manifestation" of Bush's "deepening reelection problems." Gingrich's solution is "a fully coordinated action campaign," showing Bush "tirelessly fighting to shrink bureaucracy, curb spending, and get his economic initiatives passed. ... these are things Ronald Reagan taught us to do and [FDR] taught us to do which is the most basic elementary principles of how to lead a great country -- forming coalitions at the grass roots among people who want the things you want" (6/25).

FOREIGN POLICY: W. POST's McGrory writes on foreign policy, "Bush has been a relentless practitioner of realpolitik, which has been neither realistic nor effective." She cites the Haitian refugee policy, the Panama invasion, "his prewar dealings with Saddam Hussein," and Bush's handling of the Khmer Rouge as a "string of embarrassments." McGrory write of Iraq-gate, "all this, as we all know, can be the consequences of a misguided foreign policy. Watergate and Iran-contra are instructive in this regard" (6/25). N.Y. TIMES' Safire writes of Iraqgate: "Bush has resisted sending high-level officials to testify" but has requested documentation "to keep the president one step ahead of the game. ... a request for independent counsel will be voted, if [AG] William Barr, to protect his colleagues, pretends to find no credible evidence for seeking court-appointed counsel, we will have a misfeasant Attorney General" (6/25).

BUSHELLANEOUS: Bush daughter Doro will be married 6/27 to ex-Gephardt staffer Bobby Koch. Not on the guest list: Dan and Marilyn Quayle (Huckshorn, KNIGHT/RIDDER, 6/25). L.A. TIMES' Fritz reports, "Bush has received \$17.4 million in individual donations of more than \$200 each" since 1/91. Nearly 63% came from "contributors who did not identify their occupation and employer," which "thwarts" efforts to determine how much money came from special interest groups (6/25).

*7 CLINTON: MORE FROM THE TELLING WHAT THEY HATE TO HEAR DEPT.

"Continuing his strategy of telling people what they don't want to hear," Clinton "went after executive salaries in a talk to businessmen" (Milligan, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 6/25). He "chided" business leaders "for a decade of astronomic increases" in salaries which "outstripped" profit growth and workers' wages" (Black, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/25). Clinton: "I have challenged labor

unions to change ... teachers organizations to change. I have challenged people to reach across racial and ethnic lines. I want you to be a part of this" (W. TIMES, 6/25). Clinton told the Nat'l Assn of Manufacturers the U.S. must lead a renewal of U.S. competitiveness by investing in facilities, worker training and education. His message "drew a generally tepid response" from executives "who said they would improve upon that record if Washington would reduce regulatory and legal burdens." NAM pres. Jerry Jasinowski: "Frankly, your program seems long on public investment and short on private incentives for investment and growth." The reaction "pointed to the difficulty" Clinton "faces in attempting to sell mainstream industrial leaders the idea that public investment can enhance private growth" at a time when people are concerned about the budget deficit. Clinton "appeared to stumble" when asked about reducing regulatory and legal costs to businesses: "I've got more answers than most people, but I don't have an answer for everything" (Deans, COX, 6/25). N.Y. TIMES' Ayres reports the business leaders "vigorously applauded" Clinton's proposals for "restoring health to the economy, welfare reform, tax credits for the working poor and heavy investment in schools, highways, and communications systems. At the end of his speech, Clinton "all but shouted": "Tell George Bush and Ross Perot you want to know what they would do!" (6/25).

BASHING THE PLAN: ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE's Lilleston reports the Senate used deliberation on a balanced budget amendment to "launch into partisan debate" on Clinton's plan. Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX): "We are used to tax-and-spend [Dems], but Clinton has broken the mold. He promises to spend more in less time than any president in American history." Sen. Jim Sasser said GOPers "carefully planned a strategy to attack" the plan "in hopes of diverting attention" from record deficits and spending under the Bush administration (6/25). Sen. Pete Domenici (R-NM) on Clinton's claim his plan would eventually lead to a balanced budget: "Absolutely a sham." Senate GOPers had "aimed to force a vote to repudiate" Clinton's plan but "settled" for a half-hour "of railing against it" (Schwartz/Balz, W. POST, 6/25). "In a possible sign of [WH] concern over the overall response to Clinton's budget plan" Budget dir. Richard Darman "sharply criticized it at an unusual briefing for reporters -- the first such on-the-record session he has held in roughly two years." Darman called the plan "transparently phony" and said the plan would "rely on massive tax increases." Clinton economic policy dir. Gene Sperling on Darman: "I guess he had to do his job, but it must be very difficult. This administration's credibility about reducing the deficit is so weak, I can't image anyone taking it seriously" (Lauter, L.A. TIMES, 6/25). ROLL CALL's Kondracke writes Clinton's plan was his "great opportunity ... to show suburban voters that he intends to balance the budget, limit entitlements, demand sacrifices and stimulate productivity. He blew the opportunity and opened himself to charges that he's just another 'tax and spend' Democrat" (6/25).

SIDELINES: NPR's Mara Liasson: "While [Bush and Perot] continued their feud, [Clinton] stayed on the sidelines, happy to be a non-participant, for a change, in a political catfight" (6/24). Clinton, "delighted to be on the sidelines as [Bush and Perot] sling mud at each other, stuck to touting his economic plan" and culminat[ed] this week in a wave of largely favorable publicity" from the econo-plan. Clinton communications dir. George Stephanopolous said the Bush-Perot fight "has got to help us": "What you see is two people brawling and a third talking

about issues" (Lauter, L.A. TIMES, 6/25).

VEEPSTAKES: W. POST's Devroy & Balz report Sen. Al Gore (D-TN) is on Clinton's VP list. Although the choice of another Southern moderate "would be unusual," Gore has defense and foreign policy experience as well as environmental strength. His prior run for president "lessen[s] the chances of revelations that would damage the campaign" (6/25). Gore said questions about being VP were "too iffy" to answer (W. TIMES, 6/25). N.Y. POST's Orin calls Gore as VP "the hot rumor of the week" (6/25). USA TODAY reports Speaker Tom Foley "thinks [Clinton] ought to pick a member of Congress and not an outsider" for VP. Foley: "I don't think you could make a better choice than a member of Congress." Among his favorites: House Maj. Leader Dick Gephardt and Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN) (6/25). Dem "sources" believe Clinton "is near a decision" (Wilkie, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/25).

CONVENTION MENTION: COX' Shepard reports Dems are "working feverishly" to stage a convention to "save Bill Clinton from political disaster." Party officials and Clinton reps want to "develop a radically different convention more suited to the habits" of TV viewers. An "MTV-like" backdrop of 56 TV screens will be behind the podium to give the event "visual energy" and a viewer call-in mechanism will be added. Dems are considering more than one keynote speech and 3 or 4 non-prime time speeches by "real people" representing AIDS victims, the unemployed and the homeless. Women's Campaign Fund exec. dir. Jane Danowitz: "Clinton can't just play the saxophone or host a four-day talk show" (6/25). N.Y. POST's Orin writes the Clinton camp "has given the cold shoulder" to Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) who will not give a "high-profile" convention speech (6/25).

MONEY: Although FEC regulations require campaigns to make their "best effort" to obtain the name, address, occupation and employer of each donor who gives more than \$200, more than 53% of Clinton's \$200+ donors have failed to provide all the information. Clinton has received more than \$8 million in \$200+ donations (Fritz, L.A. TIMES, 6/25).

ENDORSEMENT: Boston Mayor Ray Flynn is scheduled to endorse Clinton this morning after "speculation" that he thought about supporting Perot (Pertman, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/25).

WAIT FOR THE MOVIE: At last night's "Link Up" parties Clinton joked that he was writing his memoirs, "Billionaire, the millionaire, and me" (BOSTON GLOBE, 6/25).

*8 MONEY TALKS: ANALYSIS OF '92 POLITICAL CONTRIBUTORS

USA TODAY/NBC News surveyed 350 Bush campaign contributors and 400 Clinton campaign contributors, culled from those who gave at least \$200 between 10/91-1/92. While 78% "said they dug into their pockets for ideological reasons, 48% thought their donation would pave the way for a meeting with a top Clinton or Bush aide." DNC's Ginny Terzano responded that there is no "quid pro quo," while RNC's Gary Koops said, "Certainly they may get a phone call returned, but there's a difference between getting your phone call returned and getting action." Also, 28% of the donors thought the gift would help their businesses; 15% thought it would help their careers. Contributor profile notes: 68% are professionals, including lawyers and managers; more than two-thirds are men. Also, 50% of Bush contributors and 60% of Clinton contributors favor campaign finance reform to eliminate PACs (Hasson, USA TODAY, 6/25).

*9 STATELINES: POLLS IN AK, GA, LA

ALASKA: Dittman Research surveyed 520 registered voters 6/4-9; margin of error +/- 4.5% (Dittman release, 6/24). Policy Analysts, Inc. surveyed 506 registered voters from 6/4-10; margin of error +/- 4.4% (Policy Analysts release, 6/24).

3-WAY	DITTMAN	P.A.
Perot	41%	41%
Bush	30	32
Clinton	19	19
Undec.	10	8

GEORGIA: GA State Univ. surveyed 813 adults 6/3-15; margin of error +/- 4%. Subsample of likely voters has margin of error +/-5% (GSU release, 6/24).

3-WAY (Among LVs)

	ALL	WHT	BLK	DEM	GOP	IND
Perot	39%	42%	29%	33%	21%	54%
Bush	35	42	11	18	72	27
Clinton	25	15	59	48	5	17

LOUISIANA: Mason-Dixon Research surveyed 816 likely voters from 6/18-20; margin of error +/- 3.5% (Monroe NEWS-STAR, 6/25).

3-WAY	ALL	FAV/UNFAV	MEN	WOM	WHT	BLK	DEM	GOP	IND
Bush	30%	39% / 31%	28%	32%	37%	11%	25%	48%	31%
Clinton	26	29 / 33	23	29	15	57	33	9	12
Perot	25	28 / 19	32	18	30	10	24	23	34
Undec.	19								

2-WAY	ALL	BUSH JOB RATING	
		Exc.	5%
Bush	46%	Good	42
Clinton	38	Fair	34
Undec.	16	Poor	19

*10 KANSAS: NIXON TO STUMP FOR DOLE

Richard Nixon is scheduled to speak at a 6/26 fund-raiser for Sen. Bob Dole (R). 500 guests, each paying \$20, are expected to attend (TOPEKA CAPITAL-JOURNAL, 6/24). Gloria O'Dell (D), who managed the '90 campaign of state Treasurer Sally Thompson (D), has established a 1-800 number to provide Kansans with voter registration information. The number -- 1-800-GLORIA3 -- will "also serve as a fund-raising line to receive pledges of contributions to her campaign" (release, 6/23). O'Dell announced the appointment of Tess Banion as her campaign manager yesterday. Banion has worked on several state House and Senate races and in ex-LG Tom Docking's (D) '86 gov. bid (release, 6/24).

*11 NEW YORK: D'AMATO ETHICS INQUIRY CALLED ON TO REOPENED

NYC Comptroller Liz Holtzman (D) called for the Senate Ethics Cmte to "reopen its inquiry and hold open hearings" on whether Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R) "intervened improperly with HUD" on behalf of Puerto Rican developers. AG Bob Abrams (D) said last week D'Amato "should be investigated for perjury" (Friedman, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 6/24). NEWSDAY editorial: The Senate Ethics Cmte "said it would reopen the inquiry if 'additional relevant testimony or evidence' became available. ... Once again, the trail of paper, office phone logs and the direct testimony of some participants paint a bleak portrait of D'Amato's conduct. At the very least, he knew he was doing favors for key contributors. The question now is, will the participants who couldn't talk to the ethics panel before this trial now sing? And is the committee willing to listen?" (6/24). VILLAGE VOICE's James Ledbetter attributes Ferraro's front-runner status to "a vast outbreak of amnesia about the ethical questions that have dogged her career. She has not had to answer tough questions about her misconduct because the media of late maintained that the fault lies solely with her husband and son." But Ledbetter raises several ethical questions, including a House Ethics Cmte report that determined "Ferraro violated House rules of conduct approximately 10 times, largely by misstating vital information about her personal finances and campaign financing." Taking a "cavalier, almost reckless, approach to legally required financial disclosures." He notes, "There are valid and important distinctions to be drawn between the kind of sleaze that Al D'Amato has institutionalized and Ferraro's ethical violations. ... But if she wins the nomination and runs against D'Amato in the fall, [D'Amato] will have a field day with the report. Picture a giddy D'Amato waving this phone-book sized report and saying -- disingenuously, but essentially telling the truth -- 'The Senate ethics committee investigated me for months and said I didn't break any rules. But the House investigated Gerry Ferraro and she broke the rules not once, not twice, but 10 times.' It's little wonder, then, that D'Amato keeps saying Ferraro's going to win the primary. She's the only candidate he can pull into his ethical sewer" (6/30 issue).

*12 HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS

GA 06: Atty Herman Clark (R) "has turned his radio commercial blasting" Rep. Newt Gingrich (R) to the tune of "Old MacDonald Had A Farm" into a TV spot. The 60-second ad "features photos of Gingrich along with the banjo music and lyrics of the radio ad that began running two weeks ago" (see HOTLINE 6/23). The ad has aired once in Atlanta, but will begin airing regularly on cable channels next week. "Gingrich apparently will hold off until the final two weeks to wage an expected TV blitz" (Walston, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION/COX NEWS, 6/25). Primary 7/21.

MA 06: Analysts have begun to question the effect Rep. Nicholas Mavroules' (D) recent press conference, regarding the federal probe against him, will have on his campaign (see HOTLINE 6/23). "To blame the media at this early point in what is expected to be a long reelection campaign, but not to address specific allegations of wrongdoing or provide direct examples of inaccurate reporting, was the somewhat hollow act of a wounded politician, some analysts" say. The event was "intended to jump-start a dormant reelection campaign and stem what Mavroules' strategists feared was a steady erosion of support." It was also "to apply pressure to the U.S. Attorney's office in Boston ... to plug any press leaks and hasten its probe." Mavroules' challengers criticized his performance. State Rep. Barbara Hildt (D): "I'm disappointed he didn't use the opportunity to try to clear himself and address the questions posed to him." Ex-Rep. Peter Torkildsen (R): "He appeared to be blaming the media for his problems, and that only hurts his credibility" (McGrory, BOSTON GLOBE, 6/24). BOSTON HERALD header: "Loyal supporters rally 'round their embattled congressman" (6/23).

VA 08: Atty Kyle McSllarrow (R) told the Fairfax JOURNAL he "smoked marijuana three to four times as a teen-ager and tried cocaine once as a college freshman." McSllarrow: "While curiosity got the better of me, I wasn't an idiot. I knew I did something wrong and I didn't repeat it." The JOURNAL's Jacobson examines the degree to which drug use matters in today's campaigns. He notes, 11th CD candidate/George Mason Univ's Henry Butler (R) admitted to "drug use and a drunken driving conviction after being asked the question at a public forum days before" he won his 6/9 primary by a wide margin. Butler: "The key is to answer the question honestly and to not hide it." McSllarrow faces Rep. Jim Moran (D-08); Butler faces state Del. Leslie Byrne (D) (6/24). Moran announced his reelection bid 6/22, attacking McSllarrow as ex-Rep. "Stan Parris' hand-picked candidate." Moran ousted the longtime former incumbent in '90 (Bradley, RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 6/23).

TX 25: Investment banker Dolly Madison McKenna (R) charged 6/22 that Rep. Mike Andrews (D) "has not maintained a residence in Houston for the last eight years and has used a 'series of sham addresses' for voter registration." Andrews and his family maintain a residence in DC, but were registered to vote until recently at a house they sold in 1984. Andrews changed his voter registration to an apartment, following his victory in the primary election. After selling the house, Andrews said he "rented a garage apartment from the couple who bought it so he would have a place to stay when he visited the district." McKenna challenged him to "move his family back to Texas, 'put his children back in Texas schools and make Houston his real

residence." McKenna's charge follows an incident in which Andrews hired a photographer to take pictures of McKenna moving into the CD earlier this month (see HOTLINE 6/16). Her move was the fulfillment of a campaign promise (Johnson, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 6/23).

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===== HOTSPOTS =====

*13 LOUISIANA: EDWARDS RATING STAYS LOW; MORE OPPOSE GAMBLING
Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research surveyed 816 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.5% (SHREVEPORT TIMES, 6/24).

EDWARDS JOB	NOW	3/92	CASINO GAMBLING IN NEW ORLEANS		
Excellent	7%	5%		ALL	N.O. VOTERS
Good	28	26	Favor	41%	31%
Fair	23	31	Oppose	49	58
Poor	37	28	Undec.	10	11

WOULD YOU SIGN A PETITION TO SUPPORT
HOLDING A RECALL ELECTION TO REMOVE EDWARDS?

Yes 36%
No 59

IF AN EDWARDS RECALL ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY HOW WOULD YOU VOTE?

Keep him 46%
Remove him 43
Undec. 11

*14 MISSOURI: SCHOEMEHL PULLS UP TO CARNAHAN; WEBSTER GRILLIN'
A ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH/KMOX poll by the Univ. of MO Media Research Bureau surveyed 282 likely Dem primary voters and 237 likely GOP primary voters 6/14-22, margin of error +/- 5.8% (POST-DISPATCH, 6/25). Dems: LG Mel Carnahan, St. Louis Mayor Vincent Schoemehl. GOPers: AG William Webster, Sec/State Roy Blunt, MO Treasurer Wendell Bailey. Primary is 8/4.

DEMS		GOP	
Carnahan	33%	Webster	45%
Schoemehl	33	Blunt	18
Other	4	Bailey	8
DK/other	31	Other	2
		DK/other	27

ANALYSIS: The poll "may indicate the power" of TV ads -- Webster and Schoemehl "have been waging the most vigorous media ad campaigns ... for weeks." Blunt began airing ads in St. Louis just before the poll began; Bailey is airing 10-second TV ads this week. Carnahan's camp says its TV will start Sunday in Kansas City and outstate and continue through the primary.

DEMS: This snapshot "indicates a dramatic gain for Schoemehl. About a year ago, polls showed Carnahan with a 2-to-1 lead." Schoemehl is leading Carnahan in Kansas City and St. Louis but trailing in the rest of the state. Dem women slightly favor Carnahan; Dem men tip to Schoemehl. "However, the women also were twice as likely to be undecided. Carnahan has been promoting his stance in favor of abortion rights. Schoemehl advocates keeping [MO] law as it is."

GOPers: "The poll indicates that the Second Injury Fund controversy involving Webster apparently has not seriously damaged his support," as Webster has large leads in all areas of the state. All three GOPers have balanced male/female support, according to Univ. of MO Media Research Bureau director Judith Sylvester (POST-DISPATCH, 6/25).

MORE: POST-DISPATCH continues its profile series of gov. candidates, focusing on Carnahan's "singular advocacy" of a tax increase for education; Schoemehl and the three top GOPers "have

shied away from that. Mark Schlankmann reports, "Proposition B, an education tax package proposed by the Legislature, was rejected by voters. Carnahan has come up with a new plan that he says has a better chance of passage." Carnahan: "I don't think we have a future worth having if we don't improve our schools ... It's an integrity issue. All five major candidates supported Proposition B. So what happened all of a sudden? Is it an election year conversion or something?" As Schlankmann says one Dem put it, "Carnahan appeals more to the intellect than the emotion" (POST-DISPATCH, 6/25).

*15 WASHINGTON: GOP PLATFORM HAS NO CANDIDATES TO STAND ON

WA GOP candidates are "falling all over themselves as they flee from the party's controversial platform adopted" during last weekend's convention (see HOTLINE 6/23). The platform, which bans abortion, urges gov't opposition to homosexuality and advocates the return of religion and spanking in the schools, has even prompted GOP chair Ben Bettridge to suggest that GOP candidates distance themselves from it (Westneat, Bellvue JOURNAL AMERICAN, 6/23). Rep. Rod Chandler (R-08) who "made no mention of the platform" while addressing the convention: "Rooted in the Dark Ages, this platform bears no relation to the principles that guide progressive, moderate-to-conservative Republicans. ... It's an attempt by the 'Religious Right' to impose an uncompromising code of morals on us" (mult., 6/23). Some GOPers are even "using the platform controversy to bash fellow Republicans." 1st CD candidate Mark Gardner (R) took his opponent, state Sen. Gary Nelson (R), "to task for not denouncing the platform strongly enough." JOURNAL AMERICAN's Westneat writes, "predictably, Democrats are joining the fun" (6/23). SEATTLE TIMES' Mark Matassa notes, U.S. Senate candidate/state Sen. Leo Thorsness' (R) "refusal to endorse [it] is perhaps the most surprising. A conservative Christian and the strongest abortion opponent among the major candidates, Thorsness seemed a man in his element at the convention." Of the 6 major candidates running for gov. or senate, only gov. candidate/state Sen. Dan McDonald (R) "came close to endorsing" it. "With the adoption of a platform that even its own candidates regard as an embarrassment, Washington's Grand Old Party seems especially vulnerable to the perception that it's out of touch with regular people" (6/23).

*16 THIS MORNING: NBC's "Today" hosted RNC chair Rich Bond, Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) on MIAs, and profiled George Bush. ABC's "GMA" hosted Iran-Contra special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh, plaintiffs Debra and Daniel Weisman and defense counsel Jay Sekulow on Supreme Court's prayer in school decision. "CBS This Morning" hosted Kerry (6/25).

LAST NIGHT: ABC led with the Navy's "Tail-hook" sexual harassment. NBC led with both of the Supreme Court rulings on smoking and school prayer. CBS led with the Supreme Court's ruling on whether smokers can sue tobacco companies. CNN and PBS' "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with the rail strike. "M/L" focused on the '92 campaign with extended excerpts of Perot's press conference and an excerpt of Clinton's speech to the Nat'l Association of Manufacturers. CNN's "Crossfire" hosted Harvard prof. Laurence Tribe and atty Jay Sekulow on the Supreme Court. CNN's "Larry King Live" hosted Ross Perot (6/24).

CHUCKLEHEAD: NBC's Jay Leno on Perot: "That private investigator thing isn't such a bad idea, maybe we should all hire one person and find out what Perot really stands for." On Perot's looks: "If big ears, a funny haircut, and a strange personality meant anything Mr. Spock would have been elected years ago" ("Tonight," 6/24). Dennis Miller on Clinton's campaign deficit: "The reason Bill Clinton played sax on the Arsenio Hall show was for the six hundred bucks" ("Show," 6/24). Arsenio Hall on Quayle's visit to South Central L.A.: "At one point the Secret Service guys pushed him into a limo because there was a rumor that one of the gangs was going to a drive-by spelling bee" ("Arsenio Hall Show," 6/24).

Letterman's Top Ten Things Perot Found Out About The Bush Family:

10. George ran over first wife with a riding mower.
9. Even at the White House, whole family sleeps inside R.V. in the driveway.
8. Use tax dollars to send out for chinese food.
7. At home they all speak with thick Mexican accents.
6. Naked George often "surprised" by tour groups.
5. Neil Bush is hooked on phonics.
4. Like most Americans the first family still hasn't signed up for NBC's Olympic triplecast.
3. Barbara is thinking about voting for Perot.
2. Japanese have them on the payroll just to screw things up.
1. Quayle was Millie's suggestion ("Late Night," NBC, 6/24).

===== TV SOUNDBITES =====

"You ducked all over the place about how big your opposition dirty tricks is and where it's located an who runs it ..."

-- Perot to "Larry King" caller RNC chair Rich Bond, CNN, 6/24.

"Perot implies that we have some cloak and dagger guys going through his gold-plated garbage cans behind his estate every morning, that's just not so."

-- Bond, "Today," NBC, 6/25

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

The President has selected the following individuals to represent him for the Return of the Remains of Ignacy Jan Paderewski to Poland on June 28, 1992:

HEAD OF DELEGATION:

SECRETARY DERWINSKI

DELEGATES:

DR. EDWARD ROZEK, of Colorado. Dr. Rozek currently serves as Chairman of the Polish National Council in America.

BEURT SERVAAS, of Indiana. Mr. Servaas currently serves as Head of Curtis International and was the former Director of the United States/Poland Economic Council.

AMBASSADOR EDWARD L. ROWNY, of Virginia. Ambassador Rowny previously served as Ambassador to Poland and as Arms Control Advisor to President Reagan and President Bush.

CLARENCE J. PADEREWSKI, of California.

MR. EDWARD J. MOSKAL, of Illinois. Currently, Mr. Moskal serves as President of the Polish American Congress and Polish National Alliance.

MR. MICHAEL J. KOGUTEK, of New York. Mr. Kogutek previously served as National Commander of the American Legion.

MR. EDWARD G. DYKLA, of Illinois. Currently, Mr. Dykla serves as President of the Polish Roman Catholic Union.

MRS. HELEN WOJCIK, of Illinois. Currently, Mrs. Wojcik serves as President of the Polish Women's Alliance.

LAWRENCE R. WOJCIKOWSKI, of Pennsylvania. Currently, Mr. Wojcikowski serves as President of the Polish Falcons of America.

ANNE PRON, of Pennsylvania. Currently, Ms. Pron serves as President of the Polish National Union.

JAN NOWAK, of Virginia. Ms. Nowak has served as Founding Director of Radio Free Europe's Polish Service, 1951-1976; and currently serves as Vice President of the Polish American Congress.

KATHERINE SUPER, of Virginia. Ms. Super currently serves as Deputy Assistant to the President for Appointments and Scheduling at the White House.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as Members of the Operating Committee of the Critical Technologies Institute:

NICHOLAS F. BRADY, Secretary of the Treasury, for a term of two years. This is a new position.

MICHAEL J. BOSKIN, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, for a term of three years. This is a new position.

RICHARD G. DARMAN, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, for a term of one year. This is a new position.

ADMIRAL JONATHAN T. HOWE, United States Navy, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, for a term of four years. This is a new position.

#

BACKGROUND ON THE RETURN OF THE REMAINS OF
JAN PADEREWSKI TO POLAND

When Polish Prime Minister Paderewski died in New York on June 29, 1941, President Roosevelt directed the Secretary of War to have his remains placed in the memorial to the battleship Maine in Arlington Cemetery. Paderewski's dying wish was to be buried in the United States and for his remains to be returned to his native Poland only when it became free.

Known to most Americans as a world-renowned pianist and composer, Paderewski was also a significant political force in Poland. He was independent Poland's first Prime Minister and one of the signers of the Treaty of Versailles. In January 1940, shortly after the Nazi occupation, Paderewski was named President of the Polish parliament in exile.

On June 27, 1992 a memorial ceremony will be held at Arlington Cemetery, after which Paderewski's remains will be flown to Poland for formal internment. In addition, President Bush will meet with Polish-American leaders in a Rose Garden Ceremony to honor the United States delegation, led by Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward J. Derwinski, that will return his remains. The transfer of Paderewski's remains is scheduled to coincide with the fifty-first anniversary of his death June 29. On July 5, 1992 in Warsaw, Poland, President Bush and Polish President Lech Walesa will attend a funeral mass in memory of Mr. Paderewski. The mass will be held at St. John's Basilica and led by Cardinal Glemp, the Primate of Poland.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

The President today announced his intention to designate D. Allan Bromley, Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy, to be Chairman of the Operating Committee of the Critical Technologies Institute.

Currently, Dr. Bromley serves as Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy at the White House.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

The President today recognized Staci L. Wietrecki of Mundelein, Illinois, as the 811th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Miss Wietrecki provides emotional support and a sense of well-being to victims of Syringomyelia, a rare neuromuscular disorder, and their families.

Miss Wietrecki, 15, is Director of Children's Networking for the American Syringomyelia Alliance Project (ASAP), a non-profit organization that assists victims and promotes research toward a cure for this permanently paralyzing disorder. Miss Wietrecki, herself a victim of the disorder, counsels young patients, sends them teddy bears, and helps explain their condition to their parents. She writes a children's column for the ASAP newsletter.

ASAP has approximately 850 members, 650 of whom are victims. According to the organization, Miss Wietrecki is the only person known to have undergone successful surgery for Syringomyelia. Her surgery has spurred research and a better understanding of the disorder.

Miss Wietrecki is a Red Cross Certified babysitter and specializes in the care of mentally and physically disabled children. Through the Sally Potter School for the Disabled and through the Northeastern Illinois Special Recreation Association, she cares for people of all ages who have disabilities. She attends Mundelein High School and is a 4-H Ambassador and President of her 4-H Club.

The President salutes Staci Wietrecki 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

Embargoed for Release
Until June 26, 1992

June 25, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of the Minority Youth Appreciation Society, Inc., (MYAS) of Richmond, Virginia, as the 812th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. MYAS volunteers encourage academic achievement and foster good character and values among the youth in their community.

In 1984, Margaret Simmons, a retired school teacher with 37 years of experience, founded MYAS to reverse what she saw as a decline in values and educational standards among young people in Richmond's low income neighborhoods. Using her own retirement funds to start the organization, she maintained that children living in poverty needed support and discipline as early as possible.

Serving kindergarten through fifth grade children of the Creighton Court and Fairfield Court public housing projects, MYAS fosters self-esteem, good manners, and strong values, primarily through a tutorial program, guest speakers, and field trips. The tutorial program, run by four professional teachers and eight volunteers, concentrates on teaching fundamental reading, speaking, and motor skills, as well as on improving reading comprehension. For two hours, three days a week during the school year, students receive supplemental instruction from their tutors. Student volunteers from higher grades ensure that the youth have absorbed the material in a one-to-one session. In addition to tutorials, children have opportunities to hear talks from inspirational community leaders. Parents also volunteer to lead field trips to local businesses and to other attractions that stimulate imaginations of children.

The sustained growth of MYAS over the years has enabled it to create a permanent center. The program now reaches over 100 students per year, and by every measurement the children have improved academically. More than one quarter of past and present participants have seen their test scores rise significantly.

The President salutes the volunteers of Minority Youth Appreciation Society Inc. for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Terrence B. Adamson, of Georgia, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the State Justice Institute for a term expiring September 17, 1994. This is a reappointment.

Since 1983, Mr. Adamson has served as a Partner with the law firm of Dow, Lohnes & Albertson in Atlanta, Georgia; and as an Associate with Hansell, Post, Brandon & Dorsey, 1974-1977. Mr. Adamson also served as a Fellow at the Institute of Politics at the Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University, 1979-1980.

Mr. Adamson was graduated from Emory University (B.A., 1968; J.D., 1973). He also served in the National Guard. Mr. Adamson is married, has two children and resides in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kathryn D. Sullivan, of California, to be Chief Scientist of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. She would succeed Sylvia Alice Earle.

Since 1990, Dr. Sullivan has served as NASA Mission Specialist at the Johnson Space Center in Houston, Texas. Dr. Sullivan was graduated from the University of California at Santa Cruz (B.S., 1973); and Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia (Ph.D., 1978). She serves in the United States Naval Reserve. Dr. Sullivan was born October 3, 1951 in Paterson, New Jersey and currently resides in Houston, Texas.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

Federal Grants for State and Local 'GI Bills' for Children

FACT SHEET

The President today transmitted to the Congress the "Federal Grants for State and Local 'GI Bills' for Children." This bill would authorize \$500 million in fiscal year 1993, and additional amounts in later years, to help states and communities provide \$1,000 scholarships to children of middle- and low-income families. Each family may spend these scholarships at any lawfully operating school -- public, private, or religious.

The original GI Bill, enacted 48 years ago this week, gave scholarships to veterans to use at any college of their choice, public or private. Veterans used this consumer power to help create the world's best system of colleges and universities.

Today, there is little consumer power for the parents of most elementary and secondary school students. Choosing a school is mainly an option for families wealthy enough to move to a different public school area or for those who can afford a private or religious school. Partly because of this lack of choice and an absence of the competition among schools that choice would create, many children have to attend elementary and secondary schools that do not provide an adequate education. This legislation is designed to give middle- and low-income parents greater consumer power.

The proposed legislation includes the following elements:

Authorized Program

- The Department of Education would make competitive 4-year grants to states and localities for scholarships to children from middle- and low-income families.
- Scholarships would be in the amount of \$1,000, plus any additional support available from non-Federal sources.
- Families would use these scholarships to send their children to any lawfully operating school -- public, private, or religious.

- They could also use up to \$500 of the scholarship to obtain supplementary academic services for their children.

Eligibility

- Any state or locality can apply for funds sufficient to give each child of a middle- or low-income family a \$1,000 annual scholarship. In order to qualify, the governmental unit would have to:
 - Take significant steps to provide a choice of schools to families with school children in the area;
 - Permit families to spend the \$1,000 Federal scholarships at a wide variety of public and private schools; and
 - Allow all lawfully operating schools in the area -- public, private, and religious -- to participate if they so choose.

Project Selection

The Secretary of Education would select grantees on the basis of:

- The number and variety of choices made available to families of eligible children;
- The extent to which the applicant has provided educational choices to all children, including children who are not eligible for scholarships;
- The proportion of children who will participate who are from low-income families; and
- The applicant's financial support (including private support) for the project.

Eligible Students

The maximum family income for eligible children would be determined by the grantee, but it could not exceed the higher of the state or national median income, adjusted for family size. (For example, in 1989 the national medium family income for a family of four was roughly \$40,000.)

Student Selection

- All eligible children in the project area would receive \$1,000 scholarships, as long as sufficient funds are available. If all eligible children cannot participate, the grantee would provide scholarships to those with the lowest family income.
- Students would continue to receive scholarships over the 4-year life of a project unless they leave school, move out of the area, or no longer meet the income criteria.

Anti-discrimination Provisions

The proposed legislation provides aid to families, not institutions. However, as a condition of participating in this program, a school must comply with the federal anti-discrimination provisions of: section 601 of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (race), section 901 of title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (gender), and section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (disability).

Supplementary Academic Services

Up to \$500 of each scholarship may be used for other academic programs for children before and after school, on weekends, or during school vacations.

Amount of Grant

The Secretary would determine the amount of each grant on the basis of the availability of funds, the number and quality of applications, and other appropriate information.

National Evaluation

The Department of Education would conduct a comprehensive evaluation of these demonstration projects. The evaluation would assess the impact of the program in such areas as educational achievement and parents' involvement in, and satisfaction with, their children's education.

Funding

\$500 million is authorized in FY 1993, sufficient to fund scholarships for 500,000 students. The proposed legislation authorizes "such sums as may be necessary" through FY 2000.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report two revised deferrals, now totaling \$2.2 billion in budgetary resources. Including the revised deferrals, funds withheld in FY 1992 now total \$5.7 billion.

The deferrals affect Funds Appropriated to the President and the Department of Agriculture. The details of the deferrals are contained in the attached reports.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 25, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate C.C. Hope, Jr., of North Carolina, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for a term expiring February 28, 1993. This is a reappointment.

Since 1986, Mr. Hope has served as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. He served as Vice Chairman of the First Union National Bank in Charlotte, North Carolina.

Mr. Hope was graduated from Wake Forest University, (B.S., 1943). He served in the United States Navy from 1943-1945. He was born February 5, 1920 in Charlotte, North Carolina. Mr. Hope is married, has three children and resides in Alexandria, Virginia.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN MEETING WITH TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY ANDREW CARD

The Oval Office

11:56 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just simply say that we're now in the second day of a national rail strike. And Secretary Card and his associates and others have worked all night trying to get a -- working with a bipartisan group on Capitol Hill to get the legislation to stop this strike. The trains are not moving, as of this minute, however. And clearly the national interest is at stake here. And we now face a complete halt of passenger and commuter rail lines. And I urge the House and Senate to act to end this strike today; the national interest requires no less. And there must be no further delay.

So I salute the Secretary and his people at the Department of Transportation, those members that are working to end this strike. But it must happen, and it should happen today.

Q What is the holdup?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Andy can give you more detail, but there's a difference of opinion amongst some of the senators -- I mean, some of the House members and senators. But the point is -- no finger pointing here -- I just want to use this office to encourage the Congress to move and move fast and settle this matter once and for all. And I believe they can do it. In fact, I think they should do it.

Q Well, is there something happening today that you know of?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, talking's still going on on the legislation, yes.

Q Mr. President, are you amenable to a 30-day cooling off period and the appointment of --

THE PRESIDENT: Look, we want that matter resolved once and for all. And that's what the administration position is.

Q Mr. President, did you make a mistake the other day --

THE PRESIDENT: -- that's in the best interest of the American people.

Q Mr. President, did you make a mistake the other day when you criticized Ross Perot, in an indirect fashion, concerning the possible --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not taking any questions on that here, Jim. Thank you very much. Nice try.

Q Well, did you write a very amenable, friendly letter to him?

MORE

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I certainly did.

Q Why, if he investigated your children?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, go look at the dates, is the only thing I can suggest.

Q But do you think he did investigate your kids?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know, Rita. And I'm not going to take any more questions on it.

Q Do you know anything about Republican dirty tricks?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not going to take any more questions. Jim, you guys are getting a little hard of hearing here today. (Laughter.)

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:59 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Forty-eight years ago this week, President Franklin Roosevelt signed the GI Bill. With the hope of duplicating the success of that historic legislation, I am pleased to transmit for your immediate consideration and enactment the "Federal Grants for State and Local 'GI Bills' for Children." This proposal is a crucial component of our efforts to help the country achieve the National Education Goals by the year 2000. Also transmitted is a section-by-section analysis.

This legislation would authorize half-a-billion new Federal dollars in fiscal year 1993, and additional amounts in later years, to help States and communities give \$1,000 scholarships to middle- and low-income children. Families may spend these scholarships at any lawfully operating school of their choice -- public, private, or religious. The result would be to give middle- and low-income families consumer power -- dollars to spend at any school they choose. This is the muscle parents need to transform our education system and create the best schools in the world for all our children.

At the close of World War II, the Federal Government created the GI Bill giving veterans scholarships to use at any college of their choice -- public, private, or religious. This consumer power gave veterans opportunity, helped to create the best system of colleges and universities in the world, and gave America a new generation of leaders. Now that the Cold War is over, the Federal Government should help State and local governments create GI Bills for children. Under this approach, scholarships would be available for middle- and low-income parents to use at the elementary or secondary school of their choice.

This bill will give middle- and low-income families more of the same choices available to wealthier families. Through families, it will provide new funds at the school site that teachers and principals can use to help all children achieve the high educational standards called for by the National Education Goals. In addition, the legislation will create a marketplace of educational opportunities to help improve all schools; engage parents in their children's schooling; and encourage creation of other academic programs for children before and after school, on weekends, or during school vacations.

Once this proposal is enacted, any State or locality can apply for enough Federal funds to give each child of a middle- or low-income family a \$1,000 annual scholarship. The governmental unit would have to take significant steps to provide a choice of schools to families with school children in the area and permit families to spend the \$1,000 Federal scholarships at a wide variety of public and private schools. It would have to allow all lawfully operating schools in the area -- public, private, and religious -- to participate if they choose.

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The Secretary of Education would select grantees on the basis of: (1) the number and variety of choices made available to families; (2) the extent to which the applicant has provided educational choices to all children, including children who are not eligible for scholarships; (3) the proportion of children who will participate who are from low-income families; and (4) the applicant's financial support (including private support) for the project.

The maximum family income for eligible children would be determined by the grantee, but it could not exceed the higher of the State or national median income, adjusted for family size. All eligible children in the project area would receive scholarships, as long as sufficient funds are available. If all eligible children cannot participate, the grantee would provide scholarships to those with the lowest family incomes. Students would continue to receive scholarships over the 4-year life of a project unless they leave school, move out of the area, or no longer meet the income criteria. Up to \$500 of each scholarship may be used for other academic programs for children before and after school, on weekends, or during school vacations.

This bill provides aid to families, not institutions. However, as a condition of participating in this program, a school must comply with Federal anti-discrimination provisions of: section 601 of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (race), section 901 of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (gender), and section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (disability).

Funding is authorized at \$500 million in FY 1993, and "such sums as may be necessary" through FY 2000. The Department of Education would conduct a comprehensive evaluation of these demonstration projects. The evaluation would assess the impact of the program in such areas as educational achievement and parents' involvement in, and satisfaction with, their children's education.

I urge the Congress to take prompt and favorable action on this legislation.

GEORGE BUSH

----- THE WHITE HOUSE, -----
June 25, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
SECRETARY OF EDUCATION LAMAR ALEXANDER

The Briefing Room

10:55 A.M. EDT

MS. SMITH: I'd like to introduce to you the Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. He's going to brief on our announcement about the GI Bill.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: I'll be glad to try to answer any questions. Let me make a brief -- let me use an example which may help to understand how the proposed state and local GI bills for kids would work. First, of course, the idea is that -- let's take Milwaukee. Milwaukee is already a city where the state and local government gives -- has an experiment to give 1,000 low-income families up to \$2,500 to go to private, nonreligious schools. And now the foundations have come along and businesses and said, we'll give you money to also go to religious schools.

What the GI bill for kids would do is to say to Milwaukee, we have \$1,000 for every single child in Milwaukee, if you want it, but Milwaukee has to do two things to get it. One, is open all its public schools, or a great many of its public schools, to all of the children in Milwaukee. And second, let the federal money, the \$1,000 coming in, be spent at any school -- public, private, or religious -- just the way that if you were in Milwaukee you could spend it at Marquette or at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee.

To give you an example, let's say if you're Maria and you're 27 and you've got a son named David and he's 11, and he's in the fifth grade, and his teacher doesn't think he can learn; you're worried about guns in the schools; and you're working until 6:00 p.m. and the school closes at 3:00 p.m. -- option number one you have is to move to another public school where the teacher thinks David can learn, where there are no guns in the schools, and which is open at 6:00 p.m. tonight and you're \$1,000 goes with you.

Option number two you would have is to go the Catholic school down the street. The average tuition at Catholic elementary schools in America, like the one David might attend, is about \$1,000 all across the country. The average tuition for all private schools in America of all kinds is about \$2,000 to \$2,100. So this is a real option. Option number three would be to stay in the same school, the public school where you now are. The principal might say to you, Maria, we would love to have David stay in the school and his \$1,000 as well because we think we could open up until 7:00 p.m. We can get the guns out. We can hire a physics teacher. And we ought to be, with our public money, be able to do better than the Catholic school down the street.

Option number four would be: Maria works at the shopping center, and the shopping center decides that it's going to join partnership with the public school system and the New American Schools Development Corporation and create one of the best schools in the world at the shopping center for people of all ages -- child care for the baby, an elementary school for David, and programs at night

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for Maria to learn English or to continue her education in math or other subjects.

Option number five would be that you can use up to \$500 of this \$1,000 -- Maria can -- to buy other academic programs for her son David. So she might leave \$500 at the public school where he now attends and go down the street to the Catholic school from 4:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. when she gets off work for an after-school academic program.

The schools in Compton, California, where I was about a month ago -- and the superintendent said, if we could open these schools on Saturdays and in the summers, we wouldn't have 5,000 gang members in a city the size of 90,000. This money is available -- all of it is available to public schools, if the public schools can attract the students. That is what is different about this proposal today.

And as the Mayor of Milwaukee said a little earlier, it will damage the public schools just about as much as the GI bill damaged public universities. And what the GI bill and Pell grants and other federal grants have done to public universities is over the last 50 years give them the impetus for change and the dollars to help them become the best in the world, which is exactly what we'd like to do with our school systems.

Q Mr. Secretary, the Senate has already turned down a proposal along these same lines, exactly on the grounds that it's federal money, public taxpayer money, going to religious schools. What makes you think that anything is going to change for this proposal?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, the Berlin Wall came down after a while, and this will pass just about as suddenly. The Senate has passed for 50 years a GI Bill. It did not say you can't take that federal money to Notre Dame; you can't take it to Yeshiva; you can't take it to Howard; you can't take it to SMU. We've even had GIs, hundreds of thousands of them since World War II, up until 1989, taking that federal money to high schools, to get their high school degree.

Just two years ago, the Congress enacted a day care program which gives parents vouchers to spend at any day care center they choose -- public, private or religious. So we have the odd situation of you can take the baby to any day care center, and you can go to any college or university, but only the monopoly can provide a school for your elementary or secondary school person. And the monopoly gets to tell you exactly which school to go to, and only the rich have a choice.

Q Just to follow up, then. Also part of your indicating here, quite clearly, is that you are looking at this as taxpayer money that will, indeed, be going to religious schools, which would seem to directly contradict the President's remark outside a few minutes ago.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, of course, not. This is aid to families, not aid to schools. The GI Bill was aid to veterans, not aid to Notre Dame. The day care vouchers are aid to single mothers who are poor, not aid to the day care center their child attends. There is absolutely no church-state question about this sort of aid to families. If there is, we'll have to cancel all the federal guaranteed student loans and Pell grants we have.

And one out of two American four-year college students has a federal grant or a federal loan which they can spend at Notre Dame, Vanderbilt, Stanford, Berea, the theological seminary, the Baptist college, the community college, any sort of lawfully

operating college they choose. And the net result of that over the 50 years has been to increase the number, the percentage of students that go to public schools from 50 percent to nearly 80 percent and to create the best system of colleges and universities in the world.

Q Secretary Alexander, if we could get into some numbers, you've got a half-billion-dollar proposal here for which you say states are going to compete. Can you tell us how many children you think potentially are eligible in the country for this sort of help if you include all low- and middle-income children? How you anticipate lowering that number to accommodate \$1,000 per child with half a billion dollars? That's only 500,000 children, isn't it?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: That's 500,000 children. This is the largest new program in the President's budget this year. It would affect a half million American children. It would cover every middle- or low-income child in 50 cities the size of Trenton, New Jersey; in 25 cities the size of San Jose, California; in 7 cities the size of Little Rock. We don't think it would be responsible, no matter how strongly we believe in this idea, to say here's -- we've got a good idea, let's just give \$35 billion to it.

Our goal is to encourage state and local governments to do the same thing. What we want to show over four years is what happens when middle- and low-income families have the same choices of schools that wealthy families already have, and we want to put enough money in it so that the public schools have a chance to change and compete and the money to do the job.

Let's take Milwaukee as an example. Federal education aid to Milwaukee schools today is \$35 million. If Milwaukee were to apply for and receive a full amount of money for the GI bill for kids, it would receive an additional \$72 million through the families to the schools that serve the children who need it the most. So that's a lot of money, all of which can go to public schools if they can compete for the children.

Q How many children do you think there are in the United States in that low- and middle-income bracket?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: We would estimate there are 35 million children. And the amount of money that it would take to give every child in America \$1,000 to spend at any school would be \$30 billion to \$35 billion. But America spends \$260 billion a year on elementary and secondary education. In the '90s the federal government will increase its contributions to elementary and secondary education. And what we want to do is try something different. Instead of pouring the money into regulated programs, let's give the money to the families as we have for 50 years in higher education and let them select the school, and let's see what happens. I think it will release so much energy and creativity in public and well as private schools that we won't recognize them in four years in the cities where this is tried.

Q You obviously feel that you can do something for a half a million -- what about the 30 million-plus kids who aren't going to get this kind of aid?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, if I were a big-spending person from another party, I would probably come in and recommend \$35 billion. But I'm a prudent person who recommends enough money to show the country whether this will work. And if it does work, then I would recommend that as a nation we start spending our money this way. We can spend state dollars, private dollars, local dollars, federal dollars to create thousand-dollar scholarships for every family in the country if we wish to. I mean, every state could spend their money this way if they would now, and they spend about \$5,500 a year per student in America -- state and local governments to today. So they could spend that money this way if they would choose to.

Q Aside from this kind of G.I. bill for kids, are you satisfied the administration is doing all it can for the other 30 million?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Yes. We are -- the more the spotlight is on the President's education program, the better I like it. I mean, he's set a direction for education, he's mobilized virtually every state, 1400 communities. We have 700 design teams creating break-the-mold schools. We have higher standards being set in seven or eight academic subjects, a national examination system being established. We're fighting with Congress to get government off the teachers' backs, and we're giving families more choices of schools. Those are several revolutions that, if the President is permitted to be reelected, will literally transform our education system. And so I'm satisfied.

Q Are you satisfied that while you're taking care of this -- there's a principle that you think will work -- are you satisfied you're also doing enough for school systems which aren't funded by the federal government, but are trying to make it and create -- education surveys aren't doing that great a job in those other --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, the reason they're not doing that great a job is that we've got a system that stymies the teachers and bores the children. And if all we did was just double the amount of money that we're spending into the same system, we'd all be disappointed. So while the President has record increases for Head Start, record increases to help families pay for college, record increases for math and science -- education gets more money than any other new department, any other department in the federal budget this year -- most of this new investment is to create a revolution in the schools. And he's going to get some real opposition on this. And I think it's important to give credit where credit is due. I mean, he's been consistent about this the whole time he's been here.

The middle of a presidential campaign is not a particularly propitious time to create a proposal like this that will engender a lot of opposition, but I think it's an excellent example of what a president ought to be doing about education, and I'm glad he's willing to do it.

Q Mr. Secretary, all of your program seems to be pointed and aimed towards the year 2000; they're futuristic in orientation. But local schools, local communities have a problem now, which is generally known as equalization in education funding. Urban school districts, school districts with the biggest problems tend not to get the average, they get lower than the average. The school districts in the suburban communities tend not to get the average, they get above average. What is the federal government doing about the problem that exists today in cities like Newark, like Hartford, which aren't getting what cities in Connecticut like Farmington and West Hartford are receiving?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, if we want to take a city like Milwaukee, what we're proposing to do is put \$72 million new federal dollars into the hands of the poorest families that they can spend to help their children get the best education in the world. That's \$72 million into a city that only today gets \$35 million from the federal government. If you're talking about a city like Indianapolis, instead of sending them \$14 million, we would send them \$36 million plus \$14 million.

If you're talking about a city like San Jose, California -- instead of \$5 million federal dollars, we would put \$20 million into the hands of middle- and low-income families so they can choose an education program that helps their -- and we're ready to do it next month, if the Congress would like to pass it. The legislation's

up there, the President's advocated it for four years. He's proposed a number of proposals. This is substantial new money; and, in my opinion, the promise of more. Because if this were to work, we would represent a consensus about how the federal government might, as it can afford it, help make local schools better. There's always a dispute between conservatives and liberals as about how to do this. The conservatives are all for this. And so are many Democratic liberals.

The Mayor of Milwaukee was here today, and he's as strongly for this as a Republican conservative is. So this will help that problem.

Q I'm not really talking about in terms of liberal-versus-conservative or Republican-versus-Democrat, but in terms of dollars.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: This is dollars.

Q But what can the federal government do with the money that it currently spends to encourage states to equalize educational funding, so that you don't have to put new money in but take the current dollars that are used and distribute it more equally?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: That's the states' business and equalizing funding is not the problem. I mean, if you put more money into the same system, it won't make it better; we've already proved that. I mean, in the 1980s spending for education more than doubled in real dollars and scores went down.

What you would do if you equalized spending is you would be taking money out of big cities and you might be putting it into rural areas that spend half as much and have better test scores. So, it is not the spending of money alone that makes the difference. It's radically changing the schools. And what the President is saying is, I'm willing to take the biggest new program in my budget this year and give a lot of federal money to parents who -- change their schools so they can make them the best schools in the world. And if that works, more can come.

Q Mr. Secretary, are there any communities in the country now where there's a choice system operating where parents have the opportunity to choose between public and private schools?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: I'm not sure I know of one. I know of a lot of progress in that direction. Minneapolis is close because it has a state program to permit some participation in private, nonreligious schools. Minnesota permits choice among all public schools. And Vermont has had, for 75 years, tuitioning where school boards send their money and the kids to private schools. And many jurisdictions have different versions of choice.

But this will require some change in thinking in virtually every one of our school districts in the country for it to succeed. But I expect Milwaukee to go back, put its plan together and be one of the first applicants for the program. And I can't imagine why other cities would not, either, because it would give them the opportunity to turn their schools upside down, open them up. Schools should be open until 10:00 p.m. at night on Saturday in the summer. They ought to be meeting the needs of disabled kids, they ought to have technology in them. They need to get rid of an antiquated set of structures that was designed for 100 years ago. This gives them the impetus to change and the money to pay for it.

Q Mr. Secretary, if you think that all the schools need as much improvement as you think they do, why not limit this, at

least in an experimental phase to the public schools? Why not just allow the \$1,000 to go to public schools?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: That would be like giving bonuses to Russian car manufacturers and saying, work a little harder, or asking the Pony Express to run faster. What we're trying to do is imagine the telegraph and set a totally different way of thinking about education in front of the public school system, and basically to say to it, if they can do it, you can do it as well. You've got twice or three times as much money to spend; if they can do it, you can do it.

Q Why do you have so little faith?

Q Your consultations with private schools, have you secured from them some guarantee that they will provide kinds of services that public schools are obligated to provide, meaning free transportation, free access, and some disclosure standards for telling parents that they are succeeding?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Our objective here is to create aid to families, not to schools, and not a new number of federal regulations. But the legislation does include antidiscrimination provisions that apply to race, that apply to children with disabilities and that apply to discrimination based on gender.

Q What about disclosure?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Disclosure of what?

Q On the part of public schools to check to see if they are doing okay.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Of course, one of the President's plans is the national examination system that local school districts could use. We're going to call on the creativity of the American people to figure this out. I mean, rather than us doing it in Washington, we're inviting cities like Milwaukee, Indianapolis and San Antonio to say, what could we do with our \$72 million new dollars or \$100 million new dollars? Get with the parents, submit a plan, then we would send them the money, and we would watch what happens for four years. And if it helps create the best schools in the world, as it has done for our colleges and universities, then we can go forward with it.

Q Governor, you said that this was dropped right in the middle of a presidential campaign, and your colleague, Governor Clinton, has found President Bush wanting in education and Ross Perot has ridiculed the President's program, including the meeting of the NGA in Charlottesville. Are you prepared to go on the campaign trail this fall and defend Bush as the Education President, and do you plan to do so?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: The answer's absolutely yes. What I would prefer to do is to work with the Democratic governors and the Democratic mayors and everybody the way we've been working because we've set national education goals with the leadership of the President; we're working on a consensus about national standards; and we have agreed on the basis of a national examination system and a variety of other changes. All of those things are bipartisan. I don't want to threaten that.

But the more the campaign focuses the spotlight on President Bush's education record, the better I like it. Because one of the most important reasons to reelect him is because he is the best chance we have for a revolution in American education. And we need it.

Q Your answer suggests that you expect Democrats to be coercive of Clinton. You don't really expect that, do you?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Be coercive of Clinton?

Q To accept what the Bush program is and the progress that you say has been made --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, I think there are a lot of Democrats in this country who know that the best way -- one of the best ways to improve the schools is to give all parents choices of all schools. That is not a Republican idea. It happens to be the President's idea. There are number of Republicans who disagree with it. There are number of Democrats who support it. It happens to be the President's consistent about it. So if anybody wants to attack the President on education, that gives me a chance to make a case for him in education, and it's a good one.

Q What schools -- did you go to only private schools?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: No, I didn't

Q What's wrong with public education?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: What's wrong with public education is it was invented for my grandfather. My grandfather in East Tennessee went to a school a lot like the one I went to. When he moved into the town of Maryville, in order to go to better schools, he went for three months a year for four years, that's where my grandfather went to school. My father --

Q We're not talking about your father.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, I'm getting to me, just a minute, that's where I came from. They moved into Maryville so my father could go to the public schools there because they were better -- it was a little bit of choice back then, come to think of it. My father was the elementary school principal and my mother had the only preschool program in the county because the public schools didn't have it. It was private because the public schools didn't offer that service at a time when they should have been.

I went to those public schools, they were excellent public schools, they are among the best public schools there today. They spend about \$3,800 a year per student.

Q Do you consider yourself uneducated?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: I consider myself well-educated. And if I were living in Maryville I would go again to those schools. But what I had a chance to do when I went to college was to choose among colleges and universities, and we have had a chance with our children to choose among public and private schools, including a child with a learning disability, including a child with a different sort of personality. And it gives us a choice that we think every family ought to have more-of.

The only thing I am sure about is that this won't even be an issue in five years, that the idea that in this country we could have a national policy that says only the rich can have choices of the best schools, that's going to collapse all at once one of these days, and one of these days soon.

Q But why don't you make the public schools better by giving them more money? A lot of money was taken out in the Reagan era.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: No, it was not. There was -- in the 1980s spending on elementary to secondary education went from about \$160 billion to more than \$400 billion, and they didn't get much better. So what we've discovered is that putting more money into more of the same won't work. What we're trying is, let's create a powerful force for change; that's the parents as the regulators, and then give all the schools, including the public schools, a lot of money to make the changes. And if that works, it will attract a lot more money to the public schools.

Q Secretary Alexander, to inject a little bit of reality into this, when those of you in the administration --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: You mean a little more?

Q A little reality into this -- when those of you in the administration suggest that you want to give poor and middle-income parents the same choices as wealthy parents, no one in this --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: I never said same.

Q It's been said.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: No, ma'am, we're very careful. If you would study our words we say we would like to give middle and low-income families more of the same choices that wealthy families already have.

The Pell grant --

Q You may be so careful, not everyone is.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, I work hard to make sure we're all that careful.

Q May I ask -- you would concede that we're not going to be able to send everybody's kid to Sidwell Friends --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Or to Harvard.

Q Yes, all right.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: But our schools have gotten better. Our colleges and universities have become the best in the world without everyone having a chance to go to Harvard or Yale.

Q When you liken the public school system to Russian car manufacturers -- and a lot of parents would agree with that -- how did it get to that situation? And why do you think a reasonably modest program, which I think you would suggest this is, given the whole universe of kids, is going to prime the pump --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: I would wholly disagree.

Q -- to the extent that it's going to change this behemoth system?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: That's beautiful rhetoric, and I wish I were as good.

Q That's a question, not rhetoric.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: No, it's rhetoric and it's excellently done.

Q Public schools.

Q Which school did you go to, Mary?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Ask me the question again.

Q Why, if you are talking about half a million children out of a universe of 35 million eligible children, do you think helping them is going to move a system that is larded with administrative layers -- that is, trapped by teachers' unions -- and is suffering from a lot of constraints? This is a fairly small --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, first, it's a half million children; it's 50 cities the size of Trenton; it's the biggest new federal -- biggest new program in the President's budget. It's a big program. This is the only room in America, besides the Congress, where we wouldn't say half a billion dollars isn't a lot of money. But I think back to when I was the Governor of Tennessee and I went to General Motors and said, take the Saturn plant and put it next to the Nissan plant that's already producing the car that you hope to beat, and tell your managers and tell your union if the Japanese can do it, you can do it, too. Saturn put its plant next to the Nissan plant. The Nissan plant is enormously successful. If you'll read Consumer Reports this month, you'll see the Saturn plant is, too. And if Milwaukee turns its school systems upside-down, and if its public schools as well as its private schools become the best in the world, then I think in Indianapolis and in San Antonio and in Nashville and across this country, people will change their minds. And if they change their minds, they'll attract a lot more money to make the changes they need to do.

Q In your example, can Maria send her son, David, to the public school he's been attending all along --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Exactly.

Q -- and with the \$1,000?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Thank you for the question because most people miss that. David can attend -- the \$1,000 goes to any school David attends. So the most obvious option is that it stays in the school where David is for the teachers and the principals to decide how to spend it to help David learn to high academic standards. This helps --

Q So they have to certify that they're doing something special with the money, or just hand it right over?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: They have to certify -- they have to attract Maria. They have to convince her that the best place for David to learn is in that school, and that just because she's middle- and low-income, she won't be denied the choice that other people have to choose another public school or private school.

Q -- Mr. Secretary, a question from back here. Everything's been up there. You keep saying this is aid to families and not aid to schools. The money ultimately goes to the schools. What's the difference?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, the difference is the United States Constitution. The same difference with the GI Bill, the same difference with the Pell grant, the same difference with guaranteed student loans, of which there are \$63 billion this year -- is it's aid to families and not aid to any institution. And the courts have made a clear difference. There are plenty of practical differences between aid to institutions and aid to families. We have 200 programs over in the Department of Education, most of them aid to institutions. And they're all tied up in rules and regulations that tell that they are a sort of federal recipe book for the teachers. This, instead, would be aid to families who would then let the money

follow the child to the school. And that's the regulatory authority. The parent becomes the regulator in this case.

So aid to families instead of aid to institutions is a clear legal distinction and a practical one as well.

Q Secretary Alexander, your position on accreditation of colleges on issues of race and multiculturalism it seems has been very clear. Would you be willing to apply the same standards of accreditation for private schools in this program, meaning that you should look into the kind of curriculum that, though it may be a family's choice, would guarantee, based on your goals -- \$1,000 -- that there are basic approaches, sound approaches to education?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: I hadn't thought about getting involved with the accrediting institutions of elementary and secondary educations in this case because the states -- the money would go to any lawfully operating school. So we don't have the same analogous situation we do with colleges and universities; it would be up to the states to decide what a lawfully operating school would be and not my concern.

Q But the state of Wisconsin, in the instance of Milwaukee, has -- officials there say they have very little say in what a private, parochial religious school can do. And if that parent is misled, they have no right to come in there and dismantle that.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: You either trust the parents or you trust the bureaucrats; and we trust the parents.

MS. SMITH: We're going to take two more questions.

Q You've raised the issue of politics earlier. Have you done any vote-counting up on the Hill? And what's the likelihood that anything like this is going to pass?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: I expect it to have distinguished sponsors. I expect it to gain bipartisan support. And gazing at the Berlin Wall, it's always hard to tell when it might come down. But it will come down, and when it did come down it came down suddenly. If Milwaukee and Indianapolis and Miami all begin to add the numbers up, many of whom say they need more federal money to help make their schools better, the kind of places that would attract students, they're going to have to think, well, why should our congressman in Indianapolis turn our back on \$36 million new dollars? And in Milwaukee, on \$72 million new dollars. And in Little Rock on \$20 million new dollars. And in Detroit on \$139 million.

You see, Detroit's a very interesting case because the principal there, I mean, the superintendent and the school board are already for choice -- of public schools. The Michigan Constitution gets in the way of any state money ending up in a religious school. They'll have to think about whether they're willing to use federal money in the same way that they allow federal money to be used at Michigan State and at the private universities, and if they are, then Detroit schools -- Detroit families get 139 million new dollars which could be spent at the schools parents think serve poor kids the best.

So, that's a lot of money for Detroit.

Q Are you saying that you expect some kind of grassroots pressure on Congress to help get something like this enacted?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: With all respect to Congress, it is so far behind the curve on the education revolution that it will require a grassroots effort. One of the good things about the

presidential campaign I suppose, and it's hard to think of many, but one of the good things about it is that if Congress doesn't pass it this year, it will give the President an opportunity to go to the country and say my position is to give all parents choices of all schools and my opponents are irrevocably opposed to that -- if President Bush wins, he can go back to Congress with a mandate. There may be 100 or 150 new congressmen, and I suspect the Berlin Wall will come down.

Q If I can follow-up on that, the point you just raised, how do you keep from making this look like it is simply an election year issue, campaign issue for the President, rather than something that he legitimately thinks he can get enacted this year?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, there are two ways. First, you ought to see if this is just an idea or a principle that the President cooked up in the last two weeks. And as he said today in his speech, this is one bold controversial position -- and there are others -- but this is one of them that he has consistently held for his entire time.

Second, the best way to keep it from being a big issue is for the other presidential candidates to agree with it.

Q Mr. Secretary, you're throwing around big figures tantalizing these school districts -- \$70 million for Milwaukee, \$130 million for Detroit --

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Right.

Q Well, that's about two-fifths of your \$500 million. Do you envision this -- it's a four year program -- do you envision this is a multi-billion-dollar, long-term federal program? Are you going to give these districts \$10 billion or \$20 billion down the road to pay for this?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, we are now giving school districts \$10 billion or \$12 billion in federal money through a series of tightly regulated programs. We might learn from this demonstration project that there's a better way to do that. I do fully expect that in the 1990s that the federal government will continue to increase spending for elementary and secondary education. Under President Bush, spending for elementary and secondary education has gone up more rapidly than state and local spending for elementary and secondary education; it will keep going up.

And, so, there is a very good possibility that a combination of new federal dollars, state and local dollars and private funding, as in the Milwaukee case, could create a large number of scholarships for middle and low income children. But we want to see what happens. I don't think it would be responsible to take much more money than this and throw it out there in a demonstration project. I think 50 cities the size of Trenton, seven the size of Milwaukee or 25 the size of San Jose, California is enough to get a good idea of what happens when you give families more choices.

Q Does this mean that all federal aid could conceivably -- that are going to schools could conceivably in the future end up as vouchers?

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: No, I didn't say that.

Q Doesn't it bode ill that you're asking for this -- I know you're saying it's aid to the families -- but just yesterday the Supreme Court wouldn't even let public schools hold a prayer at graduation. How is this going to be upheld constitutionally?

- 12 -

SECRETARY ALEXANDER: Well, that's a different issue. There's nothing in yesterday's decision, because we've examined it, that has anything to do with this issue.

Thank you.

END

11:30 A.M. EDT

daily 6/25



THE PRESIDENT

June 25, 1992

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Boehning,

*Your courageous son is now
in God's loving arms, and I send
my most heartfelt condolences.
I will never forget the warmth
of his salute from his classmates
at graduation. With Respects & Best Wishes*

G. B.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

From the desk of
George Bush

Dr. and Mrs. Harold Boehning
3512 Southwestern
Dallas, Texas 75225

bcc to

DeMoss

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PMS THE HONORABLE GEORGE H W BUSH, DLR
RPT DLY MGM, DLR
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500

((DUPLICATE CORRECTED COPY OF 1-004569K177))

DEAR MR PRESIDENT, AS YOU MAY HAVE HEARD, MIDSHIPMAN BOB BOEHNING
"WENT DOWN WITH HIS SHIP" ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24. HE'LL BE BURIED IN
THE NAVY CEMETARY AT ANNAPOLIS ON FRIDAY, JUNE 26.

IT'S REAL TOUGH TO LOOSE SUCH A FINE YOUNG MAN AT THE VERY BEGINNING
OF HIS CAREER; BUT THANKS BE TO GOD THAT WE HAD HIM WHILE WE DID.

I GOT YOUR NOTE FROM CALIFORNIA AND THANK YOU FOR IT.

BEST PERSONAL REGARDS,
HAL
HAROLD R DE MOSS. JR.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1992

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM

JOHN M. CALAHAN

SUBJECT

Robert Boehning

You will recall that at the Naval Academy graduation ceremony this year you were introduced to Robert Boehning, a young man who was afflicted with cancer.

I regret to inform you that he has passed away. He will be inurned tomorrow, June 26th, ~~in Dallas~~ *at Naval Academy*

Should you wish to send a letter of condolence his parents, Dr. and Mrs. Harold Boehning, reside at 3512 Southwestern, Dallas Texas 75225.



June 25, 1992

A handwritten signature, likely "George Bush", is written in dark ink to the right of the date.

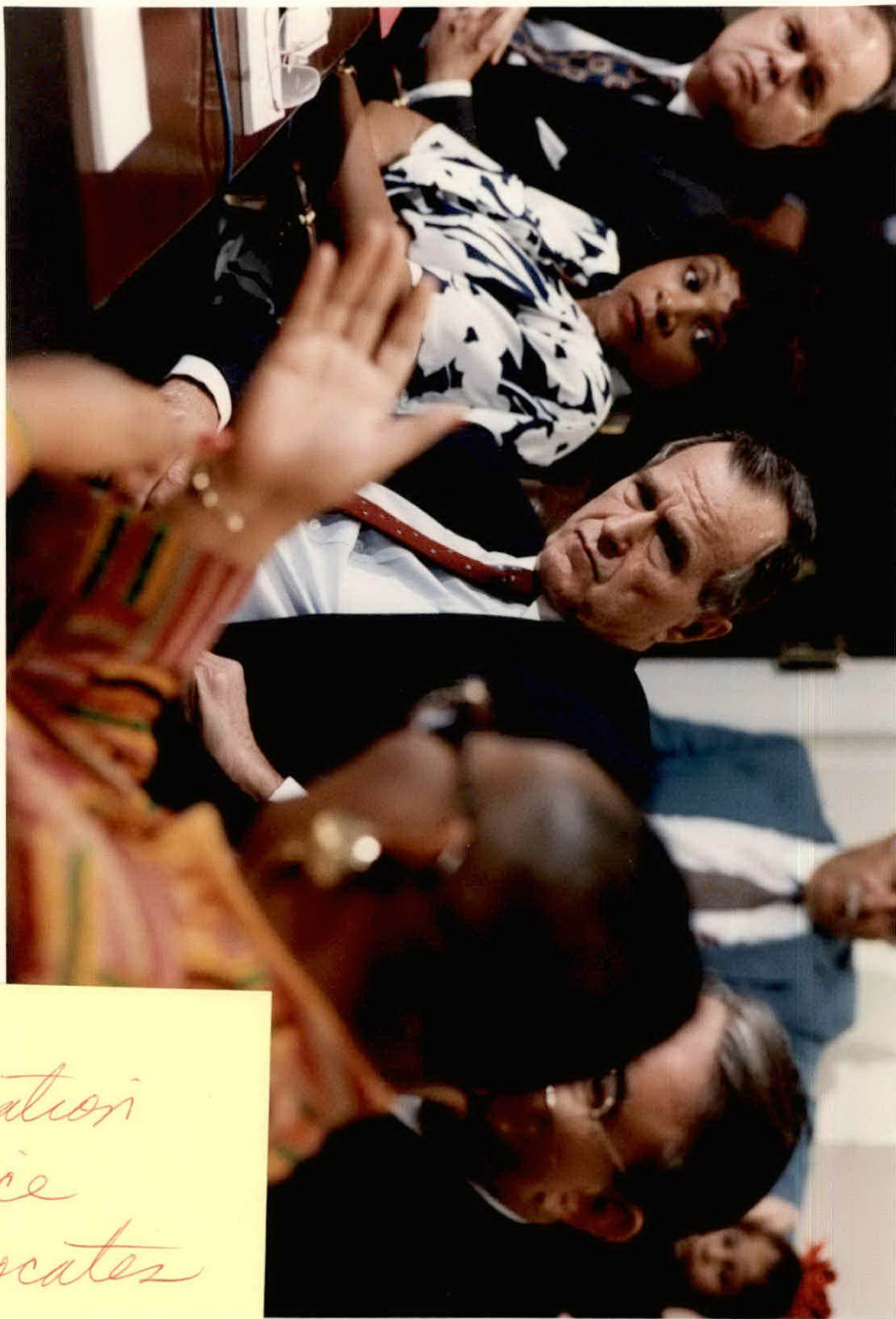
Rose

Downstairs are pictures of Major and Nazarbayev playing 'shoes'-
two different pix. I d like to send to each when the viewing is
done...
maybe take Major's to Summit.

GB

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

FROM THE PRESIDENT



Education
Choice
Advocates

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO P033008 25JUN92 CP -~~GA~~

DATE: June 25 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washington Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Daily News Clips
Office of Media Affairs
Thursday, June 25, 1992

/ Fiascoes

eb.) thinks that the Khmer Rouge violated the agreement; but out of it. He sees the opportunity for the United States to take a different course.

Administration gets away with Cambodia because in an area where no one wants to hear about the troubles that could cost lives.

Administration envelopes Bush's policy fiasco, his prewar bluff over Saddam Hussein. It, too, is a fantasy that he can deal with and come out ahead. He believes that he will housebreak the administration repeatedly confounds and humiliates. In the years preceding the Gulf War, Bush acted as though he was "a second Hitler," he eventually decided, "that Hitler" was someone to be dealt with business with.

House committees are looking for an independent prosecutor to handle the snarl of allegations involving Congress, export licenses and technology used by Iraq to make weapons—making of nuclear and chemical weapons—and about a cover-up.

Committee Chairman Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), one of the most powerful members of Congress, has been in the Iraqi case for the last two years. His interest was piqued by a Wall Street Journal article about an Italian bank in Atlanta, the Credito Italiano del Lavoro, was worth of letters of credit. The loans, it appeared, were guaranteed by the American International Credit Corp.

In early 1990, Gonzalez held a hearing although he was the first in the House to warn about the S&L crisis. Nobody came. When he held a second hearing, Dick Cheney, then the attorney general, said that he not proceed, because

Justice was investigating. Since then, Gonzalez has taken to the House floor during special orders, a time when members can talk about anything, and read documents for the record, some of them classified. Bush's attorney general, William P. Barr, told him he was harming the national security. When departments denied him documents, Gonzalez got them from the Italians, who also were probing the bank.

All this, as we all know, can be the consequences of a misguided foreign policy. Watergate and Iran-contra are instructive in this regard.

process aimed at eliminating them was never made clear. It now becomes clear that they never intended to. Last week, as the U.N. force, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, continued its efforts to bring about a cease-fire, the Khmer Rouge showed their hand. They refused to lay down their arms. They denied U.N. observers access to their territories. The entire peace process is in peril. The U.N. is short of money. We are in arrears on our dues.

"It's back to square one," sighed Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.). Sen. Bob

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Eric Hirschhorn and David Peyton

Uncle Sam's Secret Decoder Ring

The word "encryption" conjures up images of super-secret efforts to encode top secret military messages or break enemy codes.

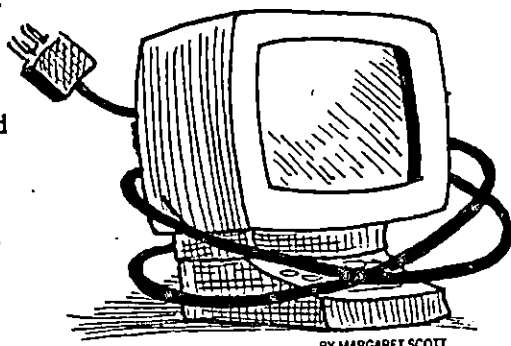
But in fact encryption no longer is limited to military use. Increasingly, civilian users of computers and telecommunications are seeking improved security, and people in the hardware, software and services industries are hastening to provide it.

Encryption has become a routine business precaution. It allows consumers to have protected personal identification numbers for automated teller machines, allows pay-TV channels to be scrambled, enables physicians to protect patient files, lets personnel departments protect sensitive employee records and generally allows business people seeking to protect computer data bases to restrict them to those people who have the proper password. Encryption is important for business people negotiating long distance, since it permits them to scramble data being transmitted over public telephone networks.

Unfortunately, the U.S. government, clinging to the futile hope that it can stem the tide of technology, refuses to acknowledge this sea change. With the exception of personal identification numbers and authentication messages, the U.S. government treats all encryption-capable computer software as munitions and tightly restricts its export. The restrictions apply even to "mass market" software, which can be purchased at thousands of retail outlets.

What makes the administration's recalcitrance doubly dismaying is that the United States agreed last year to let its allies de-control mass market software containing encryption features. Even the British have stated publicly that they are permitting the uncontrolled export of mass market software regardless of whether it contains encryption capability. The losers are U.S. software manufacturers who are prevented from selling their products abroad.

The House of Representatives has taken a major step toward ending the government's outmoded policy. Last November it



passed legislation to renew the Export Administration Act. The bill contained a provision, written by Rep. Mel Levine (D-Calif.), recognizing the obvious impossibility of controlling the export of software. The Levine amendment effectively provides that if software is available on a mass market basis, the U.S. government may not control its export even if it contains encryption capability.

Those unfamiliar with export controls may wonder why such a common-sense provision needs to be legislated. The reason is that when it comes to encryption, the Department of Defense won't yield to common sense unless compelled to do so. It fears that the availability of encryption-capable software will complicate its mission of listening in on foreign communications. This may be true to some degree, but the same can be said of our having allowed telephone equipment to replace the telegraph.

Incredibly, the administration has threatened to veto the bill if the final version contains the Levine amendment. This is wrongheaded and unrealistic. The legislation is about to go into conference between the House and Senate. When it gets there, the Senate and then the president should agree to this provision. There are a host of reasons to adopt the amendment.

Export controls rest on a three-part premise: We and our Western allies have valuable high technology. Our foes don't have it. We can prevent them from getting it.

Once they *do* have the technology,

though, there's no longer anything to prevent. Last year, the Moscow-based Askri company started offering a software encryption package called Cryptos for \$100 (or 5,000 rubles). This data encryption-decryption package is based on the Data Encryption Standard, the national standard approved by the U.S. government and published in the 1970s. Given these circumstances, can anyone seriously believe that Third World miscreants can be prevented from acquiring encrypted software?

Encryption provides one of the most effective means of protecting computer data against thieves, hackers and the like. Many foreign countries offer little if any protection against software piracy, and thus software companies need the ability to protect their products from such theft. Under current U.S. government policy, however, a software vendor wishing to sell its product in say, Thailand, cannot use embedded logical protection as an anti-piracy device.

Major foreign sellers, unencumbered by munition-type restrictions, are outdistancing U.S. vendors in bringing encrypted software and related services to the international market. It's true that even with this handicap, Microsoft still receives some 60 percent of its revenues from abroad. But it's questionable how long the company can maintain that commercial position if our government prevents it from exporting standard business products.

Encryption has become a well-established commercial technology with many legitimate business applications. Because the executive branch has failed to keep pace with the realities of the international marketplace, the House has had to step in. Congress should finish the job, and the administration should cease its hopeless efforts to hold back this inexorably rising tide.

Eric Hirschhorn, an export control official in the Carter and Reagan administrations, is a lawyer. David Peyton is a policy analyst with the Information Technology Association of America.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Jim Hoagland

With Moscow in Intelligence...

People are policy. Leaders express their visions, and their fears, in flesh and blood when they fill key jobs.

Shortly after taking full power six months ago, Boris Yeltsin named Yevgeny Primakov, an expert on the Middle East and Muslim fundamentalism, to run the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service. That appointment turns out to be a clear statement of Yeltsin's view of the most urgent threats to Russia's security.

Instability on Russia's southern rim has replaced the perceived threat of an attack from the West in Moscow's nightmares. On a trip to Moscow this month, I found that hopes for Western cooperation in containing Islamic fundamentalism rank higher on the Russian agenda than fear of the Pentagon or the Central Intelligence Agency.

Should the CIA cooperate with the ex-KGB to prevent the conflicts and upheaval of the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Persian Gulf from spreading into Russia? It is a question that Primakov would certainly raise with CIA chief Robert M. Gates if they were to meet again.

The Russians are also prepared to consider wide-ranging exchanges of information and "joint operations" with the CIA in fighting narcotics traffic, nuclear proliferation and international terrorism.

Even without renewed personal contact—they met in 1990 when Primakov was Mikhail Gorbachev's special envoy trying to persuade Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait and Gates was deputy head of the White House's National Security staff—Primakov and Gates are the first super-power spymasters to have opened clear channels of communication.

There is not yet a liaison relationship covered by a formal agreement.

But the Russians have declared the identity of their Washington station chief to the Bush administration, and Primakov is telling his agency's professionals that the old "hide-and-seek" games the KGB and the CIA played are out of date.

Well, almost out of date. Primakov seems to feel that publicity surrounding the defection of Lt. Col. Vladimir Konoplyov to the CIA in Brussels earlier this year was generated by the CIA to embarrass him and his soft line in front of his agents, who may try to settle the score before beginning a new era of spook harmony.

A journalist and academician in Soviet days, Primakov was one of the first Soviet spokesmen to argue that Washington and Moscow had "parallel interests" in resisting Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East and Asia. He and other policy makers in Moscow fear the destabilizing impact unchecked fundamentalism could have on Muslim minorities inside Russia and on the Muslim populations that now control the ex-Soviet republics of Central Asia.

Washington and Moscow agree that there is a dangerous power vacuum across the region stretching from the Caucasus to China. But they back conflicting responses. Washington supports the extension of Turkish influence into the region as a secular counterweight to Iran. Moscow views Turkey's role with suspicion and concern.

Now blanketed in the discretion required of a spymaster, Primakov's views on Turkey are not a matter of record. But I would be surprised if they differed in jot or tittle from the view expressed to me by Sergei Stankevich, a political adviser to Yeltsin:

"The West sees Turkey as a minor

member of NATO. But Turkey is revising its ambitions, its intentions and its interests. Turkey is developing an independent outlook. There could be a situation in which Turkey becomes leader of a union stretching into Central Asia, which would become a serious new factor for the world."

Stankevich believes that indigenous secular forces, with Russian backing, can prevail over the fundamentalists and prevent intervention by Turkey, Iran and other Middle Eastern states on Russia's doorstep. His hopes that a Third Force will emerge are still sketchy and improbable; but his was the best-developed position on the problem I heard in Moscow.

The divergence on Turkey dims prospects of a joint American-Russian defense against fundamentalism. That in itself is no bad thing. America has important interests in maintaining a strong alliance with Turkey. Moreover, the fundamentalists do not represent the kind of monolithic force that would require a broad containment program by the world's two leading nuclear powers.

America needs to move cautiously in pushing for the extension of Turkish influence into Central Asia. America needs to avoid giving the impression of trying to "exploit the contradictions between Russia and the neighboring republics," a fear expressed by one senior Russian official.

There are some areas of intelligence (tracking nuclear proliferation, for example) where Russian and American interests will coincide. Where they conflict, Gates and Primakov may be able to reach understandings on new rules of the game. Their spies have put down their daggers but still work behind too many cloaks to trust each other.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Hobart Rowen

... And Economic Reform

Boris Yeltsin swept in and out of America last week, saying things that members of Congress and Midwest farmers wanted to hear and giving a battered Bush administration a welcome, if slight, lift in the public's esteem.

But Yeltsin returned to Moscow without nailing down a \$24 billion financial aid package pledged in April by the Group of Seven industrial nations.

The deal can't go forward until Russia signs an agreement with the International Monetary Fund accepting critical—and painful—reforms to reduce its budget, cut inflation, abandon price controls and permit convertibility of the ruble.

It's a daunting task. The problem for the IMF is how to achieve the right balance between a reform program strong enough to deal with inflation and deficits, and one so austere that the Russian leadership finds it politically unacceptable.

The IMF negotiations with Russia are probably the most important in the agency's 48-year history. "You're dealing with a situation where the future of economic reform is tied to the future of democracy," Goldman Sachs's Robert Hormats observed.

"The Russians know that in the long run, they'll have to raise prices to world levels, but right now it's not politically possible to go all the way. If in fact the reform program that the Russians are forced to accept overloads the political circuit, then the whole process can come crashing down, democracy and market forces alike."

In the wake of Yeltsin's visit, Washington buzzed with rumors that the IMF had demanded impossible conditions from the Russians—such as cutting its budget deficit to zero overnight—and that the Bush administration was pressuring the IMF to relent. In fact, the IMF had never made such outlandish, unrealistic demands.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III contributed to the confusion by saying that if the Russians accepted key reform commitments, the administration would press the IMF not to delay an agreement while "dotting all the i's and crossing all the t's."

But key administration officials tell me they are satisfied that the IMF is doing its best to get the framework of a deal established, and that once that is done, the IMF—like Baker—won't insist on dotting all the i's and crossing all the t's. Says an American official working closely with the IMF on the deal:

"They haven't got to that point yet, but the IMF knows the Russian deal is different [from the standard IMF loan negotiation]."

At a public forum June 15, IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus gave the Russians credit for having already begun a bold reform program, even though it had resulted in a 600 percent rise in retail prices in the first four months of this year.

"I must stress how dangerous it would be to let the reform process lose momentum," Camdessus said. "We could not support a program that would be regarded as less than adequate. To do so would be a disservice to Russia," as well as other nations that have accepted stringent IMF conditions for loans.

The Bush administration appears to agree with Camdessus. Listen to Treasury Undersecretary David C. Mulford at the same forum: "Obviously, the sooner the better is the best answer with regard to getting an IMF program in place."

"But on the other hand, there has to be a sufficient quality there to establish credibility. . . . And probably it is more important to get the quality in place even if it takes an extra few weeks of negotiation."

No one can doubt that the Russians, now members of the IMF, are stepping up the pressure for quick action. Sergei V. Yastrzhembsky, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman, was quoted in a Moscow dispatch as saying: "We need to show results, and today, not tomorrow. We need the package of \$24 billion in Western aid, to show our conservatives real results from our new policies. And it's better for the West to invest in freedom and democracy now than face some new nationalist danger from Moscow tomorrow."

Among issues still unsettled in the negotiations are: how fast oil prices should be controlled; whether Russia will be held responsible for the old foreign debts of the other republics; and how fast the Russians must replenish a \$6 billion ruble stabilization fund, if they draw on it. But there is no reason to believe that these issues can't be settled.

An authoritative IMF source told me: "We haven't set any arbitrary objectives or arbitrary parameters. There aren't, and there never were any deadlines [for the Russians to respond]. The news media have picked up a sense of public pressure [on us] that never existed."

As evidence of its good faith, the IMF will soon release \$1 billion of its \$4 billion share of the \$24 billion package.

Some of the apparent pressure, no doubt, was willfully generated by Yeltsin's principal American economic adviser, Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs, an eloquent advocate for his cause, who last week charged the IMF team with "excessive delays," and "a crisis of spirit in the negotiations."

On the other hand, says a senior official, "the last thing that anyone wants is an agreement that would fall to pieces in three months." That should include Sachs.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

George F. Will

Douse the Palace Lights

In 1932, when George V gave the first Royal Christmas Broadcast, he coughed, and Britain sighed contentedly. "A king who coughs is a fellow human being," reported the *Spectator* for any readers in doubt about that.

Today a mesmerized world sees enough of the Windsors' divorces, extravagances, assignments, embarrassing photographs, suicide attempts, press leaks, paternity suits etc. to know that royalty are just like the rest of us. Swell.

This batch of lumpenroyalty—Faulkner's Snopeses gussied up for a pageant—are cruel to each other and contemptuous of the public that is footing the bill for their coarse lives. They are demystifying monarchy more rapidly than any republican could dream of doing.

Republicans have traditionally relied on turgid arguments about monarchy being a retrograde reliance on parental figures for political cohesion. But today the case against Britain's disheveled royal family can be stated briskly:

For people in the magnificence business, kitsch is bad business, not just bad taste. If you are (adopting Walter Bagehot's dichotomy) part of the "dignified" rather than the "efficient" aspect of the state, you don't dare be tacky. If your job is to leaven ordinary lives with elevating spectacle, be elevating or be gone.

Time was when monarchists defended monarchy by claiming that the vice that defines it is actually a virtue: "Of course it is irrational—it's supposed to be." That is, monarchy would not have its supposed power to provide social glue, its magic to fuse the nation into a family, if it relied on the thin gruel of reason. But today the fissionable Windsors, that no-longer-nuclear family, are giving bourgeois morality even more of a bad name than the bourgeoisie is giving it.

Britain's royalty, with their mistresses and illegitimate children (William IV, who died in 1837, had 10 by one actress—a sort of monogamy, I suppose), has a record that would cause blushes in a brothel, but until recent decades the press averted its gaze. When in the 1930s the Prince of Wales was besotted with Baltimore's Wallis Simpson, Britain's press kept quiet, thereby encouraging his ruinous sense of invulnerability. However, those who live by publicity, as the Windsors have lately chosen to do, and as a modern monarchy probably must, can be fricasseed by it, particularly when the monarchy is invested with religious gravity.

A few decades ago an Archbishop of Canterbury, asked about the Windsors' theological

tastes, said, "They're all Low Church. It's because they come from abroad." The sovereign is "defender of the faith," whatever that means this month in the politically trendy Church of England. It means precious little in England, where mosques are apt to be more crowded than Church of England services are. A lot of the sovereign's subjects are from abroad. The Windsors know what that is like. The name Wettin, the family name of Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Victoria's consort, was changed to Windsor in 1917, when things German were in bad odor.

The world could use a few stodgy, boring, transplanted monarchs just now, if they could be unifying forces in the shards of what once were Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Monarchy is a residue of mankind's primitive past, but in parts of Europe's back yard, mere primitivism would be a distinct improvement on barbarism.

For the unenthralled, meaning for grown-ups, the only justification of monarchy is mere utility. But Britain does not need its monarchy for any practical purpose. It is said the British masses like it and so should have it. That sort of non sequitur did not wash when the subject was gin, and it begs the important question: Does monarchy help or hinder Britain's attempt to like what it ought to like? The British must decide if the monarchy, a "link to a glorious past," encourages a retrospective cast of mind and is a subliminal endorsement of snobbishness and class hierarchies. If so, it makes a glorious future more difficult to achieve.

The monarchy costs sacks of money (it is hard to say exactly how many scores of millions of pounds). It is a sound investment only if the crown really does pull in tourists by the planetoads. Perhaps the British don't mind a governmental system justified by the sort of business thinking suited to the management of a theme park.

Getting rid of the monarchy might be more fuss and distraction than it would be worth. That, essentially, is the remarkably tepid defense the *Economist* today offers: The institution is too trivial to waste time talking about. But as Walter Bagehot, the *Economist's* great 19th century editor, said, "Above all things our royalty is to be revered, and if you begin to poke about it you cannot reverence it.... We must not let in daylight upon magic."

The magic is gone. When the current occupant of the throne is done, they should turn off the lights at Buckingham Palace.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Michael Kinsley

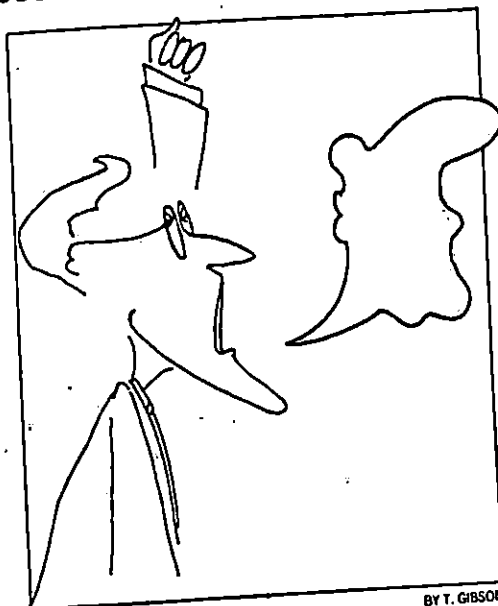
Speaking in Tongues

The art of reinterpreting the record.

Sister Souljah has been misunderstood. When the rap singer made her now notorious observation to *The Washington Post*—"If black people kill black people every day, why not take a week and kill white people?"—she was not endorsing the proposition that black people should kill white people. As she explains it, she was expressing not her own views but the views of a black person who ordinarily kills black people. "I was just telling the writer that . . . if a person would kill their own brother, or a baby in a drive-by, or a grandmother, what would make white people think that [he] wouldn't kill them, too?" So that clears that one up.

Oddly enough, the same sort of misunderstanding has bedeviled a more famous rap singer, Ice-T. In a song titled "Cop Killer" (performed with his band, Body Count), he appears to endorse the murder of policemen: "I'm 'bout to bust some shots off/I'm 'bout to dust some cops off . . . Die, Die, Die Pig, Die." That seems pretty clear. But Ice-T explains that he is not recommending violence against cops himself. He is merely speaking in the voice of a fictional character "who is fed up with police brutality." So that's okay.

This technique has great possibilities. We all commit the occasional faux pas, be it using the



BY T. GIBSON

wrong fork or urging mass slaughter. And we are all tempted, when caught in misdeeds or other embarrassments, to blame someone else if possible. Who better to blame than a fictional character? It's not so much, "The devil made me do it," as, "I made the devil do it."

Polsby Professor of Soundbites at the Ornstein Center for Public Chat of the University of Hohum (South Campus), "The election could turn on whether Quayle joke lovers decide that losing Dan Quayle is worth the price of losing Dan Quayle jokes."

While Quayle tends to blame inanimate objects for his gaffes, President Bush tends to blame the Democratic Congress. (Republican readers: Insert heavy-handed joke here.) This also doesn't seem to be working. Bush might want to try the Souljah technique. "When I said, 'Read my lips: no new taxes,' it wasn't me speaking. I was just putting myself in the voice of a typical craven, demagogic, pandering, short-sighted, anything-to-get-elected-and-who-cares-if-it's-true politician of the type we have far too many of in this country and that's why I'm for term limits."

"And when I said I would raise taxes after all, that wasn't me speaking either. I was putting myself in the voice of promise-betraying, big-spending politician—fat and slobbery, if you listen closely—to illustrate the need for a very different type of person, such as myself, to be reelected and have a line-item veto."

A small problem here is that the president's role in his public utterances is already fairly

For example. When our vice president publicly misspelled the word "potato," he tried to blame the cue card—an inanimate object. It didn't work. A wiser approach would have been to insist that he, Dan Quayle, was not misspelling "potato." He was actually speaking in the voice of a fictional character—say, a sixth-grader who, due to the failures of our public schools on account of the stranglehold of the National Education Association and the scandalous refusal of Congress to enact school choice, can't spell worth a darn. In fact, it would be easy to convince many citizens that Quayle has been speaking in the voice of a poorly educated sixth-grader for his entire tenure as vice president.

That, of course, is a deplorable cheap shot. But it is not me speaking. I am merely putting myself in the voice of someone with a weakness for Dan Quayle jokes. This is a public service. It is important for our leaders, such as the vice president, to understand the mentality of such people, especially since we—I mean they—represent most of the population. Exit polls from primary season indicate that no presidential candidate can win a majority in the electoral college without capturing at least half of this powerful interest group. According to Kathleen Hall Jamieson, who is the Nelson

limited. Unlike Sister Souljah, he does not write his own stuff. The immortal line, "Read my lips, no new taxes," was composed by a speechwriter, Peggy Noonan. If Bush were to speak words crafted by somebody else and then begin attributing them to a third party, however fictional, his own role would seem almost completely pointless. Somebody might cruelly suggest cutting out the middleman and letting Peggy Noonan put her words directly into the mouth of a fictional character.

Blaming a fictional character is really just a slight improvement on the traditional Washington technique of diffusing blame into the atmosphere through use of the passive voice. "Mistakes were made," Vice President George Bush famously said at the time of Iran-contra. By whom? Never mind. But if mistakes were made by a fictional character, you could simply indict him and be done with it.

"Souljah was not born to make white people feel comfortable," sings Sister Souljah. "And if my survival means your total destruction, then so be it." George Bush, who as it happens was born to make white people feel comfortable, could nevertheless learn something from her technique.

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The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Questioning a Cornerstone of Urban Aid Plans

Enterprise Zones Have Broad Support, but Critics and Advocates Wonder: Do They Really Fight Poverty?

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

One of the questions facing Congress as it moves toward action on an urban aid package is whether enterprise zones represent an efficient way to fight poverty.

The long-range urban aid legislation now being discussed in Congress almost certainly will include such zones, which some conservative Republicans have advocated as sound urban policy for the last decade.

President Bush has made enterprise zones a key part of his proposed six-point urban agenda. Democratic leaders of Congress have expressed a willingness to accept enterprise them under certain conditions, and big-city mayors also expressed support for the idea this week at their national conference in Houston.

At its core, such legislation would authorize tax breaks to attract businesses to distressed areas. If enacted, it would breach a consensus, reached in the 1986 tax bill, against using the tax code for other than fiscal purposes.

The types of tax breaks that the federal government should offer is another issue in the current debate. The administration wants to rely more heavily on cuts in capital gains taxes, while Democratic congressional leaders have emphasized tax credits for creating jobs.

States generally have been able to offer less in the way of financial incentives because their tax burdens are lighter than the federal government's. For that reason, one Republican leadership aide argues that the states' experiments with enterprise zones poorly predict federal outcomes.

Others say that one lesson of the states' experiments is that tax incentives work better when coupled with other public spending for job training, law enforcement, infrastructure and social services. Administration officials and congressional leaders have talked in general terms of providing an equal amount of funding in those areas.

In particular, Democrats have pressed for job training and employment programs to sustain trainees until they get other jobs.

"One has to have young men and women who are able to carry on . . . the [employment] responsibilities created, and that requires some training," House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) said.

Rafael Zabala, coordinator of an enterprise zone in Newark that covers about 30 percent of the city, agreed.

"We don't see the enterprise zone as an entity unto itself, but as an additional economic development tool we can use with everything else," Zabala said, specifically citing job training.

Newark, like Los Angeles, experienced riots in the 1960s. Twenty years later the state targeted the city's riot-torn areas as one large enterprise zone.

Zabala said that since 1984 various tax breaks have attracted 200 companies from as far away as England, generated \$500 million in investment and created 5,000 jobs in Newark.

A study by professor Marilyn Marks Rubin of CUNY's John Jay College estimated that to achieve such results, it cost New Jersey \$13,070, mostly in lost tax revenue, to create each job in the state's 10 zones. She said the costs were comparable to those under the old Urban Development Action Grant program, which provided federal funds to private development projects.

A House Democratic leadership aide said the \$13,000 was comparable, if not lower, than the estimated cost of creating public works jobs through federal spending.

Rubin's study did not distinguish, however, between

FIXING AMERICA'S CITIES ENTERPRISE ZONE PROPOSALS

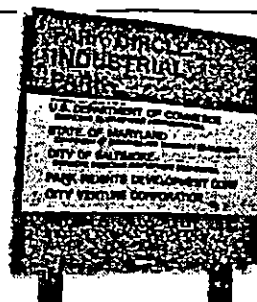
BUSH'S PLAN

- All urban areas with populations of at least 3,000; rural areas 1,000
- In urban zones, at least one census tract of 3,000 with poverty rate above 50%, unemployment rate above 10%; no more than 10% on public assistance
- In rural zones, at least one census tract of 1,000 with same criteria
- Tax incentives include expanded refundable earned income tax credit; no capital gains on tangible and intangible property; "expensing" of individual purchase of EZ business stock, deductible up to \$50,000 per year, with lifetime limit of \$250,000 for non-zone employees or residents; expensing for small businesses up to \$20,000 for capital and equipment; passive losses on any zone activity up to \$10,000; tax-exempt financing available.

ROSTENKOWSKI'S PLAN

- 50 zones eligible; metro areas with populations of at least 4,000, rural 1,000
- Metro areas no more than 20 square miles; unemployment rate at least 1.5 times national rate; poverty rate at least 20% national rate.
- Rural zones do not exceed 10,000 square miles
- Tax incentives include 15% credit against income tax liability to all employers for the first \$20,000 of wages paid to employee-residents; \$10,000 "expensing" allowance for depreciable business property provided under Section 179 increased to \$20,000; loss on disposition of ownership interest held for at least two years would be treated as an ordinary loss; capital gains deferred for periods that property used for enterprise zone business.

SOURCE: House Ways and Means Committee and HUD



THE WASHINGTON POST

jobs created for zone residents and residents of other areas. For a firm to qualify for cuts in sales, corporate and unemployment taxes, at least 25 percent of its workers must live in the zone.

Rubin has called the program "highly efficient." Not everyone agrees.

Some have argued that enterprise zones are an inefficient way to fight poverty.

An Urban Institute study, for instance, called the

"We don't see the enterprise zone as an entity unto itself, but as an additional economic development tool."

—Rafael Zabala, zone coordinator in Newark

zones "a costly way to achieve what appear to be very uncertain benefits for a limited number of people" and "poorly targeted on the poor."

The author of that 1989 study, Bret Birdsong, concluded: "Few of the tax benefits in the leading proposals accrue directly to the disadvantaged residents. . . . Instead, much of it goes to reward businesses for behavior that will not necessarily benefit the poor."

Another critic, Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.) said: "I think we'd save a lot more in administration [costs] if we put the money on planes and drop money on the cities."

There is further disagreement about which sort of tax incentives enterprise zones ought to provide.

Stuart Butler, a Heritage Foundation scholar who was an early advocate of enterprise zones, has called capital gains tax cuts "especially important because it would increase the flow of start-up capital to businesses."

Bush's proposals would eliminate capital gains taxes on business property in the zones.

In comparison, a proposal by House Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) would only defer capital gains taxes and provide a maximum credit of \$3,000 for each zone resident employed.

Foley said he could support a capital gains cut for enterprise zones, but added: "I don't think it's necessary to go to a zero rate."

Another study, this one by the Congressional Research Service for Rep. Willis D. Gradison (R-Ohio), concluded that tax breaks tied to jobs were more effective than those for capital investments.

In New Jersey, the biggest tax breaks have involved sales taxes, which the federal government does not levy.

Rep. Donald Payne (D-N.J.), who represents Newark and was a councilman there in the 1980s, said the city's enterprise zone has attracted businesses. But he emphasized the supplemental role of community policing, job training, health, beautification and recreation programs.

"I support enterprise zones, but it's far from a cure-all," Payne said. "The way Bush is pushing the thing, he makes it sound as if it's the answer. It's doomed to fail if it's by itself."

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Challenging the Chairman's Powers

Dispute Over Hospital Smoking Ban Unites Derwinski, Viet Vets Group

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

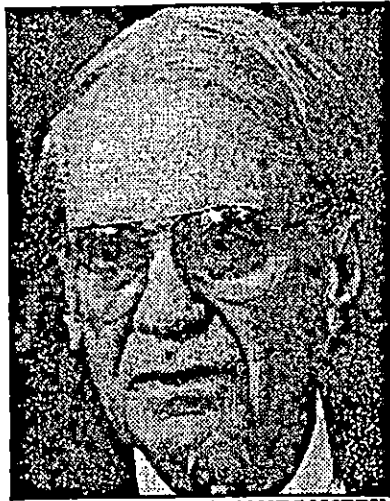
Of all the House committee chairmen, Rep. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D-Miss.) has a right that few possess: Virtually none of the bills that emerge from his Veterans Affairs Committee can be amended on the House floor.

Under a long-standing parliamentary procedure, all but a few veterans bills are presumed to be non-controversial. As such, they are automatically placed on the House's "suspension calendar," where they are immune to floor amendments and usually receive routine approval of the required two-thirds of the House.

The procedure, which predates Montgomery's 12-year tenure as chairman, is one of the many ways that the veterans lobby has become one of the most powerful on Capitol Hill. It also has enabled Montgomery to push bill after bill through the House without debate—more than 20 veterans bills during the current Congress, according to Montgomery's spokesman.

But now an unlikely pair of opponents—Veterans Affairs Secretary Edward J. Derwinski, a former House member, and Vietnam Veterans of America (VVA), a small but feisty organization—are out to undo Montgomery's advantage.

The VVA, long at odds with Montgomery, earlier this year decided to challenge the chairman head-on over his committee powers, accusing him of having "blanket authority to dictate absolutely to the peoples' house of Congress what will and will not become law." The rule cuts most House members out of debate over veterans bills, which Paul S. Egan, VVA executive director, contends are noncontroversial only "because of what they don't contain."



REP. G.V. "SONNY" MONTGOMERY
... few of panel's bills can be amended

Earlier this month the VVA campaign got an unexpected boost when Derwinski, who represented a South Chicago district for 24 years, declared war on part of a veterans benefits bill. The measure, approved by Montgomery's committee, allows the return of smoking at VA hospitals, overturning a no-smoking rule that has been one of Derwinski's major accomplishments in the VA's system of 172 hospitals.

To the consternation of Montgomery, Derwinski spurned suggestions that he try to kill the smoking provision in the Senate. Instead, the secretary wrote the House Rules Committee, requesting a rule that would allow members of the House to strike the smoking provision when the bill goes to the House floor. That request has temporarily allied Derwinski and the VVA and placed them on a collision course with Montgomery.

Dennis R. Boxx, a Derwinski spokesman, said the secretary "does not have an objection to the normal process [of the House] under normal circumstances." How-

ever, Boxx said, "These are not ordinary circumstances."

Derwinski remains adamant that the House be allowed to strike the smoking provision, Boxx said. "This is exclusively a health issue," he added.

The VA has begun to assemble a coalition of health groups to fight the smoking rule, which Derwinski says could lead the VA hospitals to lose their accreditation.

Jim Holley, a Montgomery spokesman, said the chairman has no doubts about the way the House handles veterans bills. "It was there long before I came to Congress and has served veterans well," he said, quoting Montgomery.

Montgomery does not dispute that the procedure, which effectively bypasses the Rules Committee, gives him an edge in congressional matters.

Montgomery, who helped the VVA secure a congressional charter, had offered to meet with its president over the issue, an offer that Holley said the organization rejected.

VVA president James L. Brazee Jr. countered in a letter to Montgomery that the charter "was the fair thing to do." Now, Brazee argued, it would be fair to "open up veterans affairs to the entire body of the House."

The dispute over Montgomery's power arises at a time that the chairman has begun to warn that the VA must "look beyond its primary patient population" if its hospital system is to survive.

Faced with a declining veteran population and budget constraints, Montgomery has begun to press for trial initiatives that would allow VA facilities to treat active-duty military personnel and their families and to tap into Medicare funding for certain veterans.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Official Plays Down Panel's Critique of Atom Dump

At Energy Dept. Behest, NAS President Urges Lawmakers to Let Plutonium Tests Begin

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

At the urging of Energy Department officials, National Academy of Sciences President Frank Press has all but repudiated a report by an NAS panel that criticized government plans for testing plutonium waste at a repository in New Mexico.

In a letter this week to three key House committee chairmen, Press noted that the panel's report supports opening the controversial repository and characterized the report's strong criticisms only as "suggestions for improving the effectiveness" of the planned tests.

The House is expected to vote next week on a bill that would allow the Energy Department to open the \$1 billion Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP), where the department has been trying for years to ship drums of radioactive waste from its nuclear weapons factories.

The effort by Press, at the Energy Department's behest, to play down some of the scientific panel's conclusions prompted criticism that the department was putting politics ahead of science—a practice that Energy Secretary James D. Watkins has admitted was common before his tenure and pledged to eliminate.

Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), chairman of the Interior Committee, said a letter from Assistant Energy Secretary Leo P. Duffy asking Press to write to the committee



FRANK PRESS
... panel's findings "misinterpreted"

chairmen showed that "this administration will do anything to get a barrel of waste into WIPP, even manipulate the National Academy of Sciences."

The NAS panel of scientists last week did support opening WIPP, saying there was a "high probability it would perform successfully," but questioned the type of tests the Energy Department is planning to conduct in preparation.

Tests on waste material should be conducted not as planned in the new repository but elsewhere, the panel said. At the same time, the panel recommended altering the testing program to include geologic and hydrologic evaluations of the repository, which has been excavated in rock salt 2,150 feet below the Earth's surface.

The Energy Department "needs to articulate a convincing scientific rationale for the proposed test program..." the panel said. "There is no compelling scientific rationale for conducting these tests [on waste material] at the WIPP facility."

WIPP is intended to be the final resting place for tons of plutonium-contaminated waste that have piled up at the weapons factories in the past 20 years. Last year a federal court blocked the Energy Department's attempt to take title to the site, near Carlsbad, N.M., from the Interior Department by an administrative transfer, ruling that legislation was required.

The Senate has passed such a bill. The House is scheduled to vote next week on a bill that would transfer the site but require the Energy Department to comply with Environmental Protection Agency standards—not yet issued—for radioactive waste storage.

The NAS panel's findings, similar to criticism published earlier by the General Accounting Office, made big news this month in New Mexico, which has followed the WIPP controversy closely. "Scientific Panel Says Doing Tests at WIPP Useless," headlined the Albuquerque Journal. "Key Panel Backpedals on WIPP," said the Albuquerque Tribune.

This coverage prompted Duffy to write to Press on Monday. "I would appreciate it," Duffy said, "if the NAS would clarify its position on the need for underground testing at WIPP and direct these comments

by Wednesday, June 23, 1992 [sic]" to Miller and to Reps. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) and Les Aspin (D-Wis.), the committee chairmen who recently agreed on a WIPP land transfer bill.

Press complied on Tuesday. "It is unfortunate," he wrote to the chairmen, "that some newspaper accounts of the report misinterpreted the panel's findings, but I wish to assure you of the panel's continued support for an underground testing program with [plutonium-contaminated] wastes at WIPP."

This was "absolutely not" an attempt at scientific spin control, said a spokesman for Press, who is completing his second and last term as elected head of the nation's leading scientific group. "Dr. Press was simply trying to place the interim report into context."

"We could not remain silent" in the face of the New Mexico headlines, said Paul Grimm, Duffy's deputy, because Rep. Bill Richardson (D-N.M.), a foe of WIPP, "was making them a focus of a 'Dear Colleague' letter" circulating in the House. "We were not trying to do something sneaky or underhanded," said Energy Department press secretary Joseph C. Karpinski.

A member of the panel, geologist Rodney C. Ewing of the University of New Mexico, said: "I don't share Frank Press's description of our report. We reaffirm our support for underground tests with real waste at WIPP, yes, but our report is based on the explicit program presented by DOE, and we found it lacking."

Claims of Scud Destruction Unverified

Inspectors Fail to Substantiate U.S. Assessment of Attacks on Launchers

The United Nations Special Commission on Iraq has not found evidence to confirm a widely publicized U.S. military claim during the Persian Gulf War that American personnel destroyed many of Iraq's mobile Scud missile launchers, a commission spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman, Tim Trevan, was responding to a report in yesterday's New York Times quoting Scott Ritter, a former Marine captain who is a missile analyst with the commission, as saying that no mobile launchers were destroyed during the war.

Ritter declined to speak with reporters yesterday, but Trevan said the New York Times op-ed piece had omitted a portion of Ritter's statement attributing to the Iraqi government the claim that no Iraqi launchers were destroyed by coalition forces.

Trevan said that "all of the operational missiles verified as destroyed by the commission were either destroyed under commission supervision or were claimed by Iraq to have been destroyed by Iraq itself. The commission has no evidence to contradict these Iraqi statements, but neither can it be certain that these statements are true."

Trevan added that the commission "cannot rule out that other launchers or missiles not yet declared by Iraq nor discovered by the commission might have been destroyed by coalition actions." U.N. officials have previously accused Iraq of misstating data on Scud missiles, charging that it underreported the total number of missiles in its possession before the war.

The op-ed piece was written by Mark Crispin Miller, a professor of media studies at Johns Hopkins University and the author of the forthcoming book "Spectacle: Operation Desert Storm and the Triumph of Illusion."

During the war, commanding Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf said that U.S. forces had destroyed 30 fixed-site launchers and as many as 16 of the estimated 20 mobile launchers that Iraq possessed. But Miller said U.N. officials determined, during 11 inspections beginning in June 1991, that only 12 fixed-missile sites were destroyed.

At a Jan. 30, 1991, briefing, Schwarzkopf said 11 vehicles carrying Scuds were bombed. But Miller said the vehicles were probably carrying fuel, not Scuds.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Retiring NATO Chief Survived Rocky Start

Galvin Was Nearly Fired—More Than Once

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

For the third time in as many years, the maverick lieutenant colonel was at the brink of being fired.

The scene was a Vietnam fire base in 1970. Though he had buffaloed his way to command of a battalion, John R. Galvin figured he was in the twilight of an undistinguished Army career. He had been relieved of one important job as a major and eased out of another the following year.

Now, his brigade commander had ordered up what Galvin regarded as a suicide mission, and Galvin responded with another career-defying leap.

"I said, 'Colonel, I am not about to do what you just said because I think it's stupid and it'll get a bunch of people killed,'" Galvin recalled in a recent interview, the substance of which was confirmed by two contemporaries. "And so if you don't like my plan, then you find somebody else to run the battalion."

Galvin, 63, who stepped down yesterday as NATO's supreme commander, survived that imbroglio and many others in a 44-year career that probably could not be repeated in today's unforgiving military culture. He departs with a stature that leaves him arguably without peer among living generals.

In Europe and in the national security establishment, Galvin will be remembered not only as the last Cold War SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander, Europe) but also as a man who anticipated and helped shape a new era.

Galvin came into the job in 1987 with the reputation of a fierce anti-communist. He spent his first months in the Mons, Belgium, headquarters fighting for new short-range nuclear weapons to deter a Soviet thrust across the central German plains. He is leaving as a consummate diplomat who more than any other Westerner gave Moscow's generals the confidence to let their war machine unravel, and who engineered new role and structure for NATO.

Galvin's own memories were more personal in the interview at the Pentagon's sealed-off Joint Staff corridor, where he recounted stories of early- and mid-career adventures that aides said he has not told before.

Son of a Massachusetts bricklayer, Galvin was not born to the Army, nor did he come to it—or take to it—right away. In quick succession in 1947, the young Galvin dropped out of Boston University and then Merrimac College's pre-medical program. He went to art school, dreaming of a career as a cartoonist.

He even sold a cartoon once, "which gave me a great deal of ambition," he said. It showed an organ grinder with a big mustache, "and instead of having a monkey,

he had a gorilla. And this gorilla had a guy, and he was shaking him upside down and all the guy's coins are falling out his pockets." The caption: "I make a lot more money since he grew up."

But Galvin also joined the Massachusetts National Guard as an enlisted soldier, "basically because the money came in handy," he said. His sergeant persuaded him to take the test for West Point, and he became the first in his family to obtain a college degree.

William A. Boucher, a West Point roommate who retired as an Air Force colonel, said Galvin's academy career was distinguished mainly by his cartoons in the monthly *Pointer* and the *Howitzer* yearbook. Ben Schemmer, another classmate, said Galvin helped steal the Naval Academy's mascot goat in 1953 and "almost set a record" for "walking the area," a form of punishment for minor campus infractions.

"There was certainly nothing outstanding in his academic career," said Boucher, who remembers Galvin nonetheless as a man to whom others naturally listened. "Let's just say we had many late-night discussions on how to handle math problems."

Galvin said he had few thoughts of making a career of the Army, but "right from the beginning they

gave me something that absolutely fascinated me and that was responsibility."

Galvin took it seriously, setting a pattern early on of doing what he thought was right, whether or not it tended to please his superiors.

In 1968, after one too many clashes, Maj. Gen. William DePuy fired him as a brigade operations officer in the 1st Infantry Division in Vietnam. It was a "devastating kind of thing" for a young major, Galvin said. "The way I was doing things wasn't what you'd call career-enhancing."

After a brief stint in Washington, Galvin volunteered to return to Vietnam. He landed at Cam Ranh Bay, ignored orders to wait for an assignment, and hitched a ride to the headquarters of the 1st Cavalry Division.

Lt. Gen. H.P. Taylor, who now commands the Army's III Corps in Texas, remembers Galvin's arrival.

"He was a kind of shrimpy looking, rumped little guy, you know, and I says, 'I wonder what I got here,' but as soon as he opened his mouth and asked a few questions, I knew I had something a lot more than his initial appearance indicated," Taylor said.

Galvin marched up to Col. Joseph Kingston, the division chief of

staff, and told him he wanted command of a battalion. Six months later, improbably, he got it.

The day that Galvin nearly lost that job began with a carefully crafted plan to ambush the Viet Cong at three chokepoints along an extensive trail system. Galvin briefed Col. Carter W. Clarke Jr. on his next morning's ambush plans, and by several accounts the brigade commander insisted that Galvin instead assault the enemy frontally—at once. (Galvin did not refer to Clarke by name, but other officers confirmed division records of his identity.)

"I said, 'Well, see, it's getting dark now and they're out of artillery range,'" Galvin said. "He said, 'I told you to do it now . . . ' So this guy had told me some dumb things before, so I said to him, 'Colonel, could we just take a walk outside for a minute.'"

In defying Clarke's orders, Galvin recalled being confident the colonel "wouldn't dare to fire me because he didn't have the guts."

But Clarke, according to Galvin and retired Gen. Edward C. Meyer, then the division chief of staff, took out his ire on Taylor, who had become Galvin's battalion operations officer. In Taylor's next fitness report, Clarke "just wiped him out," Galvin said. Galvin led a

successful campaign to reverse Clarke's verdict, which would almost certainly have driven Taylor out of the Army.

Galvin often took great personal risks for his soldiers and officers, according to many who served with him. In turn he has inspired extraordinary warmth and loyalty.

Vice Adm. Leighton W. "Snuffy" Smith Jr., among the most irreverent of officers, told a Navy War College audience last week that "I will revere him—is that the right word? I will love him for the rest of my life." Smith served as Galvin's director of operations for the U.S. European Command.

Never a chest thumper, Galvin has avoided the muscular rhetoric, much in vogue at the Pentagon, that speaks of "winning" and "victory" in the Cold War. Galvin is said to regard those terms as inflammatory, and speaks only of "mission accomplished."

He is much the same in his personal bearing, leaving most of his decorations and badges—including the Silver Star for valor—off his uniform except on formal occasions.

"I've always asked him, 'How did you get your medals?'" said Schemmer, until recently editor of the Armed Forces Journal International. "He'll never tell me."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Criminalizing Political Differences

The indictment of former secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger on five felony charges [front page, June 17] marks an ominous milestone in our national political affairs. After more than five years of investigation and more than \$30 million in expenditures, the special prosecutor now seeks to convict Mr. Weinberger of "crimes" associated with what has been called the Iran-contra affair.

Whatever mystery there may have been about the sale of weapons to Iran was dispelled during the congressional hearings. Vice Adm. John Poindexter and Lt. Col. Oliver North testified for hours on live television under grants of immunity. Those two witnesses provided firsthand detailed information of the arms sales and the policy decisions. Adm. Poindexter and Col. North, who each acknowledged leading roles in planning and executing the arms sales, were subsequently prosecuted and convicted.

When those convictions were overturned on appeal, the legitimate purposes of the special prosecution seemed to have reached an end. If the two principal players could not be con-

victed of criminal conduct, what could motivate the continued "investigation"?

The suspicion that the five-year investigation evolved into an endless political witch hunt has been confirmed by the indictment of Mr. Weinberger. It is an undisputed fact that he opposed the arms sale policy, and the special prosecutor has not even charged him with offenses directly associated with the sales. The alleged crimes relate to Mr. Weinberger's testimony to Congress and to his failure to help the special prosecutor build a case against former president Reagan.

At the heart of the Iran-contra affair was a serious foreign policy dispute between the president and Congress. Congress and the American people had all the essential facts of that dispute at the end of the congressional hearings. If Congress believed there was a case to be made against the president, the remedy provided by the Constitution was impeachment. Congress and the American people chose not to follow that path after full and complete hearings.

The five-year effort to turn this policy dispute into a criminal prosecu-

tion smacks of banana republic justice, where the losers in political affairs are prosecuted for "crimes" against the state. This continuing "investigation" is a sick example of the recent tendency to criminalize political disputes in a government divided between a Republican executive and a Democratic Congress. The special prosecutor and his staff should end this farce.

ALLEN J. MONTECINO JR.
Burke

■
Caspar Weinberger has more tolerance for aggravation than I do. If the special prosecutor were after me—again—I would count the cost:

- Thousands of dollars for lawyers.
- Hours of being "grilled."
- Nights of losing sleep.

I'd give up. "Please point me to my cell," I'd say. "Might as well spend my golden years in peace and quiet."

Where does everybody get the pep to go through the Iran-contra business again?

BARBARA MARKERT
Weatherford, Tex.

Fairness to Ross Perot

Until I saw Frank A. Weil's "The Perot I Know" [op-ed, June 19], I was amazed at the comeback sophistry had made in the 20th century. Mr. Weil's fresh piece on Mr. Perot was the first I've read that tried to understand Mr. Perot rather than pelting the poor man with red herrings.

Both Democrats and Republicans are scared of being disenfranchised from their hobby, government. How dare the Republicans demand a "platform" from Mr. Perot, while the education and environmental president wallows in the mire of his '88 platform. And what is this constant inside/outside baiting of Mr. Perot? In one article he is berated for supposedly not being able to work with Congress or "understand" how the system works. The next day he is chastised for the press's billing him an "outsider," when in fact he was more than adept at ramming an education bill through in Texas—the claim is that he's a hypocrite because he knows how the system works. (He does. It's just that he abhors it.)

I hope that the press, Democrats and Republicans soon realize that their one percent effectiveness rate of getting a "platform" through makes their demands for more specifics fall on deaf ears. Mr. Perot is not going to alienate large blocs of voters any more than George Bush or Bill Clinton. Mr. Perot, however, has the character and integrity to make the hard choices after the election. That character engenders trust in the people—trust that will get Mr. Perot elected.

JONATHAN WALL
Washington

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

For the Record

From "You'll Ride, I'll Pay" by Janet Rothenberg. Back in the summer issue of the *Brookings Review*:

The argument that transit systems should not run at a deficit assumes that riders are the sole beneficiaries and should be made to cover full marginal costs through their fares. As reported by Patrick G. Marshall in a 1988 report for Congressional Quarterly, "The key to achieving a more efficient transportation system, say many transportation experts, is to make sure that each mode carries its own weight, with users fully funding the infrastructure, and let the market decide which are the most efficient modes for given purposes."

But consider the implications of closing down the transit system. Immediately more automobiles will take to the roads. Traffic accidents will increase, congestion will worsen, air quality will deteriorate, and more land will be gobbled up by parking garages. According to the Urban Institute, in 1988 some 14.8 million traffic accidents, involving 47,000 deaths and 5 million injuries, cost the nation \$33.4 billion. If public transit systems helped avoid accidents equal to one percent of that total, the nation saved about \$3.3 billion, nearly half the total public operating subsidy in 1989.

It is too often forgotten that transit riders are not the sole beneficiaries of mass transit. Society as a whole benefits as well. The question is how the benefits and subsidies measure up. With public budgets under increasing scrutiny, urban infrastructure aging and demands for funding of social programs growing more pressing, the billions of dollars spent to subsidize public transportation will surely be a target for cutbacks.

"HOWEVER, THERE IS NO PROVEN CONNECTION BETWEEN THESE AND ANY FEELING IN THE PIT OF YOUR STOMACH"



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The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Russian Troops on the March

A HISTORIC divide has been crossed with Russia's dispatch of troops into the territory of fellow members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. In Moldova (the former Soviet Moldavia), the Russian army has come to the aid of a Russian (and Ukrainian) minority that has suffered hundreds of casualties in its attempt to wrest an independent "Trans-Dniester Republic" from the ethnic Romanian majority. In Georgia, Russian army units are pitted against Georgian units in a struggle by South Ossetia, which is part of Georgia, to link up with North Ossetia, part of Russia. Russian units are also being accused by Armenia of siding with Azerbaijan in the conflict raging between those two Transcaucasus states.

At this point the CIS is flailing in its fundamental mission of keeping post-Soviet ethnic tensions from turning into contests of force. These tensions are everywhere. The leaders of Russia and Ukraine, dealing directly, are struggling to head off what could be an especially ominous collision, but deep strains linger as a result of their common nuclear status, the presence of 11 million Russians on Ukrainian soil and a territorial dispute over the Crimea.

The American government, acknowledging Moscow's concern for ethnic Russians, calls for Moldova discussions aimed at implementing President Boris Yeltsin's earlier "agreement" to withdraw Russian soldiers. The appeal marks recognition that the chief burden for a responsible policy falls on Russia. It is the largest ex-Soviet state, the designated heir to Soviet privileges and the inheritor of a venerable 1,000-year national tradition of its own. That 25 million Russians live dispersed outside Russia underlines why Moscow must lead in the pursuit of multi-ethnic coexistence.

The trick is to find useful ways to comfort kin across a border without feeding a fever of Russian empire in Moscow or reviving a fear of Russian empire in the other new states. Mikhail Gorbachev handled this challenge in a way that raised doubts about his own fairness and his relationship with the military alike. It may help now that, alarming as they are, events are driving Russia's democrats, led by Mr. Yeltsin, to take a more forward role in supporting Russians abroad. To allow right-wing nationalists to commandeer this explosive and potent issue is the formula for disaster.

Probing the RTC's Prober

THE FEDERAL Resolution Trust Corp., which is responsible for disposing of failed thrift institutions, needs quickly to resolve a pretty sticky problem of its own. It seems that RTC general counsel Gerald L. Jacobs, who is responsible for investigating and assembling the legal case against wrongdoers and who also directs the recovery of some of the billions of public dollars absorbed by the savings and loan cleanup, may himself have had ties to businesses that helped cause the thrift debacle in the first place. This needs to be settled right away. No RTC official, especially the general counsel, can afford to have a cloud of this kind hanging over his head.

The issue is the extent of Mr. Jacobs's involvement with Dicor Inc., a Phoenix development firm, and the Western Savings and Loan Association, one of the nation's largest S&L failures. Dicor has been cited in a \$1.3 billion RTC racketeering lawsuit against former Western officials as having participated in "sham" sales with the defunct thrift. Mr. Jacobs was Dicor's real estate lawyer for several years prior to joining the RTC in 1990. And during the time he represented Dicor, the firm obtained and defaulted on \$39 million in loans from Western. Reportedly, Mr. Jacobs, his wife and a business partner were also borrowers who were saved from foreclosure on a condominium loan

when Western took back the deed shortly before being taken over itself by the government.

The RTC contends that Mr. Jacobs disclosed his Dicor and Western involvement when he was referred to the agency for hiring by the White House. And they note that he has recused himself from involvement with the Western lawsuit and other RTC work that might touch upon any of his past real estate dealings. But his past relationships have raised eyebrows, as witnessed by the RTC's decision to begin an investigation into Mr. Jacobs's role in the now-bankrupt Dicor and the failed Western well before the Western lawsuit was filed.

RTC chief executive Albert V. Casey has wisely called in the RTC inspector general to review the agency's probe of Mr. Jacobs's activities. And Sen. Timothy Wirth of the Banking Committee has called on the RTC to place Mr. Jacobs on administrative leave or reassign him to other duties until there is "a thorough and open inquiry from [the inspector general] and parties independent of the RTC." Short of that, Mr. Casey this week asked Mr. Jacobs to relinquish his responsibility for the agency's professional liability area, where fraud, negligence or potential racketeering cases are investigated and brought. At least that much should happen. Most important, however, for the sake of the integrity and the reputation of both the RTC and Mr. Jacobs, the issues should be settled quickly.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Mr. Perot's Response

ROSS PEROT says three things about the recent stories suggesting that he has a habit of using private investigators to dig up dirt on those who cross him. He didn't do it (or most of it), it isn't important and it is a plot by the Republicans to discredit him; those have been his replies. But it seems to us from a sifting of the record that he did do an awful lot of it, that it is important in trying to gauge his instincts and possible behavior under the stress of office and that, while the White House has clearly tried to exploit the issue, most of it has originated in the normal journalistic jostling of a presidential election year.

"I'm not an investigative personality," the Texas billionaire and undeclared independent candidate said in an interview published in this newspaper yesterday, and at a news conference later in Annapolis he called "the propaganda that comes pouring out of the Republican dirty tricks committee . . . just a beauty to behold." "It is so ridiculous," he said, "and so silly and so inconsequential to the future of our country and the issues that our country faces. Everybody loves to mud-wrestle in it, but it has nothing to do with getting a good government for the people."

But in its way it has much to do with getting a good government, as Mr. Perot must surely understand. This newspaper published a story last weekend saying that one of Mr. Perot's investigative targets in recent years has been George Bush. In the 1980s he paid a local law firm \$10,000 to do research on a tax deduction claimed by a company headed by a former business associate of the president for giving the government part of a ranch. The candidate now says the Bush connection had nothing to do with it; he was simply investigating buying the rest of the ranch himself.

The same story said that Mr. Perot also had gathered material on two of the president's own investments. It was only because a Post reporter

asked him to, Mr. Perot now says—but a second reporter's notes indicate that he was asked only if he knew anything about the investments; he then volunteered to find out.

In a different session on another subject, he once took from his office safe and volunteered to a third Post reporter doing a profile of him what he suggested was a compromising photograph of then-assistant defense secretary Richard Armitage with a Vietnamese-born woman. Mr. Perot had been in a dispute with Mr. Armitage over U.S. policy toward MIAs. He says it was the reporter who brought up the subject and that the conversation was off the record. He also says that the private investigator who had earlier given him the photograph came to him; the investigator remembers it the other way around.

The publisher of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram says that, during a complaint about the newspaper's coverage of his son's business activities, Mr. Perot once suggested that he had a compromising photograph of one of the newspaper's employees. Mr. Perot said later that in the course of the conversation he had made "no comments of a personal nature." A former business associate accused Mr. Perot in a lawsuit of using "research" on alleged sexual affairs as a weapon in a business dispute. The lawsuit was settled; Mr. Perot "did not attempt to intimidate" the associate "with information of a personal nature." The Wall Street Journal quotes a spokesman as saying.

And so it goes, through videotaping employees suspected of extramarital affairs (the Journal quotes an unnamed "person familiar with Perot security operations" as saying the surveillance only occurred in public places) and reports he subjected employees to polygraph tests (rarely, he says). Mr. Perot seems over the years to have been a more than a bit of a dirt-gatherer. Not all the means he appears to have used are pleasant. That does bear on his qualifications for office.

Graduation Prayers

RABBI LESLIE Gutterman prepared a prayer for the 1989 graduation ceremonies at Nathan Bishop Middle School in Providence, R.I. Using guidelines published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, his prayer was both nondenominational and generally religious, stressing thanks for the virtues of country, school and family and asking for blessings on all those in attendance. It was nevertheless a prayer at a public school ceremony, and yesterday the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the practice was unconstitutional.

The decision came as a surprise, since many legal scholars had predicted that the court would relax its long-standing ban on religious activities in schools. Specifically, the Providence school system, supported by the Bush administration, had asked the justices to abandon the traditional test used in church-state cases and adopt a far more flexible one. Since 1971, when it decided a case called *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, the court has found that a law or a government practice is unconstitutional if it does not have a secular purpose, if its primary effect is to promote religion or if it fosters excessive government entanglement with religion. Using this standard, a variety of school practices, including holiday observances, the posting of the Ten Commandments in a classroom and compulsory moments of silence for meditation, have been evaluated.

Providence officials, however, argued that the test ought to be simply coercion. As long as the government is not enforcing its view of religious orthodoxy, they maintained, ceremonial prayers of this kind should be allowed. In addition, and coldly it seems to us, they pointed out that no coercion is involved in this case because students do not have to go to their own graduation.

The justices are closely divided on the law of church and state, and only five elected to preserve the *Lemon* test. They are right, of course. Measuring coercion is an impossible task, especially if the practice at issue involves schoolchildren, as this one does. Justice Kennedy, who wrote the majority opinion, stressed that this ruling is not meant to diminish the importance of religion in American life. But for 30 years, since the original school prayer ruling that for a time was so controversial, Americans have accepted the distinction between the promotion of religious values and practice in the home and the government's attempts to promote its version of piety in public life. A graduation prayer, no matter how carefully nondenominational, is as constitutionally invalid as the long-banned morning ritual in the classroom. In neither case may the government put schoolchildren in a position in which they have to choose between participation and protest.

Possibly 80 Vietnam POWs Left Behind, Kerry Says

Senate Panel Chairman Also Accuses Pentagon of Misleading Families of Some Servicemen

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

The chairman of a Senate panel investigating the fate of missing U.S. servicemen in Vietnam charged yesterday that 80 or more Americans could have been left behind as prisoners after the end of the war, although there is no evidence any are still alive.

Sen. John F. Kerry (D-Mass.), chairman of the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs, said the Pentagon was "wrong" to assert in public statements following the return of U.S. POWs in April 1973

that all American prisoners had been repatriated.

Kerry said committee investigators have established that 244 of the Americans officially listed as prisoners at the end of the war had never showed up on homecoming planes.

The Pentagon was later able to establish that 127 of that number—servicemen and civilians—had died in captivity, leaving scores of prisoners whose fate has never been fully resolved, Kerry said. The Defense Intelligence Agency's list of missing prisoners, Kerry added, was left with 80 names.

"Taken together, the information

available to the committee does constitute evidence that some Americans remained alive in Indochina" after all were supposed to have been returned, Kerry said. "This is enough in my mind to contradict official statements made then and repeated for almost two decades."

Kerry also accused the Pentagon of deliberately misleading families of some missing servicemen, releasing recently declassified documents showing that relatives of soldiers and airmen who disappeared in Cambodia and Laos received false information on the circumstances of the losses.

The United States was not at war with either country and, according to one of the documents, wanted to preserve the "covert nature" of the missions.

Kerry and Sen. Bob Smith (R-N.H.) played down reports of dissent in the committee, which is trying to resolve the 20-year-old debate on whether any Americans were left in captivity in Indochina. Several committee staff members have close ties to POW-MIA activists who contend that the U.S. government has suppressed or ignored evidence that Americans were secretly being held in North Vietnamese prisons or labor camps.

Is HUD Prosecutor Settling a Score?

By Michael York
Washington Post Staff Writer

Deborah Gore Dean, the former Housing and Urban Development official charged with accepting a bribe, has accused independent counsel Arlin M. Adams of using his position to settle a 21-year-old score with Dean's mentor, former attorney general John Mitchell.

In a letter to Adams delivered Monday, Dean asked Adams to step down from the investigation, saying, "You have lost your independence." Adams, in a letter to Dean's lawyer Tuesday, said her "claim of bias ... is completely unfounded."

Adams, 71, a former federal appeals judge from Philadelphia, was quoted in a USA Today interview in 1990 as saying he thought he might have been appointed to the Supreme Court had he not made an enemy of Mitchell, who was President Richard M. Nixon's chief adviser on court vacancies.

Adams, who worked for Mitchell in the 1968 Republican presidential campaign, was nominated by Nixon to the 3rd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in 1969.

Two years later, Adams wrote an opinion that said that confinement for contempt was unlikely to force anti-war activist Sister Jo Egan to testify and she was released from prison.

Nixon later appointed Lewis F.

DEBORAH GORE DEAN

Powell Jr. and William H. Rehnquist to the Court. Mitchell, who died in 1988 at age 75, was mentioned in a HUD inspector general's report as the recipient of \$75,000 from former Kentucky governor Louie B. Nunn to help win HUD contracts in Miami.

Dean's lawyer, Stephen V. Wehner, said he is considering asking the three-judge panel that appointed Adams to remove him from the Dean investigation.

Dean's letter continues a feisty feud with the independent counsel, who Dean maintains is improperly bringing charges in an attempt to force her to testify against her former boss, then HUD secretary Samuel R. Pierce Jr.

In her letter, Dean said Adams had subpoenaed several family members, including her 73-year-old mother, to appear before the grand jury and answer questions about their relationship with Mitchell. Dean's mother, Mary Gore Dean, was Mitchell's companion for more than a decade before his death.

Dean said in an interview that she was particularly upset about Adams's treatment of her mother, a cancer patient, who arrived for her grand-jury appearance in a wheelchair.

In his letter, Adams confirmed that he is investigating Mitchell's involvement at HUD, but said:

"I never had, and do not have, any animosity toward John Mitchell, members of his family, or Ms. Dean. Ms. Dean has been indicted not because of bias, but because the grand jury concluded there was probable cause to believe that she accepted an illegal payment while she was a public official."

In a statement Tuesday, Adams said, "Under the federal rules of criminal procedure, the office of independent counsel cannot comment on an ongoing grand jury investigation."

Further complicating the picture is the maverick presidential candidacy of Ross Perot, who has long espoused the view that U.S. prisoners were left behind. Any evidence that the Bush administration had knowledge of such cases could prove a major boost to his campaign. Perot, who has investigated POW-MIA issues for more than two decades, was slated to testify before the committee but has since backed out, saying he will provide a deposition.

Perot yesterday reiterated his claim that the U.S. government took a lackadaisical approach to reports that American servicemen were still being held in Indochina. "There has been large numbers of sightings, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera, over the years," he said at a news conference. "If you look in detail at the records, no significant effort was made to run that down."

Charles Trowbridge, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency for POW-MIA affairs, acknowledged under questioning by Kerry that the Pentagon had expected all the Americans on the official prisoner list to be returned during "Operation Homecoming" at the end of the war.

But he said that in many cases, the Pentagon had developed subsequent information—sometimes from other returning prisoners—leading officials to the conclusion that the missing men had been killed in action. He acknowledged that some "discrepancies" have never been resolved and are still being pursued.

"We may have been talking with a man on the radio, after [he was shot down], and he said, 'I'm receiving small arms fire, I'll see you around the club,' and that's the last we ever heard of that information," Trowbridge said.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT

A Daily Digest

Clinton Pitches His Plan To Business Audience

By Maralee Schwartz
and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bill Clinton defended his economic plan yesterday before a business group none too friendly to the Democratic presidential candidate's ideas. Elsewhere, the Republicans bashed it.

Asserting that his package of proposals would both reduce the federal budget deficit and spur economic growth through increased investment, Clinton told a meeting here of the National Association of Manufacturers, "We may have differences of opinion over my economic plan, but I want you to know that I believe that this country has to produce to be great. . . . We have got to rebuild our manufacturing base."

The Arkansas governor set forth his credentials to the largely conservative group, telling them that in his state, manufacturing jobs grew at 10 times the national average because he understood the need to work with business.

Then, keeping to his recent habit of being contrary, Clinton made a point of his support for federal family leave legislation, which the group opposes. And he criticized corporations that raised executive pay at four times the rate of raises given to workers at a time when U.S. wages fell from first in the world to 10th.

Clinton disputed the business group's assertions that his \$150 billion in new taxes on the wealthy and corporations would slow economic growth, saying "every last dollar of it" would go to deficit reduction or job-generating programs.

He claimed that his plan would cut in half in four years "a deficit you lay at the feet of both major parties," and by 75 percent if the economy grew at the "rosy" growth rates predicted by Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman.

But Darman disputed Clinton's claim that his economic

plan was a serious attack on the deficit, saying the Democratic candidate's "22-page budget proposes to solve a deficit problem—never."

The budget director called in reporters yesterday to offer his own critique of Clinton's plan, which he described as being "contrived strictly for media consumption. It's transparently a phony."

Darman, who as budget director has never offered a balanced budget to Congress, said Clinton had effectively abandoned his goal of eliminating the federal deficit and argued that of an estimated \$75 billion in projected savings, "At most half of that is real."

The OMB director said the Clinton plan purports to save \$75 billion over four years while actually increasing federal spending by that much. The added spending would be offset by a \$150 billion tax increase, he said.

Darman also questioned the assumptions about rapid economic growth that he said his agency's analysis shows must underlie the plan's budget figures. He said Clinton must be counting on a big economic pickup in 1993, with the economy expanding at a 5.5 percent pace.

He also said the plan "fails because it ignores two-thirds of the budget," mainly the mandatory entitlement programs, although Clinton said he would attack rising Medicare and Medicaid expenses through cost-containment measures.

"Seriously analyzed," Darman said, "I think it amounts to a nothing."

"Absolutely a sham," was how Sen. Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.) described Clinton's claims that his plan would eventually lead to a balanced budget. Senate Republicans yesterday had aimed to force a vote to repudiate the Clinton economic plan, but settled for a half-hour of railing against it on the Senate floor.

Staff writers John M. Berry, Helen Dewar and Edward Walsh contributed to this report.

Perot Fields Call From Republican National Chairman

The following exchange took place on CNN's "Larry King Live" last night, when guest Ross Perot took his first call-in question.

KING: Let me go to phone calls. And we understand that we have on the phone the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Rich Bond . . .

BOND: Hey, Larry, how're you?

KING: How are ya?

BOND: I'm good.

KING: I guess you know Ross?

BOND: I do. Hey, Mr. Perot.

PEROT: Have we ever met?

BOND: I'm glad to have the opportunity to try to clear the air . . . with you here tonight.

KING: Go ahead, Rich.

BOND: I feel you've made some very wild and unsubstantiated charges about dirty tricks by the Republican Party over the last couple of months.

Now these charges are simply untrue; they are fiction and they are fantasy. And I want to ask you directly tonight, on behalf of the millions of members of the Republican Party of the United States, do you have one shred of evidence . . . to back up your allegations of dirty tricks?

PEROT: Oh, sure. I've got more than I need. And at the right point in time, if you guys keep it

up, I'll cover it . . .

KING: But why not show it?

PEROT: This is not the place and the time. When I'm ready, I'll do it . . .

Now you're telling me you don't have a huge number of people in opposition research. You're telling me you don't have a huge number of people going through every shred of evidence they can find about anything relating to me . . . ?

KING: Rich?

BOND: Oh, come on. You think—

PEROT: I'm saying, do you or don't you? Now wait. Do you or . . .

BOND: . . . Mr. Perot, it's not a dirty trick to track your words and evaluate your contradictions out there . . .

PEROT: But is it a dirty trick to distort the truth? Is it a dirty trick to lie?

BOND: Mr. Perot, we have no desire to distort the—

PEROT: Well, wait a minute. You called in. If you don't have the—wait a minute, you called in . . .

KING: . . . Can you give me an example, Rich, of something that you broke that is the truth that Mr. Perot is saying was a dirty trick and didn't happen?

BOND: All I can say is that Mr. Perot has made

broad accusations against the Republican Party. . . . He has no substantiation, and he knows it. He has not one shred of proof to offer that the Republican Party has engaged in dirty tricks.

Now, Mr. Perot, I respect, okay? And I liked what you said about your high regard for the Constitution. But in my America, Mr. Perot, people are innocent until they are proven guilty.

Now I'm just asking you right now—right now—can you offer one shred of proof that the Republican Party has engaged in dirty tricks?

PEROT: Yeah, I can spend till midnight, but—

BOND: Well, let's go, then.

PEROT: Well, because I'm not going to do what you want done on your terms. I'll do it on my terms when I think it best serves my purposes.

. . . You ducked all over the place about how big your opposition dirty tricks is and where it's located and who runs it—

KING: He said there is none.

PEROT: Oh, give me a break—who runs it and who they report directly to . . .

BOND: Mr. Perot—

PEROT: —half your people that do this spend half their time boasting about it, and half the people they boast to call me. Then they call reporters . . .

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Perot Attacks GOP 'Assault' On Character

Texan Offers Little Data To Support Plot Charges

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

ANNAPOLIS, June 24—At times furious, at times jovial, and at times darkly suspicious, Ross Perot spent a long and for him extraordinary day today attacking what he suggested is a Republican conspiracy to discredit him as an overzealous investigator of the activities of President Bush and others.

The still-undeclared presidential candidate fired denunciations at the Republican National Committee, the White House staff, presidential press secretary Marlin Fitzwater and the man "they report directly to," the president. Together, Perot said, they have distorted his image by feeding tales of his investigative endeavors to a malleable media.

"There has been a very highly organized effort, building up over a period of weeks, climaxing in this massive and false assault," Perot charged, speaking at the first news conference of his three-month-old insurgency.

Perot offered little or no evidence to support his wide-ranging theory, saying at one point: "I've got more than I need," but "I'll pick my time" to release it. The supposed conspiracy was sharply denied by its alleged perpetrators and dupes. Washington Post editors said that

neither the idea nor any of the information in a lengthy article published Sunday detailing Perot's investigation of Bush came from the White House or the Republican Party.

While the Republican and Democratic parties routinely research and investigate their opponents' pasts, and often discuss what they find with reporters, Republicans rejected Perot's suggestion that GOP operatives generated the recent spate of stories recount-

ing his fascination with investigations and intrigue.

Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond scoffed at the allegations. "I am a little tired of Perot's paranoia on the subject of the Republican Party." In a heated telephone exchange with Perot on CNN's "Larry King Live," Bond challenged Perot to back up the charges with facts.

See PEROT, A18, Col. 3

"I don't need to a competitor on his terms," Perot replied.

The Texas billionaire implied, however, that past episodes of Republican hardball—from the "dirty tricks" campaigns of the Richard Nixon years to the Willie Horton ads of 1988—are enough to prove his point. "Now, look, you all know what's going on, so let's not pretend we don't," he said at the news conference here. Earlier in the day, he said, "This is nothing but politics at its worst and lowest."

Perot charged that the GOP scheme was carefully timed to bring the question of his supposed investigative behavior to full boil just as his birthday was rolling around. Perot has staged many of the great events in his life on June 27, his birthday, and many people have speculated that he might make his candidacy official that day.

But instead of a triumphant fanfare as his 62nd birthday approached, a grinding of gears was almost audible as Perot's machine, which had zipped along in the fast lane last week from rally to rally, downshifted for a slog through more traditional political mires. He had made so few unstaged appearances in the past month some reporters were calling him the "stealth candidate," but suddenly Perot was on every screen, blasting Bush early on NBC's "Today" show, at the midday news conference here, and late on King's phone-in show.

Aides said they were worried that Perot's campaign might be faltering for the first time. The Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal and the New Republic have published reports recently examining aspects of Perot's frequent inquiries into possible high-level intrigues. The White House and the Republican Party have greeted the articles with quotable statements branding Perot "scary," "unpredictable," "bizarre," and "paranoid."

When those worrisome events coincided with a New York Times-CBS poll showing Perot's negative ratings rising rapidly, Perot's advisers urged him to go on the offense. "My advice to him was to give [the media] as much access as possible," said Morton H. Meyerson, a longtime Perot aide. "It was a matter of getting the facts out on the table instead of the myths," he explained.

As Perot repeated them through-

out the day, the essential facts were simple: "There has been a 90-day effort to redefine my personality by a group called Opposition Research of the Republican Party. They're generally known as the dirty tricks crowd."

Although his explanation of the details of the alleged conspiracy were sometimes cryptic, Perot seemed to say that the Republicans took several benign events, in which Perot had tried to bring troubling information to the attention of various institutions, and misconstrued them as evidence of a dark passion for digging up dirt and unraveling cabals.

Perot took particular aim at a report in Sunday's Washington Post recounting his long-standing interest in events that might reflect badly on Bush, Bush's family and a former Bush associate. Perot suggested that the Post article somehow was influenced or inspired by Republican operatives.

According to Washington Post executive editor Leonard Downie Jr., "The story . . . was based on original reporting that dates back as long as four years ago, well before Perot indicated that he would be a candidate for president."

Perot's investigative bent has been documented and discussed for more than a decade. From 1980 to 1982, in an incident that was well reported at the time, he gathered incriminating material on a compet-

ing data-processing firm after Texas officials tried to award a major state contract to that company over Perot's Electronic Data Systems Corp.

Later, Perot's investigation of the promoters of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was widely written about. But perhaps the best known of Perot's crusades has been his unflinching effort to find American prisoners of war he believes are still being held in Southeast Asia.

Perot nevertheless insisted today that the emerging image of him as a sort of "Sherlock Holmes running around with my magnifying glass" is a concoction of the GOP.

"They create these scenarios. They carefully plan them. They carefully stage them. They unveil them all at once in a dramatic way," he said.

While administration officials insisted they had little to do with turning the heat up on Perot, they were happy to see it. "Marching orders" at the White House were to "stand back and watch him bleed," one presidential aide said.

"Ninety-nine percent of what is out there is what the media is digging up," said Torie Clark, spokeswoman for the Bush-Quayle campaign. "If he can't stand the heat of that, he ought to get out of the kitchen."

It was a day of rough water for the Perot campaign, everywhere but in Annapolis harbor, where the

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

candidate paused from his tempestuous hours in front of the cameras to rally his Maryland volunteers.

As a woman in a spangled sailor suit led a crowd of 2,000 in pro-Perot cheers, the Naval Academy graduate—Class of '53—floated up to the pier in a battered crab boat behind an armada of fiberglass yachts. He shook hands with a young woman dressed as Betsy Ross and with a middle-aged man playing Uncle Sam.

The program was so jammed with singers and orators and costumed actors that it made a certain brand of sense when Perot replaced a favorite Winston Churchill quote in his can-do stump speech with a snippet of a show tune.

"Climb every mountain. Ford every stream. Follow every rainbow, 'til they find their dream," he said, urging his those in the crowd to pass the American Dream on to their children.

Perot beamed as he hugged his wife, Margot, whom he met on a blind date while he was a midshipman in Annapolis. It was the happiest he looked all day. Though he traded jokes with his questioners throughout the day, Perot often looked irritated, not least when reporters pressed for his positions on various issues.

The candidate found himself telling NBC's Bryant Gumbel in the morning that he has not finished his deficit-reduction plan and may not for some time. In the afternoon, he told reporters he needs to research the issues before he can take a position on the Civil Rights Act of 1991, development of a space station, and funding for the superconducting super collider, a project his aide Meyerson helped campaign to bring to Texas. At night, he told callers on CNN that he favors the death penalty and is "a friend" to Israel.

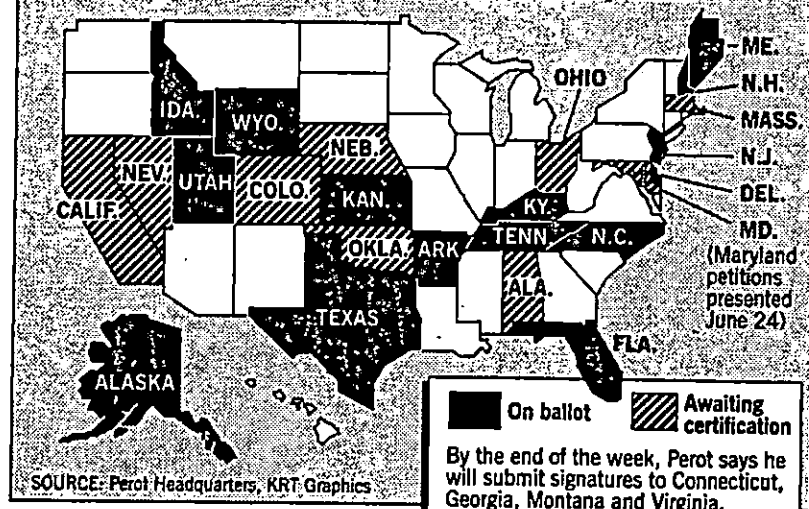
The campaign is getting "rough," Perot told talk show host King. His opponents have seen his standing in the polls and concluded "we have to bring out the Orkin's man and just get rid of this pest," he said.

But, Perot noted at his news conference, the campaign is nothing compared to war, or raising a family on a limited income. Next to that, he said, even the hardball of presidential politics "is Mickey Mouse tossed salad."

Staff writers Ann Devroy in Washington and Richard Tapscott in Annapolis contributed to this report.

PEROT'S BALLOT DRIVE

Ross Perot has met the requirements of 15 states to be on their presidential ballots in November. He has submitted the necessary signatures in nine states that have not yet approved his petitions.



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST



REUTERS

Perot enjoys moment in Annapolis during first news conference in three months.

Panel Clears Enterprise Zone Bill, Minus Capital Gains Break

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

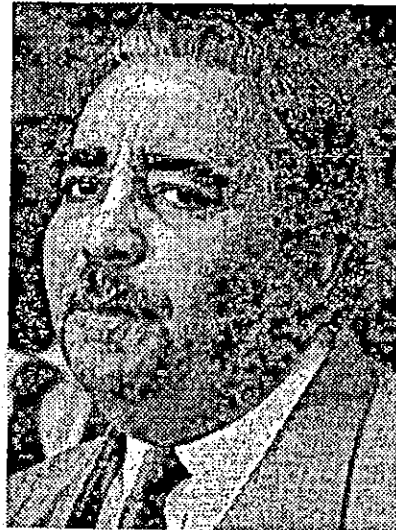
The House Ways and Means Committee yesterday approved a Democratic plan for urban enterprise zones, but the committee, voting along party lines, rejected a capital gains provision advocated by the Bush administration.

As in past disputes between Congress and the administration over tax policy, the administration's commitment to eliminating the capital gains tax dominated negotiations over a long-term aid package for America's distressed cities.

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, the administration's leading proponent of enterprise zones, told House Democratic leaders this week that a Bush provision exempting businesses from paying a capital gains tax on property sold within the enterprise zones must be included in the package.

The enterprise zones plan approved yesterday, proposed by committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), would allow those who sell property within the zones to defer paying taxes on the capital gains provided the money is reinvested in the zones.

However, the Democrats rejected President Bush's zero capital gains proposal after some members argued that it would cost billions more to



REP. CHARLES B. RANGEL
... "zones are not worth a damn"

finance than the administration has acknowledged.

The enterprise zone proposal is part of a \$14.5 billion, six-year tax package introduced by Rostenkowski that would also extend nearly a dozen popular tax incentives due to expire this month, repeal the 10 percent luxury tax on everything but expensive automobiles, establish write-offs for "intangible" assets acquired in a takeover, and restore the real estate industry's "passive loss" deductions on rental property.

Of the overall package, \$2.5 billion

would be used to create 50 enterprise zones, with half located in urban areas and half in rural areas. A 15 percent credit against income tax liability would be available to all employers for the first \$20,000 of wages paid to each employee who lives and works in the zones. House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (Wash.) and other Democratic leaders are insisting that an additional \$2.5 billion be spent on job training and social service programs within the zones. [Related story, Page 21.]

While House Republicans are displeased with the Democratic enterprise zones plan, an aide to House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) said yesterday that Republicans might do little to block House passage of the bill next week, in hopes that the Senate would add a capital gains provision more to their liking.

"We still may want to reserve our final judgment until we see the final product that emerges from conference," the aide said.

But House Democratic leaders may have trouble selling the package to their own members, particularly Democrats from big cities who are unhappy that the enterprise zones would be evenly divided among urban and rural areas.

The 50-50 split was essential in winning the support of committee members from sparsely populated ar-

eas, but big city Democrats complained that the compromise would dilute the program's effectiveness in helping the most troubled cities in the country.

"The enterprise zones are not worth a damn," said Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.), a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Rangel said that he would oppose the enterprise zone legislation unless he receives assurances that the vast majority of the \$2.5 billion in proposed job training and social services programs is earmarked for the urban enterprise zones.

The Ways and Means Committee

adjourned for the evening before completing work on the tax bill, which is likely to be brought to the floor next week. House and Senate Democratic leaders are attempting to negotiate an agreement with the administration on a long-term urban aid package before the July 4 recess.

The administration's insistence that the enterprise zone proposal include its capital gains provision and that there be no limit to the number of zones that could be created has troubled Democratic negotiators, who believe that such an approach might add \$10 billion or more to the cost of the program.

ON CAPITOL HILL

House Fails to Override Bush Veto on Fetal Tissue

The House yesterday failed to override President Bush's veto of a bill that would have ended his ban on the research use of tissue from aborted fetuses, giving Bush his 30th consecutive veto victory.

The 271 to 156 vote was more than a dozen votes short of the two-thirds majority needed.

Bush, in his veto message, said the \$5.4 billion medical research legislation was too costly and that research using fetal tissue had "potential for promoting and legitimizing abortion." He said enough fetal tissue was available from sources other than elective abortions.

Supporters of the bill said Bush's ban would cripple efforts to help millions of people suffering from Alzheimer's disease, Parkinson's disease, diabetes and spinal cord injuries.

After the vote, Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.) introduced a new health research bill that he said addressed some of the president's concerns.

Waxman would require researchers to get their material from the fetal tissue bank proposed by the president. However, if those supplies proved inadequate, they would be free to find other sources.

Waxman would require researchers to get their material from the fetal tissue bank proposed by the president. However, if those supplies proved inadequate, they would be free to find other sources.

"We're making a good-faith effort to meet the president halfway," Waxman said.

An Hour for Partisan Squabbling

■ Confronted with an opportunity to cast symbolic votes for and against budget plans advanced by President Bush and Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton,

Republicans and Democrats in the Senate joined yesterday in a bipartisan blink.

In an attempt to dramatize their complaints about Clinton's latest budget blueprint, Republicans introduced a resolution expressing the Senate's opposition to it, stressing such items as tax increases and programs that the GOP lawmakers said would add billions of dollars to the federal deficit.

Democrats immediately countered with a resolution calling for repudiation of Bush's budget, contending it would lead to a long list of dreadful consequences, including a national debt of \$5.9 trillion by 1997.

Having made their points and facing a protracted squabble if attempts were made to force the rival budget denunciations to a vote, leaders of the two parties agreed to split the difference in what the Senate does best: talk.

Each side took 30 minutes to rail against the other party's budget and then moved on to the Senate's next item of business—a

potentially protracted debate over a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, which was killed earlier this month by the House.

The budget exercise came over strong objections from Sen. J. James Exon (D-Neb.) and Senate Budget Committee Chairman Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.), who nonetheless sponsored the Democratic resolution denouncing the Bush budget.

The Senate was embarking on "another exercise in partisan politics" that was making its operations "unworkable if not unbearable," said Exon. The debate would feature the "same kind of empty rhetoric" that "has turned the American people off of both political parties," said Sasser.

As a postscript, Sasser added that it might have been more useful to debate the budget plan of undeclared independent candidate Ross Perot, "if we knew what it was."

—Helen Dewar and new services

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 8:30 a.m.

Committees:

Armed Services—9:30 a.m. Closed. Markup of National Defense Auth. Act for FY 93 & pending nominations, including information on Tailhook Convention as it applies to Navy & Marine Corps nominations. 222 Russell Office Bldg.

Commerce—10 a.m. Merchant Marine subc. Policies governing maritime industry. 253 ROB.

Energy—2 p.m. Public lands subc. Auth. adjustment of boundaries of South Dakota portion of Sioux Ranger District of Custer National Forest; transfer of facilities & lands in Wenatchee National Forest in Washington; establish electric power right-of-way in Sunrise Mountain, Nev.; expand boundaries of Yucca House National Monument in Colorado; ski area permits on National Forest lands; grant right of use in Yosemite National Park. 366 Dirksen Office Bldg.

Environment—9:30 a.m. Superfund subc. Hazardous waste cleanup process. 406 DOB.

Foreign Relations—10 a.m. START treaty assessment. 419 DOB.

Foreign Relations—4 p.m. Nominations of Alison Rosenberg as asst. adminis. for Africa at AID; Kenneth Brown as Ghana amb.; Princeton Lyman, South Africa amb.; Joseph Charles Wilson, amb. to Gabon & Sao Tome & Principe; Joseph Segars, amb. to Cape Verde. 419 DOB.

Governmental Affairs—9:30 a.m. Markup Assassination Materials Disclosure Act. Pending legis.: Federal Property & Administrative Services Auth. Act; reauth. Emergency Food & Shelter National Board Program & the Interagency Council on the Homeless; Civil Liberties Act Amendments; Dept. of Energy Laboratory Technology Partnership Act; Lobbying Disclosure Act; Technical & Miscellaneous Civil Service Amendments Act; awards to federal employees for superior accomplishments or cost-saving disclosures; Federal Program Performance Standards & Goals Act; post office naming legislation; nominations of Stephanie Duncan-Peters, William Jackson, Anne Koary & Judith Retchin as associate judges on D.C. Superior Court. 342 DOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Markup nominations of Norman Stahl, judge for 1st U.S. Circuit; Thomas Moore, U.S. district judge for Virgin Islands; Eduardo Robiano, U.S. district judge for Eastern District of Pennsylvania; Gordon Quist, U.S. district judge for Western District of Michigan. Pornography & violent sex crimes. 225 DOB.

POW-MIA Affairs—9:30 a.m. U.S. efforts to account for prisoners of war & missing in action. 216 Hart Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.

Committees:

Agriculture—11 a.m. Markup Agricultural Credit Improvement Act; amend Rural Electrification Act of '36; establish grant program to improve rural health care & educational services; & Freedom Support Act of 1300 Longworth House Office Bldg.

Appropriations—9:30 a.m. Markup FY 93 approps. for rural development, Agriculture & related agencies & Treasury, Postal Service & general govt. 2360 Rayburn House Office Bldg.

Armed Services—10 a.m. Investigations subc. Proposed sale of LTV Missile & Aircraft Divisions. 2118 RHOB.

Banking—9:30 a.m. Financial institutions subc. Interstate Banking Efficiency Act. 2128 RHOB.

District of Columbia—9:30 a.m. Judiciary subc. Markup D.C. Justice Reform Act; D.C. Omnibus Anti-Crime Act; & remove gender-specific references from D.C. Code. D.C. Mayor Kelly. 1310A LHOB.

Education—10 a.m. Employment opportunities subc. Sexual harassment in male-dominated occupations. 2175 RHOB.

Energy—To be announced. Markup of National Waste Reduction, Recycling & Management Act; Food, Drug, Cosmetic & Device Enforcement Amendments of '91; if ready, a rail strike bill. 2123 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—9:30 a.m. International operations subc., human rights subc. & House Science environment subc. Reforms at U.N. Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization & future of U.S. participation. 2172 RHOB.

Government Operations—9 a.m. Commerce subc. Inflation-indexed treasury debt as aid to monetary policy. 2247 RHOB.

House Administration—11:30 a.m. May close. Pending business. H-328 Capitol.

Interior—1:30 p.m. National parks subc. Markup designate lands in Colorado as wilderness; auth. land exchange in Colorado; withdraw & reserve lands & minerals in Colorado for military uses; validate conveyance of lands in California for right-of-way for Central Pacific Railway Co. 1324 LHOB.

Judiciary—2 p.m. Administrative law subc. Prohibit govt. employees from representing foreign entities after their govt. service ends. 2237 RHOB.

Merchant Marine—10 a.m. Fisheries subc. Markup Wild Bird Conservation Act; Rocky Mountain Arsenal; Glacier Bay; Marine Mammal Health & Stranding Response Act; & International Dolphin Conservation Act. 1334 LHOB.

Merchant Marine—2 p.m. Coast Guard subc. Markup require merchant mariners documents for seamen. 1334 LHOB.

Public Works—9:30 a.m. Economic development subc. Bills to amend extension of Public Works & Economic Development Act of '65 & Appalachian Regional Development Act of '65. 2253 RHOB.

Public Works—10:30 a.m. Aviation subc. Markup Civil Tiltrotor Development Advisory Committee Act; direct adminis. of FAA to publish routes on flight charts; reauth. Aviation War Risk Insurance Program; administrative imposition of civil penalties for violations of aviation regulations; & enhance airline competition. 2167 RHOB.

POLITICS

Bush, Baker Plan On Fishing During July Convention

It is unclear what they will talk about since Secretary of State James A. Baker III is supposed to be out of politics and into diplomacy, but Baker and President Bush next month will repeat their 1988 routine of spending much of the Democratic convention together in the wilderness.

Baker, who has a ranch in Wyoming, will be fishing with the president there for two or three days of the July 13-17 convention.

It was after the 1988 fishing trip that Bush announced Baker would leave his job as treasury secretary to take over Bush's foundering campaign.

But Bush and Baker aides said yesterday it would wrong to assume that the trip presages any move by Baker out of the State Department and that Bush and Baker have had no such discussions.

In 1988, they had no discussions, either, until they had one and then, within a matter of days, Baker was out of the treasury business and into politics.

Baker has said on about a dozen occasions in the past month—most with a straight face—that he is out of the business of politics and is devoting all his attention to the problems of the world.

Bush Son Takes Leave

■ Meanwhile, another of the president's trusted political advisers and major troubleshooter, his son George W. Bush, said he is taking a leave of absence as director and consultant at Harken Energy Corp. to help out his father's reelection.

"I don't want to involve this company in any kind of allegations of conflicts or whatever may arise," he said. "I am going to take this leave so as not to drag Harken into this campaign in any shape or form."

Some Harken critics suggested the company won a chance to drill off Bahrain because of Bush's political connections, but he has denied that and no wrongdoing has been proved.

Campaign officials in Washington said Bush's role as a senior adviser, announced by his father earlier this year, remains the same and that he would not move to Washington and have day-to-day campaign involvement until the fall.

Known as "Junior" to many of Bush's aides, the president's son has played a key role in times of political peril for his father, privately talking with longtime Bush aides and supporters and giving his father an unvarnished assessment of what could be done.

RNC Enlists Bond Protege

■ A third old Bush hand, William Canary, has signed up with the Republican National Committee to be chief of staff to chairman Richard N. Bond.

Canary, a Bond protege and longtime friend, has been national political field director at Bush-Quayle, and had served as assistant for intergovernmental affairs in the Bush White House. Like Bond, he is product of New York politics and also like Bond, is considered a skilled political operative.

He assumes the job of Norm Cummings, who was named a senior field consultant to the party and the reelection campaign.

Gore on the VP List

■ Add Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) to Bill Clinton's list of possible vice presidential candidates.

It would be unusual for one southern moderate to pick another southern moderate as a running mate.

But some Democrats think Gore nicely complements Clinton in several ways and would give the party a generational advantage against President Bush and Ross Perot.

Gore has defense and foreign policy credentials that Clinton lacks, and as the author of a best-selling book on the environment, would shore up any weaknesses Clinton has in that area.

More important, perhaps, he has run for president before, lessening the chances of revelations that would damage the campaign.

—Ann Devroy and Dan Balz

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Perot's Late Entry Into Race Greatly Compresses Media Scrutiny

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

To Ross Perot, the recent spate of articles about his alleged propensity to investigate people is clear evidence of "Republican dirty tricks."

But as presidential contenders from Gary Hart to Bill Clinton can testify, media coverage can turn negative in an instant. Early campaign coverage tends to be largely uncritical as reporters first become acquainted with the candidates and their record. As the season wears on, however, news organizations digging into the candidate's background often uncover more unflattering information, which spreads quickly through the rest of the media, especially if it involves questions of personal character. That process has been greatly telescoped in Perot's case because of his late entry into the presidential race.

Journalists who wrote the recent Perot stories deny that Republican operatives provided any of their information, and the Texas billionaire has offered no proof of that.

"There was this initial period of uncritical press—'Here he is, everyone thinks he's wonderful,'" NBC reporter Lisa Myers said. "What we've seen in the last few weeks is an effort to fill out the picture."

On each allegation that Perot "investigated" someone, Perot portrayed his role as passive, saying that people simply brought him derogatory information or that he passed it to reporters at their request. But news re-

ports have described a more active Perot role.

Among the issues raised:

- Did Perot try to use the press to discredit those he considered his enemies? Washington Post reporter David Remnick has written that, during a 1987 interview, Perot retrieved from his safe a photograph of a Vietnamese woman and a senior Pentagon official working on the MIA issue, Richard Armitage, that Perot said compromised Armitage.

"I didn't bring it up . . . [Remnick] raised the issue on this individual," Perot said on "Today." "I told him I didn't want to talk about it on the record at all. He agreed to go completely off the record."

Remnick said he was simply doing a profile of Perot, who raised the Armitage matter. "How would I know about a photograph in his safe?" Remnick asked, adding that there was no off-the-record agreement. "How could I bring up something I had no idea about and had no intention of looking into?"

- Did Perot seek out investigators and use hardball tactics? The Wall Street Journal reported that Perot allegedly had some employees videotaped, sometimes seeking evidence of marital infidelity. James Squires, Perot's spokesman, said that an "unnamed source" accusing Perot of "ugly things" is "not worthy of a response."

But the Journal also quoted an Arlington detective, James Badey, as saying Perot called him "out of the clear" and asked about

his investigation of Armitage. Perot said he called Badey because "people said he wanted to talk to me" and simply turned over Badey's material to the FBI like "a law-abiding citizen."

"Anyone who says this is a Republican-generated or Republican-engineered piece is wrong," Journal reporter David Rogers said.

- Is the press putting a negative spin on innocuous events? The New Republic's Sidney Blumenthal, citing a "reliable eyewitness," wrote that Perot had his own children followed by private investigators and had their friends investigated. Perot called the story a "fairy tale" concocted by "some fruitcake," adding that "my children have grown up with a complicated security problem."

Blumenthal said he is "completely confident in my source . . . What [Perot] is objecting to is a process that's inevitable. Everyone has a past. Everyone gets vetted by the press."

- Did Perot "investigate" Bush or merely respond to requests from Post reporter Bob Woodward to discuss his fellow Texan? The Post reported Sunday that Perot initiated several investigations of then-Vice President Bush. But Perot spokesman Squires said, "It's Woodward who was investigating Bush."

Woodward said yesterday that, while he was researching a series on Bush in 1988, Perot and his attorney gave him information they previously had compiled about a large tax deduction for a company headed by Bush's former business partner.

Perot said Woodward had sought the material, which consisted largely of public records, but added: "I think, in all fairness, I had casually mentioned [it] one time to him."

The information, provided by Perot on a not-for-attribution basis, was not deemed newsworthy on its merits at the time, and "wasn't newsworthy regarding Perot," Post Executive Editor Leonard Downie Jr. said yesterday. "He was just a businessman who was being interviewed about a presidential candidate."

Squires put the tax deduction story on the record Saturday when he issued a statement saying Perot had "received information about what he thought was a questionable transaction" and had passed the information to The Post.

- Is the Perot camp complaining about semantics? On Tuesday, NBC News corrected a Myers report about Perot's 1986 split with General Motors and his claim that he would put the \$700 million that GM paid him in an escrow account. Perot never "admitted" that this was "a publicity stunt," as Myers reported. But the essence of her report—that Perot repeatedly said he would put the money in escrow and never did—is true.

Although Perot charged yesterday that "none of [the reporters] called me to check their facts," Squires's responses were quoted in some of the stories and he said it was possible that others had left messages.

The changing tenor in stories about Perot is highlighted by this week's Time

magazine cover story, published just five weeks after a favorable cover profile. The story rarely gave Perot the benefit of the doubt, calling him a "confirmed conspiracy theorist" with a "seeming ability to convince himself of the truth of whatever he wants to believe" who "revives shivery memories of . . . Richard Nixon."

Time reporter Laurence I. Barrett said that "it is our function to scrutinize the claims, records, positions and opinions of any candidate. . . . They've got their answer down—blame the press—and it's popular to do that."

Perot, long accustomed to favorable publicity, clearly has been stung by the news accounts. His response was a concerted media counterattack—a news conference and interviews with The Post, the "Today" show and "Larry King Live" in which he assailed the stories as distorted and politically generated.

Squires said Vice President Quayle and other Republicans were "repeating," "exaggerating" and "distorting" the published allegations.

David Gergen, editor at large of U.S. News & World Report and a former communications director for President Ronald Reagan, said, "What we're seeing now with Perot is what we saw with Bill Clinton: He's emerging as a caricature. There is an effort to find the dark side. . . . I trust we won't lose sight of the fact that he's had a lifetime of many accomplishments."

House Panel Votes Overhaul of Controversial 1872 Mining Law

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee yesterday approved legislation to overhaul a controversial 120-year-old mining law under which generations of miners have paid little for extracting valuable minerals from federal land and taken title to that land for as little as \$2.50 an acre.

The legislation, the most serious attempt in a decades-old drive to rewrite the 1872 Mining Law, would charge miners an 8 percent royalty for mining gold, silver, platinum and other hard-rock minerals from federal land, make them pay a rental fee for using the land and impose stricter requirements for

repairing the land after they are done. It would also end the practice under which miners, at little expense, can patent or take title to federal land for mineral extraction.

Bitterly opposed by the mining industry and many lawmakers from western states, the legislation would junk much of the 1872 law, which critics contend is an expensive and environmentally damaging anachronism left over from the era when the federal government was aggressively promoting settlement of the West.

Though the legislation faces uncertain prospects in the Senate, where western lawmakers hold more sway than in the House, yesterday's approval by the House panel on a 26 to 19 vote represents an important victory for groups that

have sought mining law revisions for many decades and began the latest push five years ago.

"Bills have been introduced in the past scores of times, but this is first time to our knowledge that the Interior Committee has reported a reform bill," said Philip M. Hocker, president of the Mineral Policy Center, which has pushed for an overhaul of the mining law.

"Today there is no more beating around the bush," said Rep. Nick Joe Rahall (D-W.Va.), the measure's prime sponsor. "There is no more dodging the issue . . . The public today deserves some return for the use of the public lands, their lands."

Supporters of the 1872 law, signed by President Ulysses S. Grant, say it is still necessary to encourage inde-

pendent prospectors to strike out in search of valuable minerals on millions of acres of unreserved federal land controlled by the Bureau of Land Management. Undermining the law, they say, will devastate communities that are dependent on mining.

In an emotional appeal yesterday during which he quoted the Communist Manifesto, Rep. Don Young (Alaska), ranking GOP member of the Interior panel, accused the committee majority of "socializing our national resources" and charged that easterners are "destroying what made this country great."

But opponents of the law have gained steady ground in recent years, in part because of government reports detailing cases in which individuals or mining compa-

nies—many of which are foreign owned—have been able, at little cost, to extract millions of dollars of profits from federal land, and in some cases take title to the land and resell it for huge profits.

Miners can "patent" or take title to some federal lands for \$2.50 or \$5 an acre merely by proving it contains valuable minerals and by performing \$500 worth of work on it. It is estimated that 3.2 million acres of federal land, about the size of Connecticut, have been transferred into private hands under the act.

A frequently cited example is the Stillwater Mining Co.'s intent to acquire a patent to 2,036 acres of land in Montana for \$10,080, land that holds estimated reserves of \$32 billion in platinum and palladium.

AROUND THE NATION

Use of Channel One TV Ruled Violation of Law

TRENTON, N.J.—Putting schoolchildren in front of a television set to watch Channel One's mix of news and commercials violates New Jersey law and should be discontinued, an administrative law judge has ruled.

In a decision released yesterday, Judge Bruce R. Campbell said he could find "no direct educational benefit" in the two minutes of commercials interspersed with 12 minutes of news and information that make up Channel One's daily telecast to about 7.1 million students in nearly 11,800 schools nationwide.

Channel One's operator, Whittle Communications of Knoxville, Tenn., provides schools with video equipment in exchange for requiring students to watch its news programs.

In San Jose, Calif., this month, a judge set a Sept. 2 trial date for the school district there to prove that it cannot provide comparable current-events coverage other than through Channel One.

Tough Prison Is Home to Gotti

■ MARION, Ill.—John Gotti became the new guy on a block here at the nation's most secure federal penitentiary, home to killers of prison guards, escape artists and spies—inmates no other prisons are equipped to handle.

Gotti, reputed boss of the Gambino crime family, was sentenced Tuesday to life in prison without parole for murder and racketeering. He had been jailed without bail since his arrest in 1990.

Marion, the first American prison condemned by Amnesty International, has locked most prisoners in cells 23 hours a day since October 1983, when two guards and one inmate were killed.

Churchman Cites Sex Allegations

■ NEW YORK—The Rev. W. Clark Chamberlain of Houston, who inexplicably resigned a day after being elected top administrator of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), said he had acted because of sexual misconduct accusations against him.

His surprise election over a two-term incumbent and then sudden resignation as stated clerk at the denomination's recent governing general assembly in Milwaukee had shocked delegates.

Chamberlain, 45, a philosophy professor and administrator of a denominational synod covering Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana, said that he had been told the day after his election that accusations of sexual misconduct at a previous assembly were being brought against him. He said he does not know the nature of the accusations.

Addenda

■ Coast Guard officials in Miami said the last scheduled repatriations of Haitians

from a U.S. refugee camp at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba are complete. But nearly 1,500 Haitians remain there, awaiting word on asylum requests, a spokesman said.

■ The federal government moved to strip U.S. citizenship from Jack Reimer, 73, of Carmel, N.Y., who prosecutors said admitted participating in mass killings of Jews as an SS guard during World War II. In a telephone interview, Reimer denied participating in the killing in the winter of 1941-42.

■ Former Jersey City mayor Gerald McCann was sentenced to 33 months in prison for bank fraud and tax evasion and told to pay \$170,000 in restitution.

From news services

Supreme Court Permits Lawsuits Against Tobacco Firms Over Smoking Deaths

SMOKING, From A1

ter, then you believe that this is a victory for the tobacco industry," he said. His group filed a brief in the case on behalf of the American Cancer Society and other health groups.

Morrison and other lawyers said the high court's ruling could make other industries regulated by the federal government more vulnerable to state law claims. The court adopted what lawyers said was a new approach to deciding when federal laws prevent state claims from being filed: that when a law specifically prevents some types of claims, other types of claims are, by implication, permitted.

"That is going to be a major ruling against industry in many other cases," Morrison said. "Particularly in the areas of auto safety, medical devices and pesticides, the ruling will have a significant impact."

Although the Bush administration did not take part in the case at the high court, top officials yesterday praised the decision, saying it could

help hold the tobacco industry liable for some of the estimated 434,000 smoking-related deaths yearly.

"I applaud the Supreme Court's decision to hold the tobacco industry at least partly accountable for the millions of deaths and billions of dollars in medical costs associated with smoking-related illnesses," said Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan. Despite numerous lawsuits, no cigarette company has yet been forced to pay damages to smokers who claim they were harmed by the product.

The case, *Cipollone v. Liggett Group*, initially was filed by Rose Cipollone, who began smoking in 1942 and died of lung cancer in 1984.

Cipollone, and later her survivors, claimed that the tobacco companies whose products she smoked were liable for damages on a number of grounds, including their failure to warn her about the hazards of smoking and their intentional deception about those risks.

The cigarette companies asked that the lawsuit be thrown out, arguing that a federal law that has

mandated warnings on cigarette packages and advertising since 1966 bars lawsuits based on state law. The 3rd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia had ruled in favor of the companies.

The major law at issue, the 1969 Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act, states: "No requirement or prohibition based on smoking and health shall be imposed under state law with respect to the advertising or promotion of any cigarettes . . ."

Yesterday, in a complicated and fractured opinion by Justice John Paul Stevens, the court said the law allowed some types of state lawsuits but not others.

The case had originally been argued in October, before Justice Clarence Thomas joined the court, and the justices ordered a second round of arguments, prompting speculation that they were evenly divided and needed Thomas to break the tie.

But the bottom-line vote yesterday was 7 to 2, with Thomas and

Justice Antonin Scalia arguing in dissent that the federal law preempted all state claims. Three justices—Harry A. Blackmun, Anthony M. Kennedy and David H. Souter—said the court should have allowed all of Cipollone's claims to proceed.

Stevens said the law prohibits lawsuits claiming that the companies failed to include additional disclosures in the advertising or that they used the ads to neutralize the effect of the warning labels.

But, he said, the companies could be sued for intentionally misrepresenting or concealing the dangers of smoking or for conspiring among themselves to do that.

The federal judge who heard the case found that Cipollone's evidence, developed largely through the companies' documents, indicated that the industry "entered into a sophisticated conspiracy . . . to refute, undermine and neutralize information coming from the scientific and medical community" about the health effects of smoking.

Stevens also said the companies could be sued for failing to disclose important facts about smoking "through channels of communication other than advertising or promotion" and for violating any promises to smokers about the safety of tobacco products.

Some lawyers said yesterday that the ruling would almost certainly encourage more lawsuits to be filed and give smokers or their families an opportunity—dangerous to tobacco companies—to persuade juries to hold the cigarette manufacturers liable.

Tribe said that the ruling "can't be good news" for the tobacco industry. However, he said, "anyone who thinks it's a slam-dunk victory for all plaintiffs underestimates how skeptical some juries will be and how resourceful the tobacco industry remains."

Other lawyers agreed. "Obviously, by allowing some claims to go forward, it's going to encourage people to bring claims" and that is

"a defeat for the cigarette companies in large part," said one lawyer knowledgeable about the case. "Juries are very irrational and dealing with cigarette companies, who knows what could happen."

Morrison acknowledged that the ruling was "a compromise."

But, he said, juries, believing that smokers are already aware that they are risking their health, might be reluctant to award damages in the failure to warn cases that the court prohibited and more willing—if the cases are proved—to find the companies liable for conspiring to keep evidence of the health dangers of smoking away from consumers.

"What the court said is that if you can prove that they are conspiring to withhold evidence . . . if they are basically lying to the American people about the dangers, then that's not preempted," Morrison said. "By and large, that's the kind of evidence that juries are going to demand before they award money damages to people who smoke."

Smoking Lawsuits Permitted Tobacco Firms See Little Effect

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court yesterday cleared the way for lawsuits accusing tobacco companies of deceiving the public about the health hazards of smoking, ruling that the federal law requiring cigarette warning labels does not absolutely shield manufacturers from being sued.

Lawyers for the family of a New Jersey woman who died of lung cancer, joined by anti-smoking activists, hailed the 7 to 2 decision as a significant advance in their effort to hold tobacco companies liable for the harms caused by their products.

"This is a major victory for all those who want to hold cigarette companies accountable," said Harvard Law School Prof. Laurence H. Tribe, who argued the case on behalf of the family of Rose Cipollone, who sued three cigarette makers.

But the tobacco industry, in an interpretation apparently shared by Wall Street, predicted the ruling would have little practical impact because, they said, the claims the court allowed to go forward will be difficult to win.

Philip Morris considers today's Supreme Court decision as a significant victory, the company—the nation's largest tobacco processor and one of the three cigarette makers sued by Cipollone—said in a statement. Tobacco stocks, after some initial heavy trading, closed little changed. [Story on Page B10.]

Alan B. Morrison of Public Citizen Litigation Group disagreed with the industry view. "If you believe that smoking doesn't cause cancer," he said.

See SMOKING, A27, Col. 1

■ Md. School Board bans smoking in schools. Page D1

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

By Frank Swoboda and Don Phillips
Washington Post Staff Writers

Congress appeared to be in no rush to end the nationwide railroad shutdown yesterday despite warnings of economic chaos from both the Bush administration and a group of railroads that voluntarily shut down all major freight operations in response to a machinists union strike against CSX Corp.

Key congressional leaders indicated they might be willing to wait until the end of the week before intervening in the labor dispute that has paralyzed rail freight operations from coast to coast.

"It seems to me the railroads have elected to make this a nationwide strike, not rail labor," said Rep. Jim Slattery (D-Kan.), summing up the attitude of a number of Democrats at a House hearing on the rail dispute.

By the end of the day, however, congressional anger appeared to be giving way to the realization that something had to be done to get the railroads back in operation. There were indications from congressional sources that the House may begin work on legislation to end the shutdown as early as today with the hope of completing congressional action before the start of the weekend.

ists struck Richmond-based CSX. All 40 of the railroads are involved in contract negotiations with the IAM, which represents 8,000 of the 225,000 unionized rail workers.

Although the companies deny they have imposed a lockout, the legal counterpart of a strike for employers, the move was seen by labor and many in Congress as an effort by the railroads to create an economic emergency that would force Congress to intervene. The industry said it did not want to allow the union to pick off railroads one by one in situations where individual carriers would be shut down while competitors continued operations.

The union said it targeted CSX for a strike because it was one of the few railroads that could be shut down without creating a major economic disruption. The Norfolk Southern Railroad serves many of the Eastern Seaboard freight routes that CSX does.

Rep. Al Swift (D-Wash.), chairman of the House subcommittee on transportation and hazardous materials, acknowledged that the lockout had complicated the situation and would delay any immediate action by Congress to intervene in the dispute. "I never thought I'd be looking at a lockout," Swift said. "It changes

See RAILROADS, A28, Col. 1



BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

Michael J. Boskin, left, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Andrew Card, transportation secretary, during House subcommittee session.

It was not clear, though, just what action Congress might take. There was some speculation from House sources that Congress might simply order a cooling-off period that would restore rail service until after the July 4 recess or longer.

Any cooling-off period would apply to Conrail and Amtrak, which the

railroad unions are currently free to strike, as well as to CSX, according to congressional sources.

The major freight railroads, which handle one-third of all intercity freight, shut down their operations and locked out their employees early yesterday less than an hour after the International Association of Machin-

■ Local commuters find that getting there isn't half the fun. Page D3

Hill Appears in No Hurry to Settle Rail Shutdown

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Railroads, Administration Warn Of Chaos if Shutdown Goes On

RAILROADS, From A1

the dynamics of the whole damned thing."

The only commuter rail systems affected were in the Washington area and San Francisco. Either because they operate on Amtrak lines that were not on strike or through other special arrangements, major commuter lines in Chicago and other Eastern cities continued to operate.

The Camden and Brunswick lines of the Maryland Rail Commuter (MARC) system that were shut down normally carry 4,500 people a day. Yesterday, 340 of them were shuttled by bus to Washington area Metro stations.

The new Virginia Railway Express, which began service between Manassas and the District this week and had about 800 riders on each of its two days of running this week, also ceased operation.

The Washington area would not be significantly affected immediately by the freight strike because it lacks heavy industry. The only major products moving by rail into the District are paper and newsprint inbound and shredded paper outbound.

Giant Food Inc. said shoppers would not be inconvenienced because it gets its produce by truck.

Outside the Washington area, almost all commuter rail lines continued to operate normally yesterday.

Transportation Secretary Andrew Card told the House subcommittee that no matter how the strike-lockout came about, "we have a crisis right now. The trains are not running."

Card and Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, warned the subcommittee that a shutdown of even a few days could have serious impact on the economy.

"The rail strike that began this morning has

the potential to disrupt our economy in important and serious ways," Boskin said. "This would be a major concern even if the economy were booming, but obviously it is not."

Boskin said the council's best estimate is that the economy will lose about \$1 billion every day the strike lasts, though he said the loss would be recouped quickly if the shutdown is short. He said a prolonged shutdown would push the economy, which is believed to be in the midst of a modest recovery after more than two years of recession, into contraction.

He said a month-long strike would result in a layoff of more than 1 million workers throughout the country, and "never before in American history has the number of laid-off workers increased by 1 million in one month."

An Associated Press survey yesterday of officials of major companies that ship goods by rail showed that most believed they could weather the nationwide shutdown for a week before encountering major problems.

Many firms said they had been stockpiling or making contingency plans to get them through a strike of at least several days' duration. Most seemed confident the strike would last only a few days, according to the survey.

Industries such as automobiles and chemicals are more vulnerable than most manufacturing sectors because they receive or ship goods on a "just-in-time" basis—shortly before their stockpiles run out.

Agriculture is also vulnerable to a rail strike because its products are perishable. The Western Growers Association in Newport Beach, Calif., yesterday called for a quick end to the strike before its fresh fruits and vegetables rot in idled rail cars.

General Motors Corp. predicted that one-quarter of its manufacturing operations



Members of the International Association of Machinists gather at the CSX station in Brunswick, Md., after the union struck the railroad yesterday.

could be affected by any strike that lasted more than 24 hours.

Ford Motor Co. was apparently in better shape. The company said it began stockpiling parts last weekend in anticipation of a strike.

Many other companies said they had stockpiles or contingency plans that would take them through at least several days.

There were no contract talks with the freight railroads yesterday. The negotiations are over wages and work rules. The IAM

and five other unions are in separate contract negotiations with Amtrak.

Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, repeatedly sent signals at yesterday's hearing that he was in no hurry to impose a contract settlement. On several occasions, he noted that working out the details of a settlement would be a complicated and time-consuming process.

The powerful committee chairman, who

ultimately is expected to play the major role in deciding what action the House will take, told Card he is considering a number of possible solutions that might stop short of imposing a settlement.

Dingell said the options included an extension of the earlier cooling-off period that expired this week and the appointment of a new presidential emergency board to recommend a settlement. He gave no hint as to his preference.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Excerpts from the opinion for the Supreme Court in Lee v. Weissman, written by Justice Anthony M. Kennedy and joined by Justices Harry A. Blackmun, John Paul Stevens, Sandra Day O'Connor and David H. Souter:

School principals in the public school system of the city of Providence, Rhode Island, are permitted to invite members of the clergy to offer invocation and benediction prayers as part of the formal graduation ceremonies for middle schools and for high schools. The question before us is whether including clerical members who offer prayers as part of the official school graduation ceremony is consistent with the Religion Clauses of the First Amendment. . . . [Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the exercise thereof.]

These dominant facts mark and control the confines of our decision: State officials direct the performance of a formal religious exercise at promotional and graduation ceremonies for secondary schools. Even for those students who object to the religious exercise, their attendance and participation in the state-sponsored religious activity are in a fair and real sense obligatory, though the school district does not require attendance as a condition for receipt of the diploma. . . .

The policy of the city of Providence is an unconstitutional one. . . . The government involvement with religious activity in this case is pervasive, to the point of creating a state-sponsored and state-directed religious exercise in a public school. . . . It is beyond dispute that, at a minimum, the Constitution guarantees that government may not coerce anyone to support or participate in religion or its exercise, or otherwise act in a way which "establishes a [state] religion or religious faith, or tends to do so." The State's involvement in the school prayers challenged today violates these central principles.

That involvement is as troubling as it is undeniable. A school official, the principal, decided that an invocation and a benediction should be given; this is a choice attributable to the State, and, from a constitutional perspective, it is as if a state statute decreed that the prayers must occur. The principal chose the religious participant, here a rabbi, and that choice is also attributable to the State. The reason for the choice of a rabbi is not disclosed by the record, but the potential for divisiveness over the choice of a particular member of the clergy to conduct the ceremony is apparent. . . .

The State's role did not end with the decision to include a prayer and with the choice of clergyman. Principal Lee provided Rabbi Gutterman with a copy of the "Guidelines for Civic Occasions," and advised him that his prayers should be nonsectarian. Through these means the principal directed and controlled the content of the prayer. . . .

The First Amendment's Religion Clauses mean that religious beliefs and religious



ANTHONY M. KENNEDY
... schools put "public pressure" on students

expression are too precious to either be proscribed or prescribed by the State. The design of the Constitution is that preservation and transmission of religious beliefs and worship is a responsibility and a choice committed to the private sphere, which itself is promised freedom to pursue that mission. . . .

Though the efforts of the school officials in this case to find common ground appear to have been a good-faith attempt to recognize the common aspects of religions and not the divisive ones, our precedents do not permit school officials to assist in composing prayers as an incident to a formal exercise for their students. And these same precedents caution us to measure the idea of a civil religion against the central meaning of the Religion Clauses of the First Amendment, which is that all creeds must be tolerated and none favored. The suggestion that government may establish an official or civic religion as a means of avoiding the establishment of a religion with more specific creeds strikes us as a contradiction that cannot be accepted. . . .

The undeniable fact is that the school district's supervision and control of a high school graduation ceremony places public pressure, as well as peer pressure, on attending students to stand as a group or, at least, maintain respectful silence during the Invocation and Benediction. This pressure, though subtle and indirect, can be as real as any overt compulsion. . . .

Finding no violation under these circumstances would place objectors in the dilemma of participating, with all that implies, or protesting. We do not address whether that choice is acceptable if the affected citizens are mature adults, but we think the State may not, consistent with the Establishment Clause, place primary and secondary school children in this position. Research in psychology supports the com-

mon assumption that adolescents are often susceptible to pressure from their peers towards conformity, and that the influence is strongest in matters of social convention. . . . To recognize that the choice imposed by the State constitutes an unacceptable constraint only acknowledges that the government may no more use social pressure to enforce orthodoxy than it may use more direct means. . . .

There was a stipulation in the District Court that attendance at graduation and promotional ceremonies is voluntary. . . . The argument lacks all persuasion. Law reaches past formalism. And to say a teenage student has a real choice not to attend her high school graduation is formalistic in the extreme. . . . Everyone knows that in our society and in our culture high school graduation is one of life's most significant occasions. . . .

The Constitution forbids the State to exact religious conformity from a student as the price of attending her own high school graduation. This is the calculus the Constitution commands. . . .

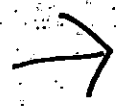
Our society would be less than true to its heritage if it lacked abiding concern for the values of its young people, and we acknowledge the profound belief of adherents to many faiths that there must be a place in the student's life for precepts of a morality higher even than the law we today enforce. We express no hostility to those aspirations, nor would our oath permit us to do so. A relentless and all pervasive attempt to exclude religion from every aspect of public life could itself become inconsistent with the Constitution. We recognize that, at graduation time and throughout the course of the educational process, there will be instances when religious values, religious practices and religious persons will have some interaction with the public schools and their students. But these matters, often questions of accommodation of religion, are not before us. The sole question presented is whether a religious exercise may be conducted at a graduation ceremony in circumstances where, as we have found, young graduates who object are induced to conform.

No holding by this Court suggests that a school can persuade or compel a student to participate in a religious exercise. That is being done here, and it is forbidden by the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment.

Excerpts from the dissenting opinion written by Justice Antonin Scalia and joined by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Byron R. White and Clarence Thomas:

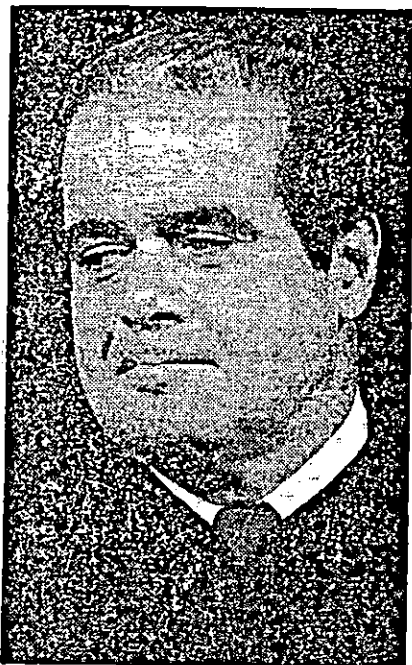
Three terms ago, I joined an opinion recognizing that the Establishment Clause must be construed in light of the "government policies of accommodation, acknowledgment and support for religion that are an accepted part of our political and cultural heritage." That opinion affirmed that "the meaning of the Clause is to be determined by reference to historical practices and understandings." It said that "a test for implementing the protections of the

States Cannot 'Exact Religious Conformity From a Student'



The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992



ANTONIN SCALIA

... argument about coercion is "incoherent"

Establishment Clause that, if applied with consistency, would invalidate longstanding traditions cannot be a proper reading of the Clause."

These views of course prevent me from joining today's opinion, which is conspicuously bereft of any reference to history. In holding that the Establishment Clause prohibits invocations and benedictions at public-school graduation ceremonies, the Court—with nary a mention that it is doing so—lays waste a tradition that is as old as public-school graduation ceremonies themselves, and that is a component of an even more longstanding American tradition of nonsectarian prayer to God at public celebrations generally. . . .

Today's opinion shows more forcefully than volumes of argumentation why our Nation's protection, that fortress which is our Constitution, cannot possibly rest upon the changeable philosophical predilections of the Justices of this Court, but must have deep foundations in the historic practices of our people. . . .

The history and tradition of our Nation are replete with public ceremonies featuring prayers of thanksgiving and petition. . . . In addition to this general tradition of prayer at public ceremonies, there exists a more specific tradition of invocations and benedictions at public-school graduation exercises. . . . The invocation and benediction have long been recognized to be "as traditional as any other parts of the school graduation program and are widely established. . . ."

The Court presumably would separate graduation invocations and benedictions from other instances of public "preservation and transmission of religious beliefs" on the ground that they involve "psychological coercion" . . . The Court's argument that state officials have "coerced" students to take part in the invocation and

benediction at graduation ceremonies is, not to put too fine a point on it, incoherent. . . .

The deeper flaw in the Court's opinion does not lie in its wrong answer to the question whether there was state-induced "peer-pressure" coercion; it lies, rather, in the Court's making violation of the Establishment Clause hinge on such a precious question. The coercion that was a hallmark of historical establishments of religion was coercion of religious orthodoxy and of financial support *by force of law and threat of penalty*. Typically, attendance at the state church was required; only clergy of the official church could lawfully perform sacraments, and dissenters, if tolerated, faced an array of civil disabilities. . . .

The Establishment Clause was adopted to prohibit such an establishment of religion at the federal level (and to protect state establishments of religion from federal interference). . . . There is simply no support for the proposition that the officially sponsored nondenominational invocation and benediction read by Rabbi Guttman—with no one legally coerced to recite them—violated the Constitution of the United States. To the contrary, they are so characteristically American they could have come from the pen of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln himself. . . .

I see no warrant for expanding the concept of coercion beyond acts backed by threat of penalty—a brand of coercion that, happily, is readily discernible to those of us who have made a career of reading the disciples of Blackstone rather than of Freud. . . .

The narrow context of the present case involves a community's celebration of one of the milestones in its young citizens' lives, and it is a bold step for this Court to seek to banish from that occasion, and from thousands of similar celebrations throughout this land, the expression of gratitude to God that a majority of the community wishes to make. The issue before us today is not the abstract philosophical question whether the alternative of frustrating this desire of a religious majority is to be preferred over the alternative of imposing "psychological coercion," or a feeling of exclusion, upon nonbelievers. Rather, the question is *whether a mandatory choice in favor of the former has been imposed by the United States Constitution*. As the age-old practices of our people show, the answer to that question is not at all in doubt. . . .

The Baptist or Catholic who heard and joined in the simple and inspiring prayers of Rabbi Guttman on this official and patriotic occasion was inoculated from religious bigotry and prejudice in a manner that can not be replicated. To deprive our society of that important unifying mechanism, in order to spare the nonbeliever what seems to me the minimal inconvenience of standing or even sitting in respectful nonparticipation, is as senseless in policy as it is unsupported in law.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

High Court Bans Graduation Prayer At Public Schools

A bitterly divided Supreme Court yesterday prohibited officially sponsored prayers at public school graduations, declaring that they coerce youngsters into participating in religious exercises in violation of the Constitution.

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, writing for the 5 to 4 majority, said that even non-sectarian benedictions and invocations—a staple at graduation ceremonies in public school systems nationwide—violate the First Amendment bar against government establishment of religion.

It was the court's first major school prayer ruling since 1985, when it struck down an Alabama law allowing a "moment of silence" in the schools. It also surprised many observers, who thought that a court so dramatically reconstituted by Presidents Reagan and Bush might go the other way, breaking with its historically strict view on this church-state issue.

Two Reagan appointees, Kennedy and Sandra Day O'Connor, were joined in the majority opinion by Bush's first Supreme Court nominee, David H. Souter, and by Justices Harry A. Blackmun and John Paul Stevens.

In a written statement, Bush said he was "very disappointed" by the ruling. "I believe that the court has unnecessarily cast away the venerable and proper American tradition of non-sectarian prayer at public celebrations."

Kennedy said that although attendance at commencement and participation in the prayers may be voluntary, the real-world effect is to force impressionable students into participating in a religious activity.

"The Constitution forbids the state to exact religious conformity from a student as the price of attending her own high school graduation," Kennedy wrote. "This is the calculus the Constitution commands."

Justice Antonin Scalia, in a particularly acerbic dissent joined by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Byron R. White and Clarence Thomas, assailed the majority for a ruling "as senseless in policy as it is unsupported in law."

A somber-sounding Scalia underscored his unhappiness by announcing his dissent from the bench, a tool the justices reserve to signal extreme disagreement. Reading aloud the actual prayer at issue, Scalia said it was "sad that a prayer

COURT, From A1

of this sort is sought to be abolished."

In his written dissent, Scalia said the decision "lays waste a tradition that is as old as public-school graduation ceremonies themselves, and that is a component of an even more longstanding American tradition of non-sectarian prayer to God at public celebrations generally."

The nondenominational benediction and invocation at issue in this case, he said, "are so characteristically American they could have come from the pen of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln himself."

The ruling was applauded by civil liberties groups and some religious organizations that had been braced for a major rewriting of the court's test on separation of church and state cases, which they feared would drastically lower the wall of separation between government and religion.

"It's terrific," said Steven Shapiro of the American Civil Liberties Union, which represented the Rhode Island family that challenged the commencement prayer.

"It should end any lingering debate about prayer in school, which a majority of the court has clearly and strongly held once again is unconstitutional," Shapiro said. "Given this court and given its drift in religion cases this is really an important restatement of core principles about the importance of separation between church and state."

Conservative groups and other religious organizations that thought they could count on a win from the solidified conservative majority on the high court expressed feelings of anger and betrayal yesterday.

Charles J. Cooper, the lawyer for the Providence, R.I., school board defending the prayer, said the ruling was "extremely disappointing," adding, "I would even presume to speak for the great majority of the American people. A tradition over a century and a half old in its duration and extremely widespread throughout the country will come to a halt because the Supreme Court has discovered that our founding fathers prohibited that tradition."

"This is constitutional psycho-babble at its worst," said Thomas L.

Jipping of the Free Congress Foundation.

"Of the five new justices added to the court by Presidents Reagan and Bush, three joined in today's travesty," said Family Research Council President Gary Bauer. "At that rate, one has to wonder why liberal interest groups bother fighting Republican nominees to the court. Why not just support them and watch them 'grow'?"

Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr, who on behalf of the administration had urged the court to allow the prayer, said he was "disappointed" and "surprised" by the court's "willingness to strike down a well-settled traditional and historical practice."

However, Starr said he did not interpret the opinion as placing an absolute barrier to prayer at school graduation ceremonies, suggesting that student-initiated prayers, unsupervised by school officials, might be permissible.

The court is expected to complete its term in the next few days. Six cases remain, including the Pennsylvania abortion case and a closely watched college desegregation case from Mississippi. The justices are scheduled to issue opinions Friday and spokeswoman Toni House said there are "strong indications" the court will sit Monday as well.

Church-state relations are an area of the law in which the court has been closely divided in recent years. A majority of the justices, including Kennedy and O'Connor, had expressed unhappiness with the test the court had used since 1971 to judge when government involvement with religion ran afoul of the Constitution.

Many observers had anticipated that the high court, prodded by the Bush administration and others, might use yesterday's case, *Lee v. Weisman*, to make a major change in the law. Instead, led by Kennedy, the court explicitly rebuffed the invitation to do so.

The case involved a challenge to the Providence, R.I., public schools' practice of having a clergyman deliver an invocation and benediction at junior high and high school graduation ceremonies.

At the June 1989 graduation from Nathan Bishop Middle School,

See COURT, A26, Col. 1

■ Additional court stories and text of prayer decision. Pages A25, A26

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992



KENNETH W. STARR
... "surprised" and "disappointed"



DAVID H. SOUTER
... first decision on school prayer

THE CONTESTED PRAYER

The benediction delivered by Rabbi Leslie Gutterman at the Nathan Bishop Middle School, Providence, R.I., graduation in June 1989:

O God, we are grateful to You for having endowed us with the capacity for learning which we have celebrated on this joyous commencement.

Happy families give thanks for seeing Your children achieve an important milestone. Send Your blessings upon the teachers and administrators who helped prepare them.

The graduates now need strength and guidance for the future; help them to understand that we are not complete with academic knowledge alone. We must each strive to fulfill what You require of us all: to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly.

We give thanks to You, Lord, for keeping us alive, sustaining us and allowing us to reach this special, happy occasion. Amen.

Rabbi Leslie Gutterman delivered a non-sectarian invocation and benediction that referred to God. Daniel Weisman, whose daughter Deborah was among the graduates, filed a lawsuit in federal court, contending that the inclusion of the prayers violated the First Amendment. At an elder daughter's graduation, the Weismans, who are Jewish, had heard a minister invoke Jesus Christ in his prayer.

The lower federal courts agreed

with the Weismans, saying that the prayer violated the existing three-part test the courts have used to judge separation of church and state cases.

That test, known as the Lemon test after the court's 1971 ruling in *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, states that to comply with the First Amendment, a challenged practice must have a secular purpose, a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion, and not foster "excessive

government entanglement with religion."

The Bush administration, entering the case on the side of the Providence school board, urged the court to get rid of the test, which has resulted in numerous rulings barring various religious activities. The administration said it was unworkable and should be replaced with a more lenient standard: allowing "civic acknowledgments of religion in public life ... as long as they neither threaten the establishment of an official religion nor coerce participation in religious activities."

Kennedy, who has suggested such a coercion test, said the prayer at issue went too far under that or any other test. "It is beyond dispute that, at a minimum, the government may not coerce anyone to support or participate in religion or its exercise ...," he said.

"The undeniable fact is that the school district's supervision and control of a high school graduation ceremony places public pressure, as well as peer pressure, on attending students to stand as a group or, at least, maintain respectful silence during the invocation and benediction," he said. "This pressure, though subtle and indirect, can be as real as any overt compulsion."

Scalia derided this approach as "the court's psycho-journey" and "psychology practiced by amateurs" and said the court was treating religion as "some purely personal avocation that can be indulged in entirely in secret, like pornography, in the privacy of one's room."

He said the majority was worrying too much about the Weismans' concerns and too little about the community's interest in public proclamation of its faith in God, something that Scalia said had marked

American public life since Washington's first inaugural address.

The case "involves the community's celebration of one of the milestones in its young citizens' lives, and it is a bold step for this court to seek to banish from that occasion, and from thousands of similar celebrations throughout this land, the expression of gratitude to God that a majority of the community wished to make."

The case was noteworthy because it marked the first votes by Souter and Thomas on the subject. Thomas, who stated several times at his confirmation hearings last year that he had "no quarrel" with the Lemon test, joined Scalia's effort to replace it.

Souter, in a separate concurring opinion, joined with O'Connor, who wants a standard of constitutionality that is similar to the existing one: whether the government's action endorses religion. In fact, although they joined Kennedy's opinion, the four other justices in the majority made clear that they believe government action that endorses religion, as well as government action that coerces participation in it, violates the Constitution.

Some observers who were cheered by the ruling expressed concern that Kennedy might join with the four dissenters to allow more government involvement with religion outside the school context—for example, in cases challenging official displays of creches and other Christmas symbols.

Kennedy "appeared to leave a back door open to a weaker standard, particularly outside the public school setting," said Elliot Mincberg, legal director of the liberal People for the American Way.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Changes Await Most School Ceremonies

Prayer Ban Still Ambiguous, Attorneys Say

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court ruling yesterday that prayer at public school graduations is unconstitutional may alter most school ceremonies attended by the nation's 40 million public school children.

Although no official count is available on how many public school graduations include a benediction or invocation, national education officials said they believe that the majority maintain the tradition as old as the nation's first schoolhouse.

Also, the National School Board Association (NSBA) found in a recent informal survey that 14 of 21

*"I don't think ...
most students ...
think they are being
coerced into taking
part in a religious
service."*

—Bradley P. Jacob, executive director,
Christian Legal Society

major school districts included some type of prayer, almost always nonsectarian, by a student or minister at graduation.

Reaction to yesterday's ruling was almost as split as the court's 5 to 4 decision.

"We are very happy about this," said Gwendolyn H. Gregory, the NSBA counsel. "Frankly, the religious wars, the fight between those who want prayer in school and those who don't, is as bad as having schools told they can't do what they want."

But others said ceremonial prayers, like those that open a session of Congress or a presidential inauguration, were an American tradition worth keeping.

"The bad news is that prayer at public school graduation is pretty much outlawed as of today," said Bradley P. Jacob, executive director of the Christian Legal Society. "I don't think, that if a rabbi utters a short prayer that mentions God, that most students in their heart of hearts

think they are being coerced into taking part in a religious service."

Jacob said he was grateful that the ruling did not go further by outlawing all prayer in public school settings. Since a 1962 Supreme Court decision, teacher-led classroom prayer has been unconstitutional, but individuals or groups of students may pray on their own.

"A student club can still study the Bible or Torah or Koran," Jacob said. "What is outlawed is government-led prayer."

Still ambiguous, several school-system attorneys said, is whether mention of God or any type of nondenominational prayer is unconstitutional at all public school ceremonies.

Given the reasoning in the high court's majority opinion yesterday, several attorneys said they expected that prayer would be banned at any school activity for which students felt pressure or coercion to attend. The Supreme Court ruling came in a case brought by a father challenging a nondenominational benediction at his daughter's Rhode Island junior high graduation.

Locally and nationally, school officials said graduation ceremonies next year would be markedly different from those in recent weeks.

In Fairfax County, complaints were received this year about baccalaureate services held for 22 of the 23 county high schools. These ceremonies, frequently in churches, were held separately from the official graduation ceremony and were voluntary and nondenominational in content.

Still, according to school spokeswoman Dolores Bohen, "There were complaints from parents and students." As a result, next year the school system will not include the announcement card describing baccalaureate services in a student's graduation packet, but it will be available upon request.

But yesterday's ruling may make baccalaureate ceremonies illegal, several attorneys said. Bohen said Fairfax County schools would re-examine the legality of the services.

In Montgomery County, invocations and benedictions have been discouraged for years but still occur at graduations.

"The chief guideline has been that prayer must be nonsectarian

and cannot mention any specific religion or deity, like Jesus Christ or Allah," said Kevin Gunning, a school spokesman.

In the District, the decision to offer prayer during graduation is left to individual schools. School spokeswoman Cheryl Johnson said that, while she did not know how many

schools included prayer in such ceremonies, some did.

"In light of the Supreme Court decision, the school system will be sending out a reminder and reiteration," Johnson said, "that personnel will be required to refrain from saying prayer at school ceremonies, graduation or otherwise."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Daniel and Deborah Weisman, whose case resulted in yesterday's ruling.

Major cases on separation of church and state

- *Everson v. Board of Education of Ewing*. 1947. A public school may provide transportation to students to and from private sectarian schools.
- *Zorach v. Clauson*. 1952. A public school may provide release time for students to attend religious classes off premises.
- *Engel v. Vitale*. 1962. Recitation of state-composed prayer in public school classrooms is unconstitutional.
- *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp*. 1963. Bible reading and prayer in public school classrooms is unconstitutional.
- *Epperson v. Arkansas*. 1968. Law barring teaching of evolution is unconstitutional.
- *Lemon v. Kurtzman*. 1971. Three-part test for separation of church and state cases. Government action: (1) must have secular purpose; (2) must neither advance nor inhibit religion; and (3) must not result in excessive entanglement of government in religion.
In this case, Rhode Island law providing salary supplements to religious school teachers for secular subjects and reimbursements for salaries and instructional materials for such subjects is unconstitutional.
- *Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty v. Nyquist*. 1973. New York law providing maintenance and repair grants to religious schools and tuition reimbursement grants and tax benefits to parents with children attending religious schools is unconstitutional.
- *Stone v. Graham*. 1980. Kentucky law requiring posting of Ten Commandments in all public school classrooms is unconstitutional.
- *Widmar v. Vincent*. 1981. College that allows other student groups cannot refuse permission for members of religious club to meet. An "equal access" policy is constitutional because it does not have the primary effect of establishing religion.
- *Wallace v. Jaffree*. 1985. Alabama's moment-of-silence statute violates Constitution because it was passed with the intent of bringing back prayer to the public schools.
- *Edwards v. Aguillard*. 1987. Alabama statute requiring that teaching of evolution be balanced by teaching of "creation science" ruled unconstitutional because it did not have a secular purpose.
- *Board of Education of Westside Community School v. Mergens*. 1990. Federal Equal Access Act, requiring that high schools give equal access to student religious groups, is constitutional.
- *Lee v. Weisman*, 1992. Prayer at high school graduation ceremony is unconstitutional.

SOURCE: National School Boards Association.

The Washington Post

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8 Years Before Trial Too Long, Court Says *Conviction of Virginia Man Thrown Out*

Associated Press

The Supreme Court ruled yesterday that the government may not wait more than eight years to try an indicted criminal defendant, even if the delay results from negligence rather than deliberate procrastination.

Voting 5 to 4, the justices threw out the conviction of a Virginia man brought to trial on federal drug charges some 8½ years after he was indicted.

Justice David H. Souter, writing for the court in *Doggett v. U.S.*, said such a long delay violates the rights of a defendant who has not agreed to the postponement and is likely to find it more difficult to defend himself.

"When the government's negligence thus causes delay six times as long as that generally sufficient to trigger judicial review," he said, the defendant generally is entitled to relief.

Souter was joined by Justices Byron R. White, Harry A. Blackmun, John Paul Stevens and Anthony M. Kennedy.

Dissenting were Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Clarence Thomas and Antonin Scalia.

In a separate dissent joined by Rehnquist and Scalia, Thomas said the ruling improperly presumes a defendant will be hurt by long delays. "The court positively invites the nation's judges to indulge in . . . second-guessing of the government's investigatory efforts," he said.

The court said federal authorities violated the speedy trial rights of Marc Gilbert Doggett of Reston. Doggett was indicted in February 1980 in Jacksonville, Fla., on charges he conspired to distribute cocaine.

When federal agents went the next month to his parents' home in Raleigh, N.C., to arrest him, they were told by his mother that he had left for Colombia.

There was no evidence Doggett was aware he had been indicted or left the country to escape prosecution. Doggett sometime later went to Panama, where he was arrested on a cocaine charge. He was freed from prison in Panama in July 1982 and returned to the United States.

In September 1988, federal agents arrested Doggett after a computer check of outstanding warrants turned up his name. He was convicted, fined \$1,000 and placed on three years' probation.

The 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals last year upheld his conviction, while noting that Doggett has led "a normal, productive and law-abiding life" since his return to the United States.

In another decision, the court said the fee-shifting provisions of two federal laws, the Solid Waste Disposal Act and the Clean Water Act, do not allow increased attorney-fee awards for lawyers who worked on a contingency basis.

"Enhancement for contingency is not permitted under the fee-shifting statutes at issue," Scalia wrote for the court as it overturned a federal appeals court ruling that had allowed what amounted to a 25 percent bonus for lawyers who sued the city of Burlington, Vt.

The suits were filed in behalf of property owners who accused the city of violating the two federal anti-pollution laws.

The city-run garbage dump was shut down in 1990, five years after the city was sued successfully by property owners who said waste leaking from the landfill was damaging the environment and their property.

The dump produced methane gas and hazardous waste that illegally polluted a marsh called Intervale. The 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals last year upheld a federal judge's order forcing the city to pay the property owners' lawyers \$247,000 in fees.

Twenty-five percent of that award—over \$49,000—was a bonus reflecting the contingency-basis arrangement the property owners had with their lawyers.

The lower court awarded the bonus on the grounds that "absent an opportunity for enhancement" of the fee, the plaintiffs "would have faced substantial difficulty in obtaining" capable counsel.

Yesterday's decision in *Burlington v. Dague* struck down the \$49,000 enhancement. Blackmun, Stevens and O'Connor dissented.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Iraq Lags on Renewal of U.N. Accord

By Trevor Rowe
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, June 24—A new dispute has broken out between the Security Council and Iraq, this time over Baghdad's failure to indicate if it will renew an agreement permitting 1,100 U.N. personnel to remain in that country.

Diplomats say Iraq appears to be using the agreement, which expires June 30, as a bargaining chip to gain concessions in talks aimed at allowing sale of \$1.6 billion in Iraqi oil to pay for humanitarian relief operations there.

The oil money would also be used to pay for the 500 U.N. guards and the 600 humanitarian personnel whose costs so far have been borne by the cash-strapped world body and loans from member countries. However, Baghdad has objected to proposed mechanisms to monitor the oil sales and humanitarian relief operations, arguing they are too intrusive and violate Iraqi sovereignty.

Western diplomats say that if Iraq fails to renew the agreement it will place the U.N. team there in a

legal void and expose it to possible arbitrary treatment by Baghdad. They also say it will plunge Iraq into a new confrontation with Western countries.

But for the moment, diplomats say there is no clear evidence of that. One Western official said he was inclined to be optimistic and U.N. spokesman Francois Giuliani told reporters that many of the technical aspects of the proposed oil sale had been resolved "but not all."

Following the latest round of oil talks in Vienna, Iraqi Ambassador Abdul Amir Anbari traveled to Baghdad for consultations. He told the Associated Press in Amman, Jordan, today that it was premature to predict a deal on oil, adding that "there are many issues that remained outstanding."

Some diplomats say that by setting the stage for a possible confrontation on the issue of renewing the mandate for U.N. personnel, Baghdad may also be trying to divert attention from an impending deal on oil. They note that in the past, Iraqi flexibility has often been accompanied by confrontational displays.

Diplomats note initial indications

that Baghdad has fallen short of council demands that it supply a "full, final and complete disclosure" of its chemical, biological, nuclear and ballistic weapons programs.

Earlier this month, Baghdad handed over a 300-page document. A U.N. official said a preliminary reading indicated that while Iraq had provided some new information, much was omitted. "It's unlikely to satisfy us," the official said, adding that not only did Iraq fail to provide information on foreign suppliers of weapons and components, but it also failed to itemize the number of ballistic missiles it had used.

Also lacking was an accounting of chemical weapons either used or tested. Once the U.N. Special Commission digests the report, it is expected to request anew a full accounting. Baghdad's failure to comply could again spark confrontation with the council.

"We need a coherent picture of the development of their programs, not just a series of pieces of a jigsaw," the official said. The proposed oil sale would also go toward paying the costs of the U.N. Special Commission.

New NATO Chief Says Balkan Role Is Possible

By Steve Vogel
Special to The Washington Post

MONS, Belgium, June 24—The new commander of NATO, U.S. Gen. John Shalikashvili, cautioned today that if the alliance sends peace-keeping troops to the former Yugoslavia, it may be forced to use them in combat.

Despite that sober assessment, Shalikashvili and his predecessor, U.S. Gen. John Galvin, said at a press conference here that a NATO mis-

sion to the Balkans was plausible. "There will be the possibility of some involvement there," said Galvin, adding that NATO forces would be "uniquely ready" for such a mission.

Shalikashvili, who commanded the U.S.-led relief operation in northern Iraq after the Persian Gulf War, said that because of the complexities of the bloody ethnic strife in the Balkans, what might begin as a peace-keeping mission could deteriorate into a combat situation.

"At any moment, you might have to extend" the NATO role "into a conflict resolution," Shalikashvili said.

Galvin warned, however, that a NATO peace-keeping mission could fail and that "you may even have to extract the force."

But he described a NATO peace-keeping role as "our moment of great chance," offering the opportunity to "stabilize this part of the world—not only the alliance, but Central and Eastern Europe."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Improved U.S.-Israeli Ties Seen

Administration Says Rabin Victory Should Aid Mideast Peace Process

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bush administration officials said yesterday that the election victory of the Labor Party in Israel should ease the strained relationship with the United States and notably improve chances for early progress in the Middle East peace process.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III said he hopes the next round of the Mideast talks will take place "just as soon as it is conveniently possible" after the formation of a new Israeli government. Baker and other officials declined all public comment on the new regime until it is officially formed, but privately officials made no secret of their expectation that a Labor government headed by Yitzhak Rabin—who opposes "political" settlements in Israeli-occupied territories—will bring a welcome new spirit as well as a new policy to relations with Washington.

While not the only stumbling block, the settlements issue had become the most visible impasse in the Arab-Israeli talks. The Bush administration has opposed the building of new Israeli housing on the Arab occupied land, primarily on the West Bank.

"The odds for progress in the peace talks have gone up measurably" as a result of the the replacement of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his rightist government, said a senior administration official.

Several official and unofficial observers said prospects appear good for relatively quick settlement of a dispute over \$10 billion in proposed

U.S. housing loan guarantees to help resettle hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

Such an accord by this fall would be politically helpful to President Bush with Jewish voters. In a three-way race with Democratic candidate Bill Clinton and independent Ross Perot, a rise in Bush's standing with Jewish voters could be a major factor in New York and perhaps other important states. Clinton yesterday congratulated Israelis on the election results, and renewed his criticism of Bush's dealings with the Jewish state.

An administration official said there is no likelihood Rabin will be invited to visit the White House until he forms a government, which is expected by midsummer, but he did not rule out a meeting with Bush soon after Rabin takes over officially. The official suggested there is some possibility that a first-stage agreement in the peace process—an accord on Palestinian autonomy in the occupied territories—might be completed before November.

Assistant Secretary of State Edward Djerjian said that "the [U.S.] loan guarantee proposal is very much still on the table." Djerjian testified yesterday before the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East that the administration hopes to find ways to provide the guarantees consistent with longstanding U.S. policy against financing Jewish settlements in occupied Arab lands.

Washington attorney Alfred H.

Moses, president of the American Jewish Committee, said "the vast majority" of American Jews are more comfortable with the Labor Party's policies on settlements and the peace process than with those of Shamir and his Likud bloc, and therefore will welcome the change in Israel. Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, which has been openly critical of the Shamir government, said "a lot of people in the Jewish community are traumatized now that yesterday's heresies will become tomorrow's orthodoxy," especially on peace issues.

Both official and unofficial observers described Rabin as a tough negotiator in his past dealings with the United States and said it is unlikely that Washington and Jerusalem will agree on all issues. Nevertheless, they said Rabin is much more likely to forge a workable accommodation with the United States, especially on Mideast peace issues, than the more ideological Shamir.

Rabin's victory could do much to "unfreeze" positions on both sides in the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations in ways that assist the United States to advance the negotiations, according to Richard W. Murphy, who was assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs in the Reagan administration. A major pitfall, said Murphy, is the possibility of unrealistic assumptions on the Arab side. "After a long, dry walk in the desert they may think there is a tropical rain forest, which is not the case," Murphy said.

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From Site of Cold War Squabble To Home of Siberian Modern

Ex-Soviet Radar Base to Become Furniture Factory

By Margaret Shapiro
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, June 24—In a sign of how much the world has changed, a bristling Soviet-era radar station long denounced by the United States as violating an arms control treaty is about to become a furniture factory.

The Krasnoyarsk radar station in Siberia has been mostly dismantled, and local authorities are awaiting official approval from Moscow and Washington to begin converting the site to a purpose more useful for today's hard-pressed Russians.

"We haven't decided what kind of furniture yet. We are still just drawing blueprints," said Nikolai Baranov, a top official with the Krasnoyarsk regional government. "But I support the idea of producing consumer goods, things people really need."

The Krasnoyarsk phased-array radar station for years was a point of bitter contention between the United States and the Soviet Union. Reagan administration officials detected the site in 1983. They charged that the facility in the heart of eastern Siberia violated the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, which permitted early warning systems only on the country's periphery.

The Soviet government denied any violation, saying the facility was a satellite monitoring station.

But in 1987 Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev ordered construction halted and allowed Westerners to inspect the site. A year later the Kremlin announced it was transferring Krasnoyarsk to the Soviet Academy of Sciences for conversion into an international center of space research, a decision the U.S. government attacked as a ruse.

In 1989, the Soviet Union announced it would raze the facility after Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze admitted it violated the ABM treaty. His decision clearly was not entirely popular among the Soviet military leadership.

Since then, however, the Soviet Union has vanished, Gorbachev has been pushed from office, Shevardnadze is running Georgia and the once-mighty military-industrial complex is almost as bankrupt as the rest of the economy. Russia and the United States, meanwhile, have become "partners."

In this context, regional authorities decided to move in and, like local governments throughout the country, grab a facility that could be lucrative in the new era of markets and consumers. Furniture is extremely hard to come by here and, given the huge forests of the Krasnoyarsk region, a furniture plant seemed a good idea, Baranov said.

According to Baranov, Krasnoyarsk regional officials proposed the furniture factory to Moscow a few months ago. In April, they got a letter from the Russian Foreign Ministry

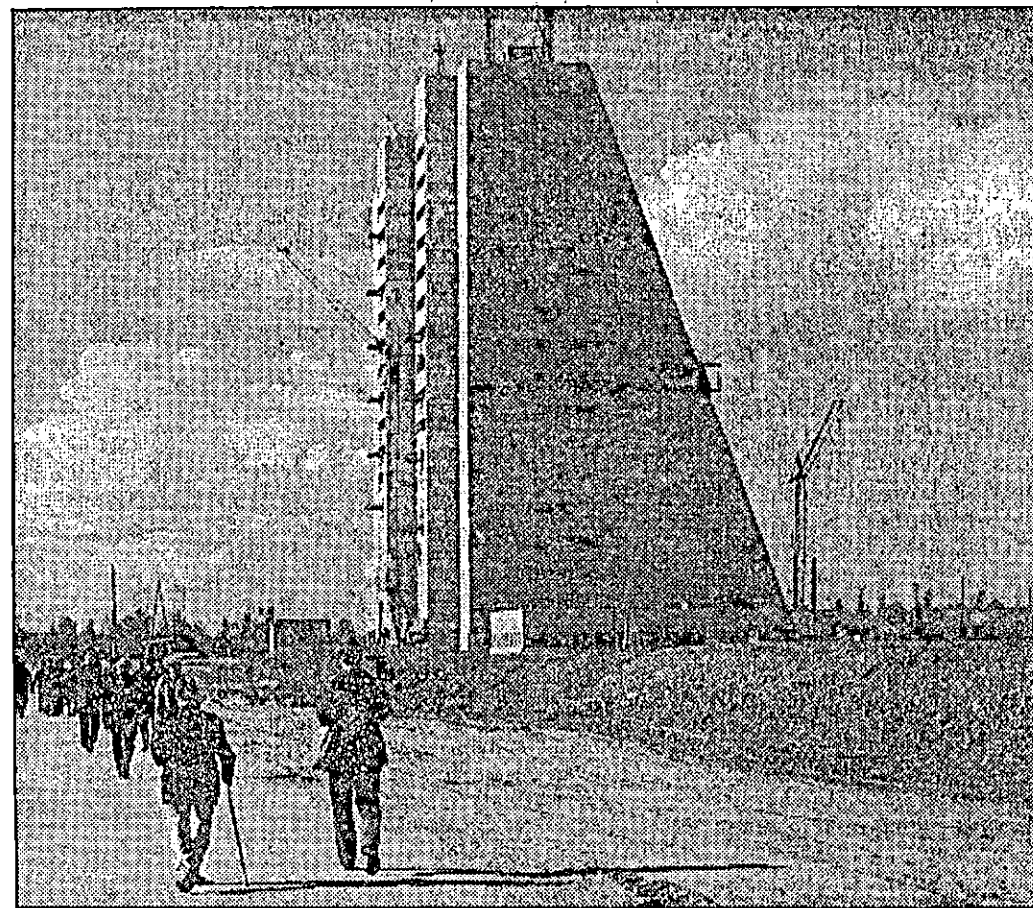


Photo taken by Rep. Bob Carr (D-Mich.) shows U.S. delegation at Krasnoyarsk radar site in 1987.

saying it was trying to clear the idea with Washington. Since the dismantling was being done under the terms of the ABM treaty, a decision to save what is left of the buildings for a furniture factory needed U.S. approval.

The news agency Interfax reported this week that acting Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar already has signed a directive to allow the furniture factory at the radar

site. To assuage U.S. concerns about not destroying the building completely, the Americans will be able to inspect the site thoroughly, Interfax wrote.

Baranov said he hopes the government will give the go-ahead soon. In the meantime, he and other officials are drawing up their plans and, like good capitalists, trying to figure out what sorts of furniture will sell best.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

JACK ANDERSON and MICHAEL BINSTEN

Busting the Male Bastion of the Hill

A sequel to the smash comedy film "Tootsie"—the story of a down-on-his-luck actor who masquerades as a woman to win a big job—could be in the making with a Washington twist: An incumbent congressman, in deep political trouble with voters and fighting desperately to keep his job, takes to dressing in drag. Far-fetched?

Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) told us that the sentiment, if not the script, is very real in an election year in which women are wooing large numbers of voters bent on busting the male bastion that is the U.S. Congress.

"I literally had one male colleague in the House say to me that this was the first time in his life he wished he were a woman," Schroeder recalls. "It was very funny and it was said very sincerely."

Schroeder is one of many politicians predicting that what has been hailed as the Year of the Woman will usher in a bumper crop of new faces, new attitudes and new agendas. If more women are elected, she says, there could be a veritable coup that changes everything from bathrooms to the smoke-filled back rooms. Currently, the one bathroom near the House floor is a male bathroom, and the women have a long trek to reach one. The same applies on the Senate side.

"They [male House members] should enjoy it now because we're going to take it next year. [Those] guys get to walk," Schroeder says.

Most of the changes Schroeder foresees are of a more substantive nature, such as a heavy focus on quality of life, health and family issues. No more "jockocracy," says Schroeder, who adds, "You have to read the sports pages or you can't talk to them [male colleagues]."

Twenty-eight states have no women in Congress, including Texas and Pennsylvania. Now there are only two female senators (one Democrat and one Republican) and 28 congresswomen (19 Democrats and nine Republicans).

But times are changing rapidly. In the recent California primary, 19 women won nominations for the House. Nationwide, there are 17 female Senate candidates and 141 women running for House seats.

Theories abound that attempt to explain the female insurgency that is taking place across the country. But the Clarence Thomas hearings last fall, which showcased the all-male Senate Judiciary

Committee appearing to bully Anita F. Hill, was a spectacle many women found inciting.

Already, one incumbent senator, Alan J. Dixon (D-Ill.) has been defeated by the poorly funded Carol Moseley Braun, in part because of his vote confirming Thomas to be a Supreme Court justice.

Nothing illustrates the uphill climb for women better than the behind-the-scenes story of Life magazine's June cover story, titled "If Women Ran America." Life asked 98 women and two men to assemble on the Capitol steps to show what the Senate would look like if its male/female proportions were reversed. By imposing a rigorous appearance test upon the women who posed, Life seemed to make a point inadvertently about stereotyping. Several women were pulled, according to participants we interviewed, because they looked too young or because of their hair style or dress. One woman had to hide behind others in the photo because she was wearing pants.

A spokeswoman for the magazine told our associate Ed Henry that "we were looking for women that looked the part of a senator."

After November, Schroeder and others are threatening to smash these and other stereotypes.

Former House speaker "Tip" O'Neill used to refer to Social Security as the "third rail" in American politics: Touch it and you're dead. During a recent "Today" show interview, political daredevil Ross Perot suggested that rich older Americans should voluntarily refuse Social Security benefits.

We called the Social Security Administration to check on how many eligible recipients now feel they are rich enough. During the 1991 fiscal year, the Social Security Administration dispensed \$280 billion. Only \$230,000 in benefits were returned with a thanks-but-no-thanks note.

"It's silly to think that you can save a lot of money by having people voluntarily return their Social Security checks," said one Social Security Administration official. "Our belief is that to put a means test on it would just make people feel guilty."

Actually, most recipients feel more entitled than guilty. A staff member on the House Select Committee on Aging explained that even constituents who make more than \$100,000 phone his office to complain about being shortchanged on benefits.

The Washington Post

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Health Care Coverage Gaps Widespread

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

Over any two-year period, at least a quarter of the population goes without health insurance for one or more months, the Census Bureau reported yesterday.

The bureau found that during 28 months starting in 1987, more than 61 million Americans, or 26.5 percent of the population, were without health insurance of any type for at least one month. Some Americans lacked it throughout the study period, others for several months or a year or more, others for only a month or two.

The consequences of losing health insurance protection has become a matter of deep public concern, according to surveys. Loss of medical coverage has been catastrophic for many families.

For example, in 1986, the family of Robin and Christopher Gunning of Columbus, Ohio, enjoyed an income of \$50,000 and health insurance provided through the workplace.

But both lost their jobs, and they were without health insurance for more than half of 1987. During that period, Robin Gunning said in an interview yesterday, they had no coverage for day-to-day health care for themselves or their children, and no insurance for a cyst condition in her lungs that required huge expenditures.

During that period, for all medical care including the cysts, they paid \$10,000 out of pocket, part of which was their life savings, and incurred medical debts of \$90,000, eventually losing their home and falling into bankruptcy.

Christopher Gunning has since found a new job that does have insurance. But the half year they were uncovered was a devastating period for them, Robin Gunning said. "We'd given up hope. This can happen to anybody," she said in the telephone interview, which was arranged with the assistance of the advocacy group Families USA.

The Census Bureau figures indicate that lack of health insurance, the subject of legislation proposed by the White House and members of Congress, may be a wider problem than generally thought.

Coverage statistics are usually reported on the basis of surveys of a given month during a year. Such surveys show about 13 percent of the population without insurance in any given month.

But in the survey reported yesterday, the Census Bureau used a different methodology. It checked a large sample group at intervals over 28 months, and that produced the finding that many people who normally have insurance suffer substantial breaches in coverage that leave them unprotected for long periods.

An earlier bureau survey, cover-

ing 28 months in the middle-1980s, also showed that about a quarter of the population did not have continuous health insurance coverage over that period. The survey released yesterday confirmed the earlier finding.

The absence of coverage is often the result of working at a job where there is no health insurance, of unemployment, or of changes in family composition. In a divorce, for example, a non-working woman may lose the health insurance formerly provided by her husband's policy and find herself unable to obtain a policy.

The Washington Post

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Charles and Di, For Better or Worse

Okay, so the big—and we mean *really big*—remaining question about the very public life of the Prince and Princess is whether Ms. Di stays in her loveless marriage, splits from The Dweeb, or settles into some sort of bizarre royal limbo.

Andrew Morton, chronicler of the much-talked-about "Diana: Her True Story," votes for the last:

"I can see some kind of resolution where everyone agrees that she stays in the royal family but they lead separate lives," the Brit author told us here yesterday. "I think she'd like to end her deceitful existence but at the same time maintain her status in the royal world."

Diana would have her own home (and, yes, love life) under Morton's scenario, which would leave plenty of time for Charles to spend with "confidante" Camilla Parker-Bowles ("Gladys" to him), the third leg in this "eternal triangle."

Morton, 38, speaks with the confidence of someone who beat the insatiable British tabs to the hottest palace ripper of the summer—the breathless and sympathetic story of Diana's marital woes, suicide attempts and bulimia. Tuesday, he inked a deal with NBC for the miniseries, to be made just in time for sweeps next May.

Morton admits the princess isn't perfect—"volatile, easily depressed and can be self-obsessed." But he makes no



Andrew Morton and Diana, his sympathetic subject.



pretenses about journalistic objectivity: The prince isn't his cup of tea.

Morton says he didn't talk to Diana directly, but he's vague on whether all his revealing details about Di from intimates were given with her blessing. "I have a few royal Deep Throats," he says.

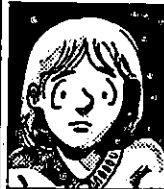
As for happy endings—forget it. "If she divorces, and wants to remarry, she'll lose her title and her children. If Charles divorces, he'll have to give up the throne. So even though they're not linked emotionally . . . they'll never be free of one another. They're linked together forever." Good news for Fleet Street.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The Debate / Is USA Today a newspaper?



BARBARA DOOPSTEIN
Actress/Chanteuse
Los Angeles, Calif.

Yes, it costs 50¢, which is what a lot of newspapers go for these days.



MARK SLACKMEYER
Radio Personality
Washington, D.C.

Is the Pope Catholic? Isn't Angle Dickinson a star? Don't you love everything Sinatra's ever recorded? Is Larry King a columnist?



ZONKER HARRIS
Socialite
New York, New York

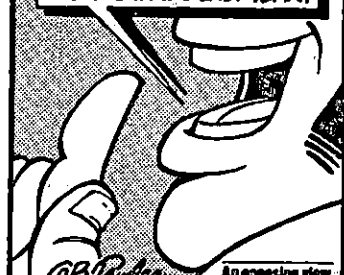
Of course not. But I think they're still protected by the First Amendment.



DAISY DOONESBURY
Farmer
Tulsa, Okla.

I'm not sure. That bus came through and left one of those blue boxes, but Henry ran over it with the tractor.

CONCLUSION? A RECORD
84% OF US HAVE OPINIONS.
69% KNOW SOMEONE WHO'S
HAD ONE IN THE LAST YEAR!



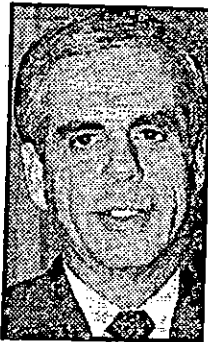
ACROSS THE USA: THE LONG AND SHORT OF IT

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT

■ Guests RSVPing for the Saturday nuptials of Doro LeBlond and Bobby Koch are being asked by the White House to arrive a bit early for the Camp David ceremony, allowing time for a tour and security shakedown. And while it appears that Dan and Marilyn Quayle didn't make the final 130-guest cut, Sam and Honey Skinner, Tony and Phyllis Coelho, local real estate bigwig Pat Dixson and matchmaker Heidi Hicks are among those non-family members who did. Koch's longtime boss, Dick Gephardt, declined due to a prior commitment.



Tony Coelho made the cut.

■ Bad-boy rockers Guns N'Roses canceled a Brussels tour date last night because bass guitarist Duff McKagan is suffering from stomach and respiratory ailments and under doctor's orders to take a couple of days off. Next stop on the tour—Turin, Italy, on Saturday.

■ Sen. Terry Sanford is in good condition at Duke University Medical Center in Durham, N.C., after being admitted for an infection of a heart valve.

■ Radio-talk guru Larry King's divorce from WTOP has turned out messier than expected. King's late-night show—syndicated by Mutual Broadcasting—was scheduled to be moved from TOP to WWRC next week. But TOP, King's home for 14 years, jumped the gun and dropped the show Tuesday night without notice. King speculates that TOP feared he would start promoting his relocation on air. "It could have been done a little nicer," he said. WRC hastily picked up the program last night.

■ Marion Barry is breathing easier today. Estranged wife Effi tells next month's Ebony that she'll not write a "kiss and tell" book.



Effi Barry won't tell.

■ Dennis Barrie, the Cincinnati arts center director who was acquitted in 1990 of obscenity charges for displaying controversial Robert Mapplethorpe photographs, has resigned after a budget dispute with trustees.

Deejay Raises Ire By Using Racial Slur

■ Listeners of WWRC radio, as well as local officials of the NAACP, were taken aback Tuesday afternoon when host Mark Davis referred to radio announcers as the "niggers of the media."

"That's why television and print people are considered so bright," Davis continued,

WWRC AM 980

Your Talk Station ... Don't Miss A Word!
Washington, D.C.

"so lofty, and why radio guys enjoy that, that abysmal point on the totem pole."

Station manager Alan Goodman called the use of the word a "misfortune" and acknowledged that it was inappropriate. He also said if he thought Davis had meant it as a racial slur he "would have pulled him out of the control room by his tie."

The incident prompted a call from Robert Williams, an official of the D.C. NAACP, who claims the station has a history of "bashing blacks." Goodman agreed to meet with NAACP officials as well as other black community leaders next week. Meantime, Davis offered a lengthy ad-libbed explanation on his show yesterday about how some listeners just didn't know him and concluded with: "What matters is that if people misunderstood it ... and if people were hurt ... and offended by it, that is something that I regret deeply."

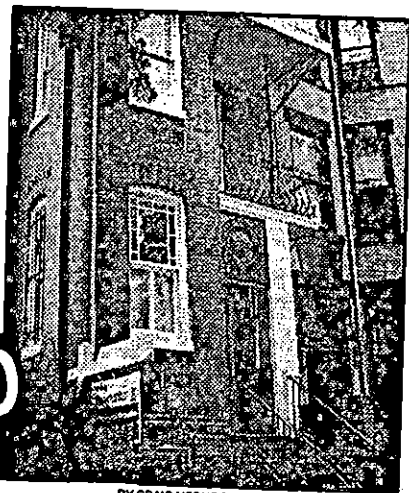
Williams's response: "That was no apology. That was a lukewarm, self-serving statement—as if he were putting the blame on the listeners. We're going to demand that he be fired."

The Party Next Door

■ How civil! Florida's two U.S. senators, Connie Mack, the Republican, and Bob Graham, the Democrat, will soon be Capitol Hill neighbors. In fact, Graham's daughter Gwen and her husband, Mark Logan, sold their Third Street NE town house around the corner from Dad to Mack and his wife, Priscilla, for a tad more than \$200,000.

We certainly like to see bipartisan cooperation in efforts to keep the economy humming.

SOLD



BY CRAIG HERNDON—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

NEA's Quick Fix For L.A.

Critics Call Grant Politically Motivated

By Kim Masters
Washington Post Staff Writer

How will the National Endowment for the Arts help rebuild south-central Los Angeles, site of the worst urban riots this century?

With graduate students from UCLA's School of Architecture and Urban Design. For \$70,000. In three to six months.

That's not much money or time to redesign a community that needs half a billion dollars just to rebuild the ghetto that existed before south-central went up in flames. So concluded five urban-design experts asked by the NEA to evaluate the UCLA plan. They rejected the proposal unanimously, finding it hasty, half-baked, underfunded and "patronizing," according to a member of that group.

But the NEA was not to be deterred. At a time when the Bush administration is groping for symbols of its commitment to solve urban

See NEA, C2, Col. 1

NEA, From C1

problems, the endowment went to unusual lengths to keep the UCLA proposal on track. It repackaged the plan and submitted it to a brand-new advisory panel. This time, the project was evaluated by state arts administrators—and it was approved. NEA acting chairman Anne-Imelda Radice authorized the grant yesterday.

The rush to announce action in riot-torn Los Angeles has provided fodder for critics who contend that Radice is manipulating endowment procedures for political purposes. Sources familiar with the handling of the UCLA proposal contend, in essence, that the endowment rammed through a well-meaning but deeply flawed plan so the Bush administration could issue a press release on solutions for Los Angeles.

UCLA drafted the plan hoping to gain \$70,000 in NEA funding to create a design for a sector of the south-central area. The proposal calls for UCLA's Urban Innovations Group—a not-for-profit arm of the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning—to work with community-based architects and residents in formulating the design. The planners will consider "the educational, social, recreational, cultural and economic needs of the community," according to an NEA press release.

M. David Lee, a leading architect consulted by the endowment, said the

UCLA plan is flawed and the endowment's insistence on funding it seems to be a "public relations" effort. "It makes it look like they're doing something," he said.

Daphne Wood Murray, the NEA's deputy chairman for public partnership, expressed surprise at the complaints. "We had something concrete we could do here," she said. "I know from my own standpoint I was thrilled because I just sort of wanted to respond" to the problems in Los Angeles.

No one appears to be more surprised or dismayed by the controversy than Richard Weinstein, dean of the UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Design. Weinstein said he understands why the original NEA panelists reacted negatively to the proposal but thinks they should have given it the benefit of the doubt, considering that it was formulated in the midst of a crisis.

Architect Lee said he doesn't doubt the good intentions of those who formulated the urban design proposal, but he found that it read like "a summer project" for UCLA. "It is simply not a professional-quality proposal," he said.

Lee said the NEA sent him a copy of the proposal by fax in May. "They wanted an answer really quickly," he said. To Lee, that was symptomatic of the problems afflicting the whole scheme. "This is not a quick-fix kind of thing," he said.

"They're talking about sending a

bunch of kids out there, making some quick land-use analyses," Lee added. "My guess is, they'd come up with nice drawings and schemes." But the proposals wouldn't be grounded in reality, he said. "It's fine to say you want to build a supermarket, but do you have a sufficient catchment area for it?"

And there were other problems. The proposal talked about consulting community leaders but didn't give specifics. "I would have a lot better feeling if it had identified some architects and community leaders who were lending support," he said.

And then there was the price tag of \$70,000.

"It's going to take more than a few hundred thousand dollars and a couple of months to make it a healthy community," he said. "The idea of rushing out and trying to solve it in a summer or a semester is not adequate. I'm sure these are idealistic people, but you can't just superimpose solutions on an existing community that has a leadership structure already."

Weinstein finds that complaint particularly troubling. "The school has been working in south-central for close to 15 years," he said. "We are extremely sensitive to what goes on at the grass-roots levels of the disadvantaged communities of Los Angeles."

Some of the language of the proposal may have been "unfortunate," he concedes, because of the pressure to meet a grant application deadline in the riot's aftermath. "From day to day... different leadership emerges in the community, in the city government," he explained. "Amid all those

currents, we were trying to hit some middle course, to do a community-driven planning enterprise."

Originally the plan was to be described as a pilot project, he continued. But some in the community said a pilot program would take too long, that bigger plans needed to be formulated at once. So the wording was changed.

"We started to hedge our bets in the language of the proposal," Weinstein explained. "When you're trying to deal with a situation that changes every day, you introduce ambiguity."

Once the plan was no longer described as a pilot, he continued, the funding began to look paltry. "We knew \$70,000 would of course be inadequate for a complete undertaking of this kind," he said. "We figured we had to hit the ground running and we would develop additional funding proposals."

Endowment spokeswoman Jill Collins said the endowment shared the design panel's conclusion that the original proposal was "not fully developed" and that the issue of community participation had to be addressed in specific terms. The grant is being fleshed out, she said.

But that apparently is news to Weinstein, who was never informed by the endowment that a panel of urban-design experts had rejected the proposal.

If the controversy lingers, he said, UCLA will drop out. But he still thinks the panelists should have given the proposal a chance. "A little compassion and a little understanding and a little flexibility is probably what everybody should have," he said.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Reaction to Ice-T Song Heats Up 60 Congressmen Join Complaint

By Avis Thomas-Lester and Marylou Tounignant
Washington Post Staff Writers

Federal and local officials have joined the chorus of outrage against corporate giant Time Warner Inc., which refuses to stop selling the song "Cop Killer" by rapper Ice-T.

Sixty members of Congress signed a letter expressing "our deep sense of outrage" over Time Warner's decision to continue distribution of Ice-T's "Body Count" album, the target of a growing boycott campaign by police. Representatives who lent their name to the letter included House Minority Leader Bob Michel and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich. Only three Democrats were among the signers.

In the letter to Time Warner Vice President Jeanette Lerman, the representatives roundly criticized the company, calling the lyrics "despicable" and "vile." The "Cop Killer" song includes the chorus "Die pigs die."

"It appears you have chosen potential profit over any reasonable sense of public responsibility," the repre-

See ICE-T, C3, Col. 1



Ice-T, whose song "Cop Killer" has provoked a boycott.

Boycott

ICE-T, From C1

sentatives wrote. "We believe that your decision to disseminate these despicable lyrics advocating the murder of police officers is unconscionable."

Sales of the album have doubled since last week's original boycott calls. The album, released in March, has sold 410,000 copies and is currently ranked 62nd on Billboard magazine's list of the top 200 pop albums. Next week the album moves to No. 49 on the charts—with a bullet.

Controversy over the recording also reached the Northern Virginia suburb of Prince William County, where the chief prosecutor asked for a "voluntary boycott" of the recording after determining that he could not ban it.

In a news release, Commonwealth's Attorney Paul B. Ebert asked record stores to pull the album. He also asked residents to boycott stores that keep selling it.

"I realize we all have certain rights under the First Amendment to the Constitution; however, the lyrics in this song amount to advocating the killing of police officers and come very close to the criminal act of soliciting for the commission of a felony," Ebert said. "I see no difference in this and advocating the killing of a government official or specific groups, such as blacks, Nazis or any other identifiable group."

Yesterday marked the second instance the longtime prosecutor has thrown himself into the middle of a music industry controversy. Two years ago, he ordered record stores to restrict sales of 2 Live Crew's "As Nasty as They Wanna Be" to minors by keeping the recording behind counters after the group was prosecuted on Florida obscenity statutes.

"Cop Killer," the most widely known song on the Sire Records album, first came under fire earlier this month

when the Combined Law Enforcement Association of Texas (CLEAT) called for a boycott of Time Warner for distributing it. Nationwide, three record store chains have pulled the album.

Yesterday the National Sheriffs Association joined other police organizations supporting a boycott of Time Warner. The Fraternal Order of Police has asked its 2,000 lodges to join the boycott (lodges in Prince George's and Montgomery counties have agreed). On Tuesday, the Los Angeles City Council requested that Time Warner and retailers voluntarily remove "Cop Killer" from stores in the greater Los Angeles area, adding a concern for the "lack of social responsibility that promotion of this recording indicated in the wake of the riots in Los Angeles."

Ice-T, who played a police officer in the film "New Jack City," has denied the song advocates murdering police. But critics point to the lyrics: "I got my black shirt on. I got my black gloves on. I got my ski mask on . . . I got my 12-gauge sawed off. I got my headlights turned off. I'm 'bout to bust some shots off. I'm 'bout to dust some cops off." Besides "Cop Killer," the album features another song about killing a police officer called "Smoked Pork," as well as one titled "Momma's Gotta Die Tonight."

Ironically, although "Cop Killer" has been lumped with other expressions of rap rage, the album is Ice-T's foray into heavy metal. The lyrics are screamed, not rapped.

Among the products and companies police were urged to boycott are Time, Sports Illustrated and People magazines, the Book-of-the-Month Club, Six Flags theme parks and cable TV networks HBO, CNN and Black Entertainment. Time Warner also owns Warner Bros.—which has a mega-hit with "Batman Returns"—Lorimar Pictures and Atlantic Records.

In a statement yesterday, Time Warner said it "continues to stand by [our] commitment to freedom of expression. It is not a matter of profits,

but principle."

And in a Wall Street Journal Op-Ed page piece, Time Warner President Gerald M. Levin vowed that his company "won't retreat in the face of threats of boycotts or political grandstanding. . . . Cutting and running . . . would be a destructive precedent."

"Cop Killer," Levin wrote, does not "advocate an assault by black street kids on the police. It doesn't incite or glorify violence." The song is an "artist's rap on how a person in the street feels. . . . It's a shout of pain and protest," and "raw with rage and resentment."

But Gingrich said yesterday that "there is a point where explicit advocacy of direct violence is simply socially unsustainable. To apply the Bill Clinton test, imagine the same song [by] a white supremacist group about homosexuals or blacks: The outcry would be overwhelming. It would be the cover of Time attacking it as vicious rather than a defensive letter by Time Warner as to why it's necessary."

Even some police officers disagree that the song promotes violence toward police. Alexandria Police Officer Mark Bergin pointed out that it is nothing new for singers to herald violence toward police. He cited as examples an Irish bar ditty called "The Wild Colonial Boy," in which a "cop killer and thief" is the hero, and the 1989 recording by Lou Reed called "Romeo Had Juliet," which includes the line, "This cop who died in Harlem you'd think they'd get the warning I was dancing when his brains ran down on the street."

Rappers have long contended that racism plays a part in criticism of rap music, with its graphic images of violence and sex. Jon Cummings of the American Civil Liberties Union Arts Censorship Project said rap draws fire for violent lyrics "because it doesn't get the same respect" that other music forms do.

Staff writers Richard Harrington, Carlos Sanchez, Retha Hill and Paul Duggan contributed to this story.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

One of the longest relationships on local television—Sonny Jurgensen and Channel 9 and Redskins weekends—has ended this week after 17 years...

Sources said former Redskins great Jurgensen rejected a four-year contract offer from WUSA to continue as a cohost on "Countdown to Kickoff," "Redskins Sidelines" and as a contributor to "Eyewitness News" on Mondays and Fridays during the football season...

The offer reportedly included a raise but it apparently wasn't enough...

Jurgensen, reached at home late yesterday, would say only that he and his agent, Donald Dell, "couldn't reach an agreement on the duties and the compensation" with Nine...

Channel 9 is putting together a new team led by Warner Wolf for "Redskins Sidelines," which could be announced by the end of the week. The popular Saturday night show might even get a new name, according to station president Hank Yaggi...

Wolf, who replaced the late Glenn Brenner as WUSA's top sportscaster earlier this month, will be teamed with holdover Sam Huff on "Countdown," the Sunday morning pregame show, replacing Jurgensen. Wolf, who returned to Nine after spending 16 years in New York with ABC and CBS, cohosted an early version of "Sidelines" with Jurgensen before he left...

On Tuesday WTEM, the new sports radio station, had announced that Jurgensen will rejoin Frank Herzog and Huff in Redskins broadcasts this coming season while continuing to work for WMAL during the week and on the station's pregame and postgame shows...

WTEM, which won the rights to the Redskins games from WMAL earlier this year, will only be able to use Jurgensen on the game broadcasts under terms of the complicated three-way deal, which took weeks to iron out...

Yesterday, Jurgensen admitted he "wanted to cut back some" in his overall duties next fall. But he sounded a little unconvinced as he added that "maybe change is necessary..."

"Unfortunately, things have to go on"...

He would not discuss the possibility of another TV show but said, "Maybe something will come up. I'll see what Donald comes up with"...

Jurgensen, who joined Nine in 1975 covering the Masters golf tournament, said the "toughest thing" will be "not being with the people I work with there. I have a lot of respect, a lot of good friends up there; I'm going to miss 'em"...

Sources at Nine said Jurgensen was particularly hit by Brenner's death in January from a brain tumor. Yesterday the NFL Hall of Fame quarterback said the loss did not figure in his decision, adding, "I loved Glenn like a brother." He said, "Warner and I get along real well"...

In a statement yesterday, Yaggi said, "We're sorry he did not accept our offer. We wish Sonny well; he's one of a kind in sports and has been a valued member of the Channel 9 family for 17 years"...

Incidentally, Ken Mease, who moved to weekend sports with the arrival of Wolf, will be handling duties at the Redskins Carlyle, Pa., training camp again this summer for Nine...

Now This

Channel 11, the CBS affiliate in Baltimore, announced yesterday it will launch weekend morning news programs starting Saturday, July 18, broadcasting from 8 a.m. until 12:30 p.m. each day. CBS's "Sunday Morning" will be included in that day's morning news schedule...

NBC commentator John Chancellor appeared yesterday at the PBS annual meeting in San Francisco to discuss the upcoming joint election coverage by PBS and NBC. He was asked who he thought Ross Perot might choose as vice president...

Chancellor told the audience he didn't know but that his "personal choice was Frank Perdue"...

(I suspect you had to be there. Or maybe watch a lot of PBS)...

Nancy Collins has been named a contributing correspondent for ABC's "PrimeTime Live" and will launch her career on the program tonight with a profile of Eddie Murphy...

She'll do pop culture and celebrity interviews for the ABC News show. Collins will continue to

be a contributor to Vanity Fair and, until October, the syndicated "Entertainment Tonight." Collins, who worked for The Washington Post from 1977 to 1980, formerly reported on NBC's "Today" show...

We feel a Ratingzzz Surge coming on. Yes! Tuesday night! An NBC win. 'Count of the Daytime Emmys!...

The Peacock Network averaged a 12.2/22 in primetime as the Emmys achieved a 15.6 national Nielsen rating and a 26 percent audience share. The one-hour "Another World" episode that preceded the award at 8 averaged a mere 6.1/11...

ABC's usual winning lineup was second with an 11.9/21. The only original episode, "Jack's Place" at 10, did an 8.6/15, which means that Jack won't make the Top 20 next week after two straight appearances...

CBS was third at 11.4/20 as a repeat of Arnie in "Red Heat" did an 11.0/19...

In Washington, if you're still with us, the Emmys did a 12.7/21 on Channel 4. That primetime chapter of "Another World," "Summer of Desire," did a 4.9/9; "Jack's Place" on Seven did a 7.5/13; and "Red Heat" on Nine did a 12.4/21. Is this a Schwarzenegger town or what?...

Is each national ratings point worth 921,000 TV homes, or what? And we all know a local point represents 18,199 homes...

Barbara Walters will sit in for Charles Gibson on the Monday and Tuesday editions of "Good Morning America" next week...

And a tip of the ole rabbit ears, tastefully wrapped in blue, to Amy and Paul Berry, proud parents of Paul Hunter Jackson Berry, who arrived at Georgetown University Hospital yesterday morning weighing 9 pounds 1 ounce...

Dad is an anchor at Channel 7 and sometime golfer. Young Paul joins sister Hudson and brother Talley in the Berry family...

"Charlie Rose," currently seen on a one-day delayed basis over The Learning Channel, will be aired live at 11 weeknights on TLC starting Monday, July 6. The program airs nightly on WNET in New York...

Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, creator of CBS's "Designing Women," will be honored today at the annual luncheon of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, held at the Washington Hilton...

The Daytime Emmys

CBS was the big winner Tuesday night but poor Susan Lucci (star of ABC's "All My Children") failed to win a Daytime Emmy for the 13th year in a row. She received a standing ovation that made her cry, instead...

The 19th annual Daytime Emmys, which aired on NBC in primetime for the second year in a row, saw CBS with 20 statuettes, PBS with 10, cable with eight, syndicated shows with seven, NBC with four and ABC with three...

The Emmys were presented in 17 categories in the televised ceremony. The sponsoring National Academy of Arts and Sciences presented awards in 36 other categories in a non-televised ceremony in Universal City, Calif....

Here's a quick rundown of the major winners Tuesday night:

Drama: ABC's "All My Children" (its first win after 17 nominations)...

Talk-Service Show: the syndicated "Oprah Winfrey Show"...

Game Show: syndicated "Jeopardy!"...

Children's Series: PBS's "Sesame Street"...

Animated Program: Nickelodeon's "Rugrats"...

Actress: Erika Szlezak, of ABC's "One Life to Live" (her third Emmy)...

Supporting Actress: Maevie Kinkead, CBS's "Guiding Light"...

Actor: Peter Bergman, CBS's "The Young and the Restless"...

Supporting Actor: Thom Christopher, ABC's "One Life to Live"...

Younger Actress: Tricia Cast, CBS's "The Young and the Restless"...

Game Show Host: Bob Barker, CBS's "The Price Is Right"...

The Governor's Lifetime Achievement Award went to William J. Bell, who has been writing soap operas since 1957 and created and still executive-produces "The Young and the Restless" and "The Bold and the Beautiful" for CBS...

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Old Compass in New World: A President Sticks to Course



Paul Hosefros/The New York Times

"Who has the temperament? Who has the experience?"

By **ANDREW ROSENTHAL**
with **JOEL BRINKLEY**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 24 — As Vice President George Bush accepted the Republican Presidential nomination on Aug. 18, 1988, he told thousands of cheering convention delegates that his goal as President would be to pick up where Ronald Reagan left off.

"The most important work of my life is to complete the mission we started in 1980," he declared.

It seemed a fitting declaration for a man who told the convention that he had spent his life carrying out assignments. As a World War II pilot, the first American envoy to Communist China, Republican Party chairman, Director of Central Intelligence, he had always set off with a clear mission, Mr. Bush said.

An Unfamiliar World

But soon after his inauguration, the world Mr. Bush had known so well dissolved around him. While he exercised his strong hand in foreign policy and left domestic issues largely alone, the Communist menace vanished, the economy soured and Americans confronted a deepening social crisis that crystallized in the rage and violence in Los Angeles.

As his term comes to an end in these circumstances, a crisis of leadership threatens Mr. Bush. The President himself seemed

The Bush Record

First article of a series.

clearly aware of that as he made his argument for another term in an interview in the Oval Office on Tuesday. [Excerpts, page A25.]

"In the final analysis, people are going to say, 'Who do you want sitting at that desk?'" Mr. Bush said after 30 minutes of discussing his record. "Who has the temperament? Who has the experience? Who do we trust?"

Rising from his wing chair, pushing his gold-trimmed pen back into his shirt pocket and putting on his glasses to show his guests out, his final words were confident: "That's why I'm going to win this election. You watch."

But as voters begin to pass judgment on the very terms Mr. Bush outlined — his record and his ability to lead — they are doing so in a world very different from the one in which he was elected in 1988. By 1992, America no longer seemed to want a President who could carry out assignments on well-charted ground. The nation and the times demanded one who could set new goals and devise the next mission for a people entering wild territory.

Having pursued his career with

Continued on Page A24, Column 1

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Excerpts of Interview With President Bush on His First Term

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 24 — Following are excerpts from an interview with President Bush in the Oval Office on Tuesday. The questions were R. W. Apple Jr., Joel Brinkley, Steven Greenhouse and Andrew Rosen of The New York Times. Some questions have been edited or paraphrased because of space limitations.

Q We would like to talk to you about your record for the first term. As you look back over the last three and a half years, can you tell us what you consider your most significant domestic accomplishments that you have originated, promoted and seen through to fruition?

PRESIDENT BUSH I think clearly the education initiative, where we set with the governors six educational goals, and where we're now trying to implement them. Some need Federal, some of it needs Federal legislation; much of it doesn't. There are many America 2000 communities, schools across the country, communities across the country, and I think clearly that's a major one. I think I'd put down, in terms of accomplishments, I'd put down our child care and the A.D.A. bill as early accomplishments. I think what we've done on the Federal bench, I said ahead of time what I was going to do; we have good, quality judges. I think I'd take that as a significant accomplishment.

And I think I'd also put down, in terms of legislative accomplishment, the revision of the Clean Air Act. What we really want to do relates more in the broad subjects, like anticrime, education. And we started, we've mapped out, put down a road map, but we're not there yet.

Q Are there other parts of your record in a larger sense than these domestic issues that you think best recommend you for another term?

A Obviously I think we've made great accomplishments. Great, earth-shaking.

Q Which specifically?

A Well, standing here with Yeltsin the other day, getting rid of all SS-19's, getting rid, agreeing to get rid of all these MIRVed ICBM's is a significant accomplishment.

The changes in the world, I think, we get blamed if things went wrong. We should get credit if they've gone right. And they've gone right. Reunification of Germany, democracy in this hemisphere. Pushing for, but not having accomplished, free-trade agreements. We can't say that's done, obviously, but I

ON VOTERS

"I think they want stronger crime legislation. I think they'd like a new approach to education. I think they want to see enterprise zones tried, if, indeed, they'd even focused on that question. I think they'd like to see the economy stimulated. I think they'd like to see us try to do a better job on the spending side."

think we're on the right track for free trade, as opposed to protection.

I think handling the changes inside what used to be the Soviet Union and the C.I.S. has been good, and I am very pleased that ancient enemies are talking to each other in the Middle East.

And, of course, Desert Storm was a significant and major accomplishment, because it said to aggressor nations: You can't just go take over a friendly country next door.

Goals for a Second Term

Q You've been in public life a long time. But there still seems to be this sense among people, when we interview them and in polls and when you talk to people even in your own party, that people don't quite understand what you stand for or what you'd like to do. Where would you like to take this country?

A I'd like to see it... in the first place, I'd like to see it set in an environment of world peace. Secondly, I think at home, changing, fundamentally revolutionizing education is critical.

And I'd like to see a domestic environment where we have a return to safety in the streets, and we have it where mothers don't worry about their children waiting home from school. And that means winning the battle against drugs, certainly, and doing better in the crime field so we have domestic tranquility. And that means, of course, a lot of things that go with it. It means help for the cities. It means battling against crime by passing better legislation. And no it's got to be the whole domestic tranquility in a better-educated America.

worse. The economy is getting better. In some areas, it's not getting better, but I think we should stimulate it through the methods that we've talked about. You know, the litany of growth initiatives. And I feel committed to them, and I wish that we could have done it, and still wish that we can do it.

Help for the Cities

Q Mr. President, you said that one thing you wanted to do in a second term is to help the cities. Even some black Republicans don't feel that this Administration has paid much attention to the plight of black people in the center cities. What do you think the Federal Government can do and what do you think it can't do to break this cycle of poverty and crime and general decay in the cities?

A Three weeks ago I was sitting with some people in Los Angeles. All of whom — Democrat, Republican, private sector, public sector, liberal Mayor, conservative Governor — all wanted enterprise zones.

Q So that's one thing they can do?

A It's one thing they can do, yes. I would expect those black Republicans would have given enthusiastic support for that. We've been trying to get that done for a long time. With a renewed sense of urgency, we brought that back with Pete Wilson, Ueberroth and Mayor Bradley... we got the bipartisan leadership together; they made the pitch: Please pass this.

We can do this. Set it out alone, and let's get it done. And it is frustrating that it's not been done, not simply in the wake of the riots from Los Angeles but over the years that we've been trying to get it done. So there's one area we'd start with.

Another one is this new program "Weed and Seed," which I think has broad support. The name implies you weed out the criminals, you seed the area. And there are some 40 different programs I think are connected with our weed-and-seed initiative that would help, from labor to health to certain education programs.

Longer run, I'm convinced that educational reform is essential for the cities, and I would like to see the crime bill passed. So there's four.

And home ownership, I mean that's something we've been advocating. There's a little progress been made on that. But I think those are the directions that we ought to go to help these cities.

Q And the directions we shouldn't go?

A Well, we ought to find out what hasn't worked and not do it. We ought to reform the welfare system so we do everything we can to get families to stay together. When the mayors came to see me, John, they said that the decline in the family was the single most important cause for what went wrong, what's wrong in the cities. And we talk about family values and keeping families together, and there's a little ridicule factor out there, and we're right on target in talking about it and trying to find ways like welfare reform to strengthen the family....

Civil Rights and Family Values

Q Do you feel that more moral leadership, more abstinence, more calls on the country to cease discrimination, to view a black American the same as a white American, the same as a brown American, are needed from the White House?

A Well, I think it's needed from everybody, and I've tried very much to do that, speaking out against discrimination, against discrimination of any kind.... But I can't argue that it shouldn't be done more, no. I think we should. Find every opportunity to do it.

I take pride in the civil rights bill. I think it's forward-looking. I think it is against quotas, and I think it is against discrimination in the work place. I'm very proud of it as I am of the A.D.A. bill, both of them forward pieces of civil rights legislation.

And to those who want to redefine it and say that I caved in on quotas, they're wrong. They want to say I was dragged kicking to the finish line, they're wrong. We had a good piece of legislation. We kept working with Congress and we finally got it right.

Q The family values that you brought up — Vice President Quayle's been talking a lot about — I wonder if you could address those issues. Is it wrong for the entertainment industry to make single motherhood or even unwed motherhood appealing, glamorous, exciting in any way? Is it wrong for people of the same sex or unmarried people to be parents? And why?

A Yes, it's — in my set of values, people of the same sex — to be parents?

Q That's right, or unmarried people.

A No, not unmarried people at all.

But I can't accept as normal life style people of the same sex being parents. I'm very sorry. I don't accept that as normal. And I believe in the traditional family values. And the best shot that a kid has is to have a mother and father who love that child, that will educate that child, that will care for that child....

But to glamorize life styles that are, in my view, not the normal life style, I don't approve of that. I don't want to censor it, but I don't approve of it.

We've gotten away from our fundamental strengths, which are traditional family values. And I think all the Vice President is trying to do is say we ought to return to that as much as possible. That doesn't condemn every single — every person that's divorced.

Q Economic growth has been slow in the first three and a half years of your Administration. What would you say has caused this?

A A long recession with not enough investment and not enough.... And it's longer than it needs to have been because we could have stimulated the economy to get out of it. And so it's a long recession.

I don't know, I can't remember all the studies I undertook when I studied economics about business cycles, but I think the answer to the recession would have been, and still is, stimulating growth.

I think one of the reasons for the discouraged economic outlook relates to the deficit and to the well, to the anemic growth itself.

Q What do you think should be done now to stimulate growth?

A I think we need to do what I've been trying to get the Congress to do for some time: to selectively stimulate the economy. I happen to think the economy is better than most of the people in America think. We saw polls somewhere last week 60 percent of the people think the economy is getting



President Bush during an interview yesterday at the White House. He listed what he considered the accomplishments of his first term and his goals for a second.

But I think when you see the decline of the family, as the mayors were telling me, we'd better find ways to strengthen them.

When you see some of the filth on television, you ought to speak out about it. I mean, I'll spare you the program, but Barbara and I saw one the other night at Camp David. I couldn't believe it. The words, And to think my 15-year-old granddaughter might be listening to that in Miami, Fla.

And people know that it's gone too far. People know that this is bad for the family, putting too much pressure on it. So I applaud speaking out and trying to find constructive ways to strengthen the family.

Problems of Inner Cities

One of the other points that the Vice President has made is that we've had a change in our moral behavior over the last 20 or 30 years. And that the poor people in this country, particularly in the inner cities, were more affected by that than you or anybody in this room was. Do you agree with that? Why do you suppose that's the case?

A Well, I think if you look at the demographics you would see that there are a lot, many more single-parent homes in that kind of an environment. Some of it's economic, I'm sure. Some of it's lack of educational opportunity, quality of education. Some of it is slipping in, then, to practices like the drug culture. Some of it is condoned because of economics, getting involved in selling drugs. So there's a whole lot of reasons, there's a host of reasons that — where the pressures are enormous on those families. A lot of it economic.

Q Do you have to address the economic problem before you —

A Yes, we do. Try to get jobs in the inner cities, jobs with dignity. Try to break the welfare dependency, break the cycle of welfare. Everyone knows it's bad. I haven't heard anyone defend it, and they shouldn't.

Balancing the Budget

Q Mr. President, you spoke very eloquently on behalf of the balanced-budget amendment proposal. If you're re-elected, would you intend to eliminate the deficit during your second term, and how would you go about doing that?

A We've got a program before the Congress right now, and it leans heavily on controlling the growth of mandatory spending programs. That's the way we would do it. There's a 23-page, 32 pages of alternatives and options up there right now before the Senate. And it's detailed. And I regret to see an editorial in The New York Times today saying that one candidate, Bill Clinton, has put some detail out there and we have not, but that is not factual.

Q The competitiveness of many American industries has declined vis-à-vis the Japanese over the past decade or two. Many Americans, including Mr. Perot and Governor Clinton, are saying that the Government should take a more active role in helping the industries of tomorrow. What do you think is the proper role for the Government?

A I don't think we ought to have industrial planning. I don't believe in targeting.

ON THE FUTURE

"As the economy recovers, I think you're going to see this optimism that has an innate quality of America come back. And I think we're dealing at it from a very low ebb here."

I think what we need to do is do what we suggested on research and development and education. Therein lies the answer, and I do not want to see the Government pick winners and losers. Shouldn't do that. Maybe we have a fundamental difference we can talk about in the fall when we get into the campaign mode.

U.S. Role in Yugoslavia

Q Mr. President, you spoke a few minutes ago about your pride in what had been achieved in Desert Storm.... I wonder if you could differentiate for me between the situation that we sought to remedy there and the situation in Yugoslavia?

You talked about a friendly country being overrun by an aggressor. I think some people, at least, would describe the Serbian Government as an aggressor attempting to overrun Bosnia and Herzegovina. I think that the loss of life certainly has been greater in Bosnia and Herzegovina than it was in Kuwait. What makes us reluctant to consider military steps by the United Nations or by the United States and the coalition it put together to try to protect these people?

A I think in the instance of Iraq moving into Kuwait you had one country taking over another country. The Yugoslavian situation is complicated by the fact that you have one country that seems to be disintegrating, or going forward... depending on who you are arguing the case....

Q But we have recognized —

A —into many other republics. So you've just started this process. And you have citizens from one entity or another living in another person's country. And so you've got similar.... The situation is more analogous, it seems to me, to what's happening in the western part of the former Soviet Union than it is analogous to what's happening in —

Q Moldova.

A Yes, or Moldova or where else. I mean, look at the map. And so I think that's the thing that has made it different. Now, the human suffering is enormous, and I am very much concerned about the loss of life there. We are considering what next the United States might do about it.

But I think that is what differentiates the two in the eyes of the whole world. In the eyes of the United Nations, I might add, in the eyes of the E.C.

Q In the months that led up to Desert Storm you said repeatedly that we were not going to exclude any form of response. Are you keep-

ON YUGOSLAVIA

"Now, the human suffering is enormous, and I am very much concerned about the loss of life there. We are considering what next the United States might do about it."

ing your options open, vis-à-vis the Yugoslavian situation?

A Yes.

Relations With Congress

Q In any discussion of what this Administration has been able to accomplish or not accomplish comes the complaint that Congress has blocked many of the initiatives you put forward. Well, you're not the first President to face an opposition Congress. Other Presidents have had greater or less luck than you facing the Democratic Congress. Do you think it is legitimate to judge a President, at least in part, based on how well he is able to work with Congress?

A Whether I think it's legitimate or not isn't the question. I think that will be one criterion to judge the President. I would look back and say that when you have a divided government, when you have a divided Government, a President does much better if he can control one house or the other of the Congress.

There are some vivid exceptions to that rule. Jimmy Carter had control of both houses, and God knows, we don't want to go back to the misery index where it was when he left office. So I can't argue that getting control alone solves all the problems.

What hasn't been tried in the last 35 years is a Republican President and Republican control of both houses of the Congress. When Reagan came into office and I was the Vice President, he got a lot done in the first term because he controlled one house of the Congress. And it makes it an awful lot better if you control, say, one house, say nothing of two.

So I think, yes, you'd have to have people say that's one measure.

But I wasn't elected to do it the way the liberal Democrats that control Congress want, and so I've had to stand up to them. And that's not the measure of how I want to be President.

So I will say to the people this fall, "Let's try something that hasn't been tried in the last 35 years. Let's try the Republican President whose values, I believe, are in keeping with the values of the American people."

I think they want stronger crime legislation. I think they'd like a new approach to education. I think they want to see enterprise zones tried, if, indeed, they'd even focused on that question. I think they'd like to see the economy stimulated. I think they'd like to see us try to do a better job on the spending side.

And I'm going to say, now, here's a way to get that done: Give me control of both houses. Give the people a Republican President and control of both houses of Congress. You've tried it with the Democrats, both houses; that was abysmal failure. You've tried partially with a Republican President, and when that happened, things moved pretty well. But now, try it the way it hasn't been tried.

Q Is there any reason to believe that if you do not win both houses, or even one house, that you'll have any better luck getting your initiatives through?

A Yes, because I think I've got problems, but they're nothing compared to what Congress has. And so I think the turnover is going to be enormously helpful in that regard, because these values we're talking about and the legislative initiatives I'm talking about will have support from the American people. We will take that case, clearly, to them.

So I think... when you first get in, if you're first elected, no matter what the situation, you can get more done. We got the clean-air bill done pretty quick when we first got here, the child-care legislation. We had to fight like the devil to do it against an old-thinking Congress, but we got it done.

Q What do you think when you look back on your career when you see a Governor of a small state and a man who's never held public office, running you even or better? Aside from the hostility of Congress, would you think has got into the American public? Is it just the problems with Congress?

A No, no.

The Mood of America

Q Is it just the economy?

A No, it's more.

It's the decline in the American family. It is the fact that there's a negative perception out there, driven largely by the economy. Right track, wrong track. Think you'll be better off tomorrow or not?

The economy has driven it largely. If not, why would things look so much better in polls — that fortunately I didn't refer to that much — a year ago? The answer is the economy.

But it's more than that. It is also this feeling against crime. It's the feeling of the decay and decline in the American family. And we're going through, kind of, what I think is a transitional phase. As the economy recovers, I think you're going to see this optimism that has an innate quality of America come back. And I think we're dealing at it from a very low ebb here. The economy is moving, and people think it's getting worse. Now how do you explain that?...

And we're going to get it in focus in the campaign, the positive things. But more fundamental than that, the economy is going to move. And we're still going to have these big problems to face, but we're not going to be facing them against such a negative backdrop....

In the final analysis, people are going to say, who do you want sitting at that desk? Who has the temperament? Who has the experience? Who do we trust? And that's why I'm going to win this election; you watch.

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Bush's Mission: Some See Old Compass in a World Remade

Continued From Page A1

a bomber pilot's single-minded focus. Mr. Bush now finds himself frozen on the top step, unable to explain clearly what he has tried to accomplish in the last three and a half years or where he would like to take the country. Asked that very question, the President listed a series of general goals: "In the first place, I'd like to see it set in an environment of world peace. Secondly, I think at home, changing, fundamentally revolutionizing education is critical. And I'd like to see a domestic environment where we have a return to safety in the streets, and we have it where mothers don't worry about their children walking home from school."

But a raft of recent public opinion surveys show that Americans don't really understand what Mr. Bush means by that. How he has tried to lead the country since 1989 or how he intends to achieve his goals if he wins a second term.

The most recent New York Times/CBS News poll, taken on June 17-20, shows Mr. Bush's overall approval rating at an all-time low of 34 percent. A large majority said the Bush Administration was drifting without clear policies. And in the end, a majority of Americans said he had not said enough about where he stands for them to judge what he might do if he won re-election.

Only 9 percent said he had kept all or most of his campaign promises. Indeed, Mr. Bush — the "read my lips" candidate of 1988 — has never quite recovered from the damage he did to his standing in his own party by agreeing to raise taxes in 1990.

Mr. Bush easily listed what he considered his accomplishments: an education program that sets general goals for local schools to reach by century's end; existing legislative ideas he endorsed and helped shape on child care, air pollution and the rights of the disabled. He also cited his appointment of conservative judges to the Federal bench.

In foreign affairs, he spoke of "great, earthshaking" accomplishments, including the recent agreement cutting Russian and American nuclear weapons, the Arab-Israeli peace talks, and his role in the unification of Germany and in the transformation of the former Soviet Union. "And, of course, Desert Storm was a significant and major accomplishment," he said.

Indeed, when people surveyed in the new poll were asked to name Mr. Bush's single most important accomplishment as President, 29 percent said the Persian Gulf war. Another 18 percent said foreign policy in general. But only 1 percent mentioned the economy and leadership abilities, and 39 percent could think of nothing at all.

Of those who did name the victory over Iraq as his major accomplishment, hardly anyone could think of any other notable achievement.

Behind these numbers are other statistics that paint a starkly negative picture of Mr. Bush's first term: record deficits, an anemic economy, low consumer confidence and even lower confidence in government.

Certainly, the President inherited some of his economic problems from a previous Administration, though it was one he helped manage. And Congress shares both credit and fault for much that has occurred.

But as voters assess Mr. Bush's Presidency, the most consistent observation is that while he is a good crisis manager, he has been reactive at times when the nation needs a creative, forward-looking leader. And his record shows few, if any, domestic initiatives that Mr. Bush or his aides have devised and carried through.

"The premise that Bush set out on his inauguration is in serious trouble," said Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House Democratic leader, referring to Mr. Bush's vow to continue what Mr. Reagan had started. "What he was saying no longer is relevant or what people desire. They know that the long-term policies we were following have failed, and even putting a human face on them isn't being accomplished."

The White House justly responds that Mr. Bush has shown leadership in the areas he clearly cares about most — foreign affairs, where at times he has demonstrated the power and adroitness that have escaped him on the domestic front.

Much of what Mr. Bush has done, however, has been in response to the startling events that have occurred around him. He has been far less successful at articulating America's

mission in a post-cold war world. Critics say that failure has been dramatized by what they see as Mr. Bush's lack of leadership in responding to the civil war in Yugoslavia.

But even his successes in foreign policy seem to mean less to voters now.

"The attitude of the American people is: 'Glad you ended the cold war, defeated the Soviet empire and extended freedom. Which of you guys can do more for me now?'" said Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the House Republican whip. "That's a legitimate question, and it's the challenge that Bush faces as a leader."

Echoes of Reagan Strike Fewer Chords

A few years into the Reagan era, new nouns with unmistakable meanings began popping into the national vocabulary: Reaganism. Reaganomics. The Reagan Revolution. Reagan Country. Reagan Democrats.

The Bush Administration was supposed to be a smooth continuation of the Reagan years. But applied to Mr. Bush, such nouns are not as useful to some, terms of derision to others.

While a Reaganism was a folksy articulation of the President's ideology, a "Bushism" is an example of the President's Rubik's Cube speaking style. "Reagan Country," referred to whole regions or voter blocs loyal to Mr. Reagan, but "Bush Country" is hard to find. In fact, several new New York Times/CBS News polls show that about half of the roughly 13 million Democrats who voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 say they will vote for someone else this year, while more than one-tenth say they don't know how they will vote.

In election years, Mr. Bush has been quick to seize on symbolism, as he did in 1988 with his visit to flag factories. And in this campaign, led by Vice President Dan Quayle, the White House has seized on "family values."

Taking up that theme in the interview on Tuesday, Mr. Bush denounced what he called "the filth on television," and said: "I can't accept as normal life style people of the same sex being parents, I'm very sorry. I don't accept that as normal. And I believe in the traditional family values. And the best shot that a kid has is to have a mother and father that love that child, that will educate that child, that will care for that child."

In normal times, Mr. Bush scorns the kind of symbolism Mr. Reagan frequently waved like a battle standard. Mr. Bush has often said that he hates to be "put on the couch" to give voters a glimpse at his psyche. And he dismisses any need for rhetorical flourishes or other symbolic gestures of leadership.

"He is rhetorically and oratorically a handicapped man," said Thomas E. Cronin, a Presidential scholar at Colorado College. "Americans have the models of F.D.R., Kennedy and Reagan, who expected them to be some ideal or some version of the American dream or asked for sacrifice. George Bush has not been able to stir the country."

Even those who support Mr. Bush agree that he is facing a crisis of doubt. "The American people have lost their sense of political efficacy, and that is what the Perot candidacy represents right now," said Representative Vin Weber, Republican of Minnesota. "Bush's problem is that he doesn't look to people like the kind of guy who can challenge a gridlock system and bust it loose."

Politicians and academics across the political spectrum believe that at its core, Mr. Bush's problem is one of credibility.

"People don't think Bush is a crook," said Barbara Berdes, professor of political science at Loyola University of Chicago. "They just don't sure what he's doing, and in that case they think he's doing nothing."

In recent weeks, Mr. Bush and his aides have been scrambling to find actions that will make him seem more Presidential. But after leaving domestic issues largely alone for most of his term, all this activity may not be helping. "Anything they do now has hanging over it the question, 'Why didn't you do it earlier?'" Mr. Gingrich said.

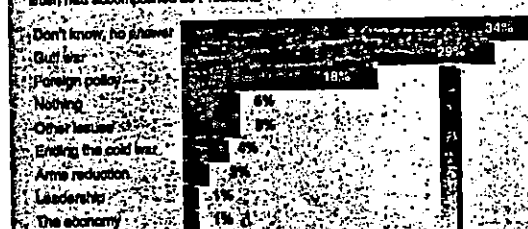
Guided at the Helm By Close Relationships

Mr. Bush is highly secretive and prefers to make most decisions himself or in consultation with small groups of close friends. The

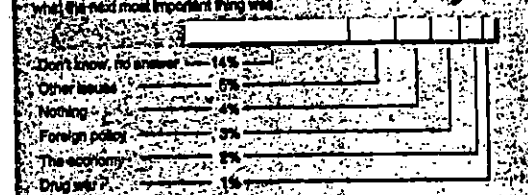
The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

Where Voters Say Credit Is Due

Voters were asked what they thought was the single most important thing George Bush had accomplished as President.

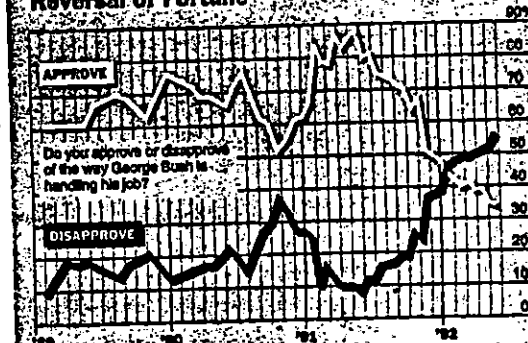


Those who mentioned "out war" were asked what they thought was the single most important thing they had accomplished.



From a poll of registered voters conducted June 17-20 with 1,029 adults nationwide. The margin of sampling error was plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Reversal of Fortune



From polls by The New York Times and CBS News. The most recent was conducted June 17-20 with 1,315 adults nationwide.

White House resists discussion of how decisions are reached, or what advice the President gets in making them. The President "goes ballistic," as he puts it, when a decision is reported before he is ready to announce it.

"There is something very bizarre and dangerous about this President, and that is the extent to which he is into surprises," said James David Barber, author of "The Presidential Character" (Prentice-Hall, 1972), a study of White House leadership.

Mr. Bush likes to trade on his personal relationships with foreign leaders, and to rely on his own experience and knowledge. That approach has failed him at times: critics say it did in relations with China. Mr. Bush, convinced that he could serve as his own adviser on that country after serving there as an envoy in the 1970s, pressed ahead after the 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square with a conciliatory policy that has produced no tangible results.

But in other instances this style may have helped. During the Gulf crisis, he made decisions with seven top aides, in the Oval Office and in strict secrecy. In the end, Mr. Bush's

diplomacy ran smoothly, and his war machine was startlingly efficient, at least in accomplishing its limited goals.

That, his supporters say, adds up to a good crisis manager. "He'd be a good person to be stuck in a snowstorm with," said Lynn Martin, the Secretary of Labor. "You could trust him, and you'd have an awful good chance of getting out of there."

But does that style lend itself to leadership on a grander scale?

"I don't feel that Bush has inner demons, like Nixon or Johnson," said Fred Greenstein, a student of the Presidency who teaches at Princeton. But he said, "What we see is someone who has always been good, dutiful, responded to situations, but just is not very good as a helmsman."

From Political Hurdles To Historic Upheavals

Mr. Bush's term has been an exercise in trying to keep up with expanding horizons on

almost every front. When he moved into the White House, he devoted his energies to foreign policy — believing, associates say, that the economy was basically sound and needed little attention from him. The cold war seemed to be winding down slowly, and Mr. Bush set himself to tinkering with the relationship with the Soviet Union.

Brent Scowcroft, Mr. Bush's national security adviser, said: "We were talking about making some bold proposals about European force structures, but you have to remember that the Soviet Union was still a preoccupation for us. We in fact did go forward with a fairly radical proposal for cuts in numbers. From today's perspective, it was modest in scope, but believe me it was dramatic at the time."

The sudden disintegration of the Soviet empire surprised Mr. Bush as much as it surprised everyone else. But his aides say the President's caution and personal relationship with President Mikhail S. Gorbachev helped keep the peace during the transition. His critics say it led Mr. Bush to hang onto Mr. Gorbachev far too long.

These days, Mr. Bush talks almost wistfully about having a Republican Congress to help him enact his legislative agenda. "When Reagan came into office and I was the Vice President, he got a lot done in the first term because he controlled one House of the Congress," he said in the interview. "And it makes it a awful lot better if you control, say, one house, saying nothing of two."

"Give me control of both Houses. Give the people a Republican President and control of both Houses of Congress."

Mr. Bush blames Congress for his failure to enact more than a few domestic initiatives. But some say he has not done a good job working with the Democratic Congress.

Mr. Gingrich, sharply critical of Mr. Bush's decision to break his "no new taxes" campaign pledge in 1990, said the President spent too much time trying to play the conciliator with an unwilling Democratic majority in Congress, and then did not fight hard enough when his efforts failed.

"He has resolutely avoided accepting responsibility for what I think is an unavoidable civil war culturally about where this country is going," said Mr. Gingrich, who believed the 1992 election ought to be a moral, philosophical and cultural battle. "All of his social instincts and his personal grace lead him to conciliate. In a civil war, you have to pick sides and win."

Who Really Lives In 'Bush Country'?

If it is difficult to tell which side Mr. Bush is on at times, it is equally hard to tell who is on his side. Interviews over recent weeks produced only one large, unified easily defined voting bloc squarely in his camp: the several million voters who vote for the candidate most squarely opposed to abortion.

Dr. Richard Land, head of the Christian Life Commission for the Southern Baptist Convention, concedes that most of these are one-issue voters who don't care about the President's record on any other issue.

Like most political analysts and interest-group leaders, Dr. Land had difficulty identifying other large voting blocs that unquestionably belong to the President. "Boy, you know I can't think of any," he said with a long sigh. "I just can't."

Mr. Bush long ago lost the enthusiastic backing of bedrock conservative Republicans. "It's because on those rare occasions where he has taken a firm stand on an issue, frequently he has embraced several positions on the same issue, often ending up on the wrong side," Edwin J. Feulner, president of the Heritage Foundation, wrote earlier this year.

Michael Santer, a former Reagan Administration official who now teaches political science at Northern Arizona University, seemed to sum up the focus of Republican disillusionment. "I'm on the list for all the Republican Presidential fund-raisers." Now, he says, "I just write on the solicitation 'No new taxes,' and send it back."

NEXT: The record in foreign affairs.

Voices: Chicago

3 Views on the President's Domestic Record

Political experts, local officials and ordinary voters in several cities were asked to appraise George Bush's performance as President.

Andrew Sohn

36 years old; lawyer in a small Chicago firm



I think one of Bush's problems is you really can't point to a single domestic program that you can call an achievement. In a way, his neglect has been the most significant thing. As a few months pass and you get some sense of who this guy is, you see he has a distinctly right-wing, almost extreme conservative mindset. I was taken aback by how cool and harsh his opinions were.

I think he is basically a decent guy. I got into a lot of fights with some of my younger friends after the L.A. riots. They were trying to lay the blame at George Bush's feet, implying he had contempt for the poor. I don't think that's true. But he certainly does-

n't have the ability to convey any compassion.

Paul Groen

49 years old; political scientist and director of the Institute for Public Policy at Governors State University



If the guy gets blamed for the economic recession, then we have to give him credit for defeating communism. [He has kept his promises] as well as any candidate. Campaigns are basically competing wish lists. Whether you like him or dislike him, he would be. He has done as well as expected. He has basically done a satisfactory job. No one should be surprised by the last four years. I think basically, it has been a continuation of the Reagan era. Basically, it's a suburbanized view of America: those people who are predominantly white, middle-income, college-educated. Those are people who would benefit from the policies of the Reagan-Bush era, and basically they have.

If this election year was a referendum on foreign policy, George Bush would be a shoo-in. Unfortunately, other issues of this country have completely overshadowed that.

Barbara McCollum

33 years old; a carpenter

With the Gulf war, he spent a lot of time and diverted a lot of money away from domestic issues that needed to be dealt with. I think he wanted to rally a lot of Americans or reinvent that feeling that America was No. 1. That was good. I think we need to work on things in this country. Like getting rid of drugs, cutting down the crime rate, creating jobs. I think going to war just diverted our energy away from those issues. We generated this nice, good feeling, but we wanted a lot of resources on the war.

The only two promises I can remember was that he would be the environmental President and that he would be the education President. I think the way he took such a hands-off approach to Exxon's polluting of Alaska showed he really wasn't the environmental President. And I don't think he has committed any extra resources to education, so he hasn't come through on that one either. He is the kind of leader who says the right things but does nothing. He talks about the family and how important the family is, but there's no decent day care in this country. We don't have national health insurance. We haven't done anything to provide low-cost housing so young couples can get a place. That's supposed to be the American dream.



"He is the kind of leader who says the right things but does nothing. He talks about the family and how important the family is, but there's no decent day care in this country. We don't have national health insurance. We haven't done anything to provide low-cost housing so young couples can get a place. That's supposed to be the American dream."

BARBARA MCCOLLUM

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Undeclared Candidate

Perot Traces Spying Rumors To Bush 'Dirty Tricks' Staff

By STEVEN A. HOLMES
Special to The New York Times

ANNAPOLIS, Md., June 24 — Denying reports that he had employed private investigators to uncover information that could be potentially embarrassing to President Bush, Ross Perot called the accusations part of an orchestrated effort by the "dirty tricks crowd" in Mr. Bush's re-election campaign.

"You all know what's going on, so let's don't pretend that we don't," Mr. Perot told a news conference here after a dockside rally with his supporters. "There has been a 50-day effort to redefine my personality by a group called opposition research of the Republican Party. They're generally known as the dirty tricks crowd."

Mr. Perot, the undeclared independent candidate, who is at or near the top of public opinion polls in the three-way Presidential contest, used his appearances at the news conference and on television today to try to quash efforts by Republican party officials to depict him as a dangerous person who, as President, would abuse the powerful Federal apparatus and trample civil liberties. In seeking to refute such assertions, Mr. Perot went on the offensive and engaged in the type of mudslinging that he and his aides have said they would not use.

In addition to his news conference, Mr. Perot was interviewed live on the NBC "Today" program and on "Larry King Live," the Cable News Network talk program.

Pledge on Economic Plan

Besides denying the Republican accusations, Mr. Perot, touched a number of other issues in his hourlong news conference. He promised that he would have a detailed economic plan that would be "discussed" with the American people before the election. He denounced sexual harassment in the military and said the alleged molestation of women at a convention of Naval aviators last year was "inexcusable."

Mr. Perot told reporters that before he could support a free trade agreement with Mexico, he would have to be sure it would not mean a loss of American jobs. And without saying it outright, he hinted that he was uncomfortable with the concept of racial preference programs.

Aides to Mr. Perot said the appearances today were intended to "set the record straight" and halt Republican efforts to define the Texas billionaire.

"This press conference was about going to the press and saying, you've heard the following stories, you're writing the following stories, now here are the facts and you write the way you want to," said Mort Meyerson, a senior adviser to Mr. Perot.

Perot Blames Bush

Mr. Perot laid the blame squarely at Mr. Bush's feet for the spate of critical reports about him. "He is in charge of the whole process," he said in his interview on the "Today" program. "That party does not run out there out of control."

But Mr. Perot predicted that the harsh attacks would backfire on the Republicans. "The good news is that

this will hurt them and hurt them badly, because the American people are just furious with this little theater program they run in Washington," he said. "The American people want action. They want something to happen in this country. Washington is a master of deception, cover-up and deceit."

Recent news reports have contended that Mr. Perot provided information on what he considered a questionable land deal involving a close friend of the President, investigated Mr. Bush's children and hired private detectives to shadow his own children. At his news conference, Mr. Perot either denied the allegations outright or provided what he said were justifications for his behavior. But when pressed for details in other cases, Mr. Perot tended to filibuster and to avoid direct answers.

Some officials with the Bush-Quayle election committee today denied that the reports about Mr. Perot's investigations had been spread by them, the White House or other Republican officials. But Rich Bond, the Republican chairman, freely admits that Republican campaign workers have passed along damaging information about Mr.

Attacking G.O.P. efforts to make Perot look dangerous.

Perot but he denied that this constituted "dirty tricks."

Bush Administration officials clearly seem intent on keeping the heat on, and now that accusations relating to Mr. Perot's character have been widely reported in the press, continue to hammer away at the theme of Mr. Perot's purported instability.

"Mr. Perot's paranoia knows no bounds," Marlin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, told reporters at his daily briefing.

The news conference today was eerily reminiscent of those held in February by Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas in the wake of allegations that he had had an affair with a cabaret singer. Like the Clinton campaign, Perot aides appeared concerned that his drive could be blunted by accusations dealing with the candidate's character.

"Our momentum comes from the field; comes from the volunteers," said Mr. Meyerson. He added that he had "seen no slacking in the attitude of the volunteers. Now it's very difficult for me to make any judgment about the American people." Mr. Meyerson said the Perot committee had not conducted any polls. But he noted that in some surveys conducted by news organizations, the number of people who say they do not approve of Mr. Perot has doubled.

Following what has become a familiar explanation when confronted with allegations that he had tried to dig up scandalous material on his political enemies, Mr. Perot said he had not sought out information on Mr. Bush's children. Instead he said he had merely received reports from a source he declined to identify that one of Mr. Bush's sons was consorting with a gun-runner for anti-Communist guerrillas in Nicaragua. Mr. Perot said he had passed the information along to Mr. Bush, who was then Vice President, "one father to another."

To bolster his assertion, his aides gave reporters photocopies of a handwritten note from Mr. Bush, written in December 1986, thanking Mr. Perot for providing him with the information. "You see, I was very touched by your call about my kids," Mr. Bush wrote. He added that his children "are all straight arrows, uninvolved in intrigue."

But Mr. Perot avoided answering a question of why if he suspected shady dealings in a 1982 land transaction involving the Penzold company, he had turned over material relating to the deal to The Washington Post, rather than giving it to the Internal Revenue Service. In the transaction, Penzold, a company headed by Hugh Liedtke, a former business partner of Mr. Bush, was granted a \$48 million tax deduction for the gift of 100,000 acres to the Federal Government.

Instead, Mr. Perot engaged in a long, rambling discussion of the value of the land, ending with the questions, "how and why did they get such favorable treatment? Why did they get such a huge evaluation on the land?" He added that he had "casually" mentioned the transaction to Bob Woodward, a Post reporter, and that when Mr. Woodward later asked for documents, he gave the reporter documents obtained by a Washington law firm retained by Mr. Perot.

An assistant to Mr. Woodward said he was away for the next two weeks and could not be reached to corroborate Mr. Perot's account.

Throughout the press conference, Mr. Perot displayed his customary pugnacious style. At one point he dismissed the controversy that has swirled around him in recent days as "Mickey Mouse, tossed salad." In response to a question about whether he had hired a detective to shadow his children and check up on their friends, Mr. Perot said whatever he did was out of a desire to protect his children.

"My children have grown up with a complicated security job, and we have to take that into account," he said. "But it is a huge gap between making sure they're safe, and investigating my children and/or their friends, or whatever else some fruitcake alleges."

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Congress or Bush Could Act, but Neither Is Eager

By ROBERTO SURO
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 24 — As railroads across the country chugged to a halt today, the Bush Administration and Congressional Democrats each demanded that the other take some urgent action to resolve a bitter, long-standing dispute between railroad unions and management.

Congress halted the last rail strike, in April 1981, after 17 hours, but this time lawmakers did not rush to jump into contract negotiations that mediators had been unable to resolve after more than two years.

"It is my sense that Congress is very uncomfortable in the role of picking winners and losers in labor disputes," said Representative Al Swift, Democrat of Washington, as he opened a marathon hearing on the railroad strike by the House Commerce Subcommittee on Transportation and Hazardous Materials.

'Congress Must Act'

The subcommittee's first witness, Transportation Secretary Andrew H. Card Jr., cast Congress squarely in that role and argued that the nation's economic well-being was at stake.

"Today the stoppage has already exacted a serious toll," Mr. Card said.

Everyone wants the trains to run, but how to do it?

"Consequences flow from the first day of a disruption. Tomorrow the price paid will be much higher. Therefore, Congress must act today."

Democrats draw much of their support from labor unions; Republicans are usually allied with management. Rather than taking action and possibly alienating powerful constituencies in an election year, both sides spent the day airing disagreements on possible solutions as well as the causes and severity of the shutdown.

During one of the few moments in the hearing devoted to practical solutions to the shutdown, Representative John D. Dingell, Democrat of Michigan, listed several options that Congress might consider if it decided to enter the dispute. They ranged from demanding a new cooling off period to imposing specific contracts on the unions and the railroads. In between

were various forms of mediation and legislation that could impose aspects of a settlement while leaving others to future negotiation or mediation.

After the hearing, senior members of both parties in the House and Senate met to discuss several competing proposals for legislative action. While several lawmakers emphasized that no consensus had been reached, they said any agreement could lead to a vote as soon as Thursday.

The possible actions that the Administration could take include public or private "jawboning" by the President urging a settlement, and a request by the Attorney General to the Interstate Commerce Commission seeking an order that the railroads not being struck resume operation.

With every response to a question, Mr. Card said the Administration had diligently implemented provisions of the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which provide for various forms of mediation but to no avail.

"All I can tell you is that the trains have stopped," became a kind of refrain from Mr. Card.

Throughout the day the top officials of both the unions and the railroads sat in the cavernous hearing room on Capitol Hill, each awaiting a turn to address the subcommittee.

After a negotiating deadline passed at 12:01 A.M. today the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers called a strike against CSX Transportation, a major freight carrier. Then, in the early hours of the morning 38 other railroads initiated a lockout against the machinists, effectively shutting down the nation's freight rail system.

Two other unions agreed to extend negotiations for 48 hours with Conrail, a freight carrier, and Amtrak, the Federally subsidized passenger carrier.

As a result of Congress's action last year and other Federal mediation efforts, the unions and the railroads have agreed on contracts covering 200,000 rail workers, more than 90 percent of the total. Union leaders representing the 20,000 workers involved in the current dispute insist that further Federal intervention would deny them the chance to let the collective bargaining process play itself out.

The potential political costs to Congressional Democrats who rely on union support was described bluntly by Jed Dodd, chief negotiator for the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees in contract talks with Conrail and Amtrak.

"Congress has a choice of either being a union buster or of respecting the democratic rights of American railway workers," Mr. Dodd said in an interview.

On 17 occasions since 1963, Congress has taken various actions to intervene in rail labor disputes, but key Democrats said today that the situation was different this time because of the freight railroads' collective response to the machinists' strike against one company.

Irish Eyes Not Smiling Over New U.S. Envoy

By JAMES F. CLARITY
Special to The New York Times

DUBLIN, June 24 — In his first week as American Ambassador to Ireland, William FitzGerald, an 82-year-old businessman and friend of President Bush, has been hit by what a diplomat called "the Irish Welcome Wagon."

Major newspapers have mocked Mr. FitzGerald in front-page articles because of errors he made about fundamental issues facing Ireland in testimony on June 3 in hearings in Washington on his appointment.

Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he said the Irish had already voted in a referendum to

approve the European Community's treaty on union of economic, foreign and security policies. Corrected on this point by Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware, who pointed out that the referendum would not be held until June 18, Mr. FitzGerald apologized and said he was thinking of projected results, not the actual vote. The treaty was approved by 68 percent of the voters last week.

Questioned about his views on the sectarian violence in Northern Ireland, Mr. FitzGerald said he was glad that the United States Congress was providing money "to encourage dialogue and cooperation between the Unionists and

the Loyalists." Both terms, as nearly every Irish person knows, are used to describe the same group: the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland.

Most people here assume that Mr. FitzGerald also intended to refer to the opposing group, the Roman Catholic "nationalists" of Northern Ireland, who say they are discriminated against in jobs and housing. Some of them are seeking union with Ireland.

In a brief debate in Parliament on Tuesday, Pat Lee, a member of the opposition Fine Gael party, said "the mind-boggling decision of President Bush defies logic."

"I feel this nation has been slighted,"

said Dr. Lee, a 47-year-old Dublin doctor. He said Mr. Bush should explain to Irish-American voters "why he holds our country in such low esteem."

The Irish Times has run three articles on Mr. FitzGerald in the last week, including a front-page article today with the headline "New Ambassador is an insult; Irish-Americans complain."

The Irish Government of Prime Minister Albert Reynolds has not commented on Mr. FitzGerald's gaffes, which have been reported on national television and are being discussed with some fervor on radio call-in shows. Mr. FitzGerald, who is to present his credentials on Friday to President Mary Robinson, has also declined to comment on the criticism. Mr. FitzGerald replaces Richard A. Moore, 79, who will work on Mr. Bush's campaign.

Appointments of American Ambassadors to Ireland have often stirred controversy. Margaret M. Heckler came here reluctantly in January 1986 after she was dislodged from her post as Secretary of Health and Human Services, a reassignment that led Irish commentators to complain that their country was viewed a booby prize. Ultimately Ms. Heckler won respect for her intense study of Ireland's politics.

A Western diplomat argued that because of the friendship, Mr. FitzGerald would "be able to get Bush on the phone any time he wants anything for Ireland," an access that a younger, career diplomat might be denied.

The spokesman for the American Embassy, John Treacy, reacted scornfully. "No blow is too low. No shot is too cheap," he said, adding, "This is just a case of the Lilliputians firing their arrows at the emissary of Gulliver."

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New Promise for Peace in Israel

Even Israelis seem surprised by the outcome of their most momentous vote in a generation. Few predicted such a decisive turn to Yitzhak Rabin's Labor Party, ending its 15 years in the wilderness. But enough Israelis voted cautiously for peace to enable him to form a government that's hostage neither to the extreme right or left.

This is an outcome Americans can welcome with relief and considerable hope. For President Bush, who has suffered harsh criticism from some American Jews, the results vindicate a long, tenacious peace initiative.

The peace talks he prompted have galvanized such broad support in Israel that even Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir held back his criticism. And now, after long pre-election paralysis, the Rabin victory offers hope to all sides. "It looks like the peace process has been rescued from the Likud's attempt at sabotaging it," Hanan Ashrawi, a leading Palestinian, said yesterday.

Mr. Rabin promises first priority to granting autonomy and self-rule to Palestinians. Moreover, he pledges to curb settlements in the disputed West Bank and Gaza, thus opening the way for U.S. approval of \$10 billion in loan guarantees to help Israel absorb Russian immigrants. By quietly refusing to yield on this condition, Washington managed to improve Mr. Rabin's chances without giving Mr. Shamir a provocative target.

The elections spell out the result. The Likud coalition won only 32 seats of the Parliament's 120

seats, its worst showing since 1969. Labor's share increased from 37 to 45. Placing third with 12 seats was the unabashedly dovish Meretz bloc, giving the peace faction new leverage.

Mr. Shamir's defeat owed much to mismanagement of the overtaxed, overregulated economy. Soaring unemployment led to a dramatic drop in Russian emigration; the frustrated newcomers turned strongly against Likud. This debacle was inextricably linked to the Government's frantic effort to build new settlements.

The blunt Mr. Rabin exploited this linkage, while reminding voters that he was also commander in the triumphant Six-Day War 25 years ago. Even fresher is his recent service as Defense Minister, when he confronted the Palestinian uprising with "might, power and beatings."

Yet toughness is scarcely the same as inflexibility. Israelis demonstrably yearn for peace and security in a transformed Middle East. Labor and its new leader speak of national interest and security guarantees, rather than ideological and biblical claims to a Greater Israel. The change to the pragmatic Mr. Rabin offers new possibilities for a land-for-peace compromise vainly sought by successive American Presidents.

This opportunity could evaporate, however, if Palestinians and their Arab allies once again misread the Israeli mood. Reciprocal trust can only be nurtured by matching moderation. In this, further resourceful diplomacy by Secretary of State James Baker can make a difference. It has already paid generous dividends.

A Threat to Veto Democracy

White House officials say they're urging President Bush to veto the voter registration bill that just arrived on his desk from Congress. It's terrible advice. This common-sense measure, nicknamed "motor voter," honors democracy by making it simple and convenient for all Americans to register to vote.

Citizens could do so when they obtain or renew their driver's licenses. The bill would also require states to offer registration by mail and at government agencies like welfare offices. Together, experts say, these simple steps could boost registration to about 90 percent.

That's an impressive leap. Only 60 percent of eligible citizens are now registered. Yet the Office of Management and Budget argues that "there's no sufficient justification" for imposing this program on the states. No sufficient justification? What about the 70 million Americans left unregistered by the present hodgepodge of state laws?

Opponents of "motor voter" also say the bill would increase fraud. That's a red herring. At present, 29 states sign up voters at motor-vehicle

agencies; 27 states permit registration by mail. There's no evidence of an epidemic of cheating.

It's true, as some Republican opponents have noted, there are plenty of other reasons why Americans don't vote. Simplifying registration cannot substitute for more inspiring candidates and campaigns. But there's virtually no chance of increasing voter turnout — barely 50 percent in the last Presidential election — as long as 40 percent of Americans remain unregistered.

Republican opponents of "motor voter" seem to fear that adding more voters to the rolls would mainly benefit the Democrats. That may or may not be the case. But fortunately Mr. Bush can rise above any such cynical calculation. Like the sound campaign finance reform bill he chose to veto a month ago, the "motor-voter" provisions wouldn't become effective until after the 1992 election.

To veto this popular legislation would be to veto expanded participation in government — something the President might wish to encourage in this angry election year. He would help his standing and the nation by standing up for democracy.

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Religion Remains Free, 5-4

Thirty years ago today, the Supreme Court held that mandatory prayer in the public schools was unconstitutional. In the ensuing uproar, President John Kennedy remained calm: "We have in this case a very easy remedy and that is to pray ourselves" at church and at home.

Yesterday, as the Supreme Court reaffirmed this same principle of religious liberty, it was a Justice named Anthony Kennedy who had the same ecumenical message.

"We acknowledge the profound belief of adherents of many faiths that there must be a place in the student's life for precepts of a morality higher even than the law we today enforce. We express no hostility to those aspirations."

Indeed, by striking down a state-sponsored prayer imposed on a junior high school commencement in Providence, R.I., the majority reinforced the value of personal worship. Religious beliefs and expression, it said, "are too precious to be either proscribed or prescribed by the state."

Like any religiosity imposed on pupils, the prayer violated the First Amendment's ban on the establishment of religion. It invaded the con-

sciences of all the children — pious as well as non-religious — who attended the ceremonies.

This reaffirmation of church-state separation is as welcome as its narrow 5-to-4 margin is distressing. The decision turned on the justices' perception of what happens to real people in real situations. Justice Kennedy saw clearly that the prayer of a rabbi invited by the school had a coercive effect on the audience and thus was state-enforced. Justice Antonin Scalia's dissent argued, unrealistically, that the ceremony was "voluntary."

To be sure, no graduate was legally compelled to attend the ceremony, or even to stand with the others as the rabbi expressed nondenominational thanks to God for America's diversity, justice and inclusive politics. But Justice Kennedy saw that in American society a high school graduation is one of life's most significant occasions; to say a kid is free to leave or stay away ignores reality.

Only three years ago Justice Kennedy was accusing his colleagues of "an unjustified hostility toward religion" in church-state cases. But yesterday Justice Kennedy drove home President Kennedy's vision of religion in a free society.

Keep the U.N. — and America's Word

Mayor David Dinkins has mounted a catch-up campaign to keep four United Nations agencies from leaving New York City for cheaper pastures in Germany or suburban New Rochelle. That's a start. But this is not just a municipal matter. It also involves winning world respect for America's word.

The Mayor needs help from Congress and the Bush Administration. They're to blame for America's abysmal failure to pay, in full and on time, the dues owed the world organization.

It won't do simply to snipe at Chancellor Helmut Kohl, as if he were a crafty Rhine maiden trying to lure unwary U.N. workers to sleepy Bonn. When Germany's capital moves to Berlin, there will be ample space in a not unpleasant city. Mr. Kohl is offering free rent and moving expenses to the U.N. Development Program, the Population Fund and the Development Fund for Women.

He has a solid advantage: Germany has paid its U.N. dues, and even promises to increase its added voluntary contribution. Uncle Deadbeat, by contrast, owes \$555 million in general dues and \$112 million for peacekeeping. Much of the shortfall

results from a fiscal gimmick. Though dues are payable on Jan. 1, the check does not go into the mail until October, when the U.S. begins a new fiscal year. American procrastination invites other members to follow suit, thereby deepening the U.N.'s chronic cash shortage.

More noise about this delinquency is in order, especially from New York's two Senators and the City's 14 Representatives. This is not a partisan issue. Polls show strong public support for the U.N.

City Hall has already come up with a competitive offer to dissuade the United Nations Children's Fund from moving to New Rochelle. Deputy Mayor Barry Sullivan proposes a rent reduction of \$28 million over 20 years if Unicef remains on U.N. Plaza. And to underwrite future expansion, the city is prepared to issue tax-exempt bonds.

But the German challenge requires more urgent attention, both in New York and in Washington. If Chancellor Kohl prevails, the rest of the United Nations will soon be coaxed elsewhere, diminishing New York's standing and America's special status as a nation of nations.

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Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

'Not in the System'

WASHINGTON

On Oct. 13, 1989, a young Foreign Service officer sent a memo to his bosses warning of multiple investigations into the corrupt diversion of U.S. grain money for Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb.

Two weeks ago, in preparation for a hearing of the House Judiciary Committee considering the need for a special Iraqgate prosecutor, that F.S.O., Frank Lemay, asked for a State Department copy of his memo and was surprised to see a cover note that had been attached: "Not in the system."

That meant that somebody at State saw the significance of his red-hot warning at the time and restricted the distribution.

Why was the report withheld from normal channels? Because somebody knew Secretary James Baker wanted to speed another billion dollars in back-door foreign aid to Saddam, under the improper guise of grain guarantees, and it was important to sup-

But Iraqgate truth will out.

press internal discussion of the spreading scandal.

Little details of bureaucratic deception like that form a mosaic of cover-up: first, in State's perverting the use of Agriculture's farm-export guarantees; second, in Commerce doctoring documents to mislead Congress; finally, in the Department of Justice delaying prosecution of a huge Iraqi fraud.

At the Judiciary Committee hearings this week, the crusty chairman, Jack Brooks ("Been reading your hokum for years, but you're on to something here," he tells me), laid part of the groundwork for requesting a prosecutor not beholden to Justice.

Mr. Bush has resisted sending high-level officials to testify; but yesterday, the White House wisely notified relevant departments to respond to Judiciary's request for documents, sending copies to the National Security Council to keep the President one jump ahead of surprises.

At the hearing, a misfeasant Commerce Department Inspector General sought to minimize or justify some 60 alterations of documents — changing

the word "military" to "commercial," for example — digging that department into a deeper hole.

Chairman Brooks put into the record a letter from Atlanta's U.S. District Court Judge Marvin H. Shoob calling for a special prosecutor in the long-botched Lavoro bank case (in which Federal Reserve oversight also broke down).

The judge, a Sirica type, wants the local bank manager pleading guilty to come clean, naming officials and companies who profited from his Iraqi scam. But a prosecutor sent from Washington arranged a last-minute plea bargain reducing the counts from 347 to 60 and permitting months more of his silence. Judge Shoob told the lawyers he suspects "an effort here to extend the sentencing hearing until after the elections."

The Criminal Division chief, Robert Mueller, informs me that the judge's letter complaining about this last-minute shuffle is "inaccurate." But Justice's own submission to the committee about the Lavoro case is unintentionally damning.

In January of 1990, with U.S. funds flowing to Iraq, the Atlanta prosecutor Gale McKenzie was ready to bring an indictment against Lavoro's local manager, revealing his corruption by Iraq and not focusing on the bank headquarters in Rome.

But that would have ruined the Bush-Baker back-door financing of Saddam. Justice's Mueller sent a man down to Atlanta with a different theory of the case: that the Italians at bank headquarters were the real villains, and we shouldn't be so beastly to the Iraqis.

That obfuscation successfully delayed indictment by one full year: Finally, when Desert Storm was over, Washington let Ms. McKenzie indict, largely on her original theory. As Justice admitted this week, "we concluded that the essential purpose of the scheme was to benefit Iraq — not B.N.L. or the Italian Government...."

Stupidity or venality? A majority of the committee thinks the long delay and the current silencing by Justice cannot be investigated by Justice. I think a request for independent counsel will be voted; if Attorney General Barr, to protect his colleagues, pretends to find no credible evidence for seeking court-appointed counsel, we will have the impeachment of a misfeasant Attorney General.

That's the system, which works. Nobody puts on a cover sheet: "not in the system."

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Salesman Or Strategist?

By Robert B. Costello

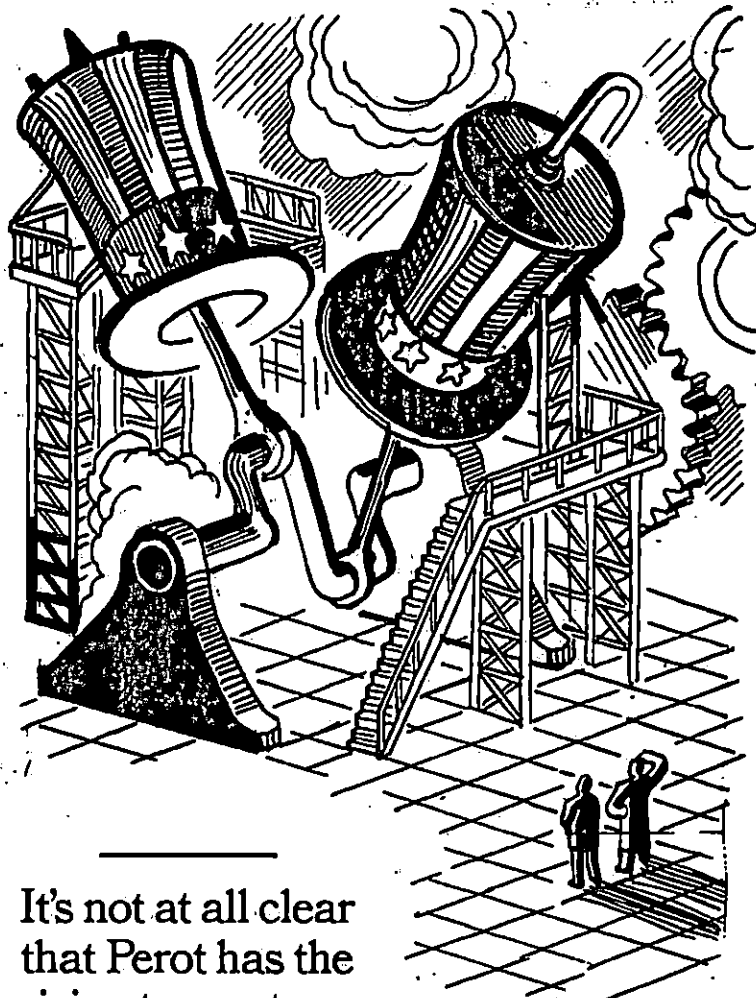
No one is in a better position to take a stand on the Government's role in helping U.S. industry compete than Ross Perot. An insider who understands the intricate workings of Government, he used his knowledge to build an industry — Electronic Data Systems — and great personal wealth.

The question is: Is Mr. Perot the kind of leader who is willing to make commitments against which he asks to be measured, or is he the slick systems sales pro who will tell us anything to get the job and is never pinned down on specifics?

When he was a businessman hungry for public-sector work, Mr. Perot studied the Government's needs. If the tables were turned and he was in charge, we would expect him to define a role for government in using its vast resources to nurture industries critical for U.S. leadership in the 21st century.

Mr. Perot is no strict protectionist. His strategy at E.D.S. demonstrated that he understands the dangers of a go-it-alone industrial policy. He developed the American and foreign resources—his company needed to be

Robert B. Costello was Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition in the Reagan and early Bush Administrations.



David Suter

It's not at all clear that Perot has the vision to create an industrial policy.

competitive — and to build an American data processing industry in partnership with the Government. Thus, he should have more insight than any politician into how government might create opportunities for growth, in-

vestment and employment.

We know that the Government can play this role. Important technologies — computers, semiconductors and jet aircraft — originated in the Defense Department, the result of wise investments to meet civilian and military needs. The Pentagon supported criti-

cal research and development and then proceeded to buy enough of the product to put in place the infrastructure to make the U.S. the international leader in these industries. This was accomplished without restricting trade or limiting the global exchange of technical information.

These breakthroughs were unexpected dividends, since such a public-private partnership was not the original goal. But perhaps it is a model for the future.

The world's largest buyer of goods and services is our Government. With the proper industrial policy, this power can be harnessed to revive our technological and manufacturing leadership.

For too many years, politicians have pushed big pork barrel science projects, like the supercollider, with little regard for building a broader technical base with the potential for benefiting everyone. Germany and Japan have promoted useful projects, supporting industries and technologies from precision instruments to semiconductors.

The hydrogen-cycle internal-combustion engine would have been a good test of the potential role of the Government as a catalyst and leader in industrial development. If we had been able to point to progress on this nonpolluting technology at the Earth Summit, we might have been seen as a leader, not a reluctant follower.

The U.S. had the potential to be far ahead in developing this lightweight engine, which runs on hydrogen and air, producing only water and nitrogen oxides as byproducts. Research and development still need to be done and a market has to be created.

If the military pioneered the use of the technology to build higher-efficiency, nonpolluting vehicles with low emissions, the result could be of far greater importance to U.S. industrial capability than the supercollider.

Only the Government has the resources and well-defined needs to make this happen. After the Pentagon created the market, all Government agencies could be required to use vehicles with hydrogen-cycle engines. Thus, the Government could help build a critical industrial infrastructure.

But Washington had better hurry. The Germans and the Japanese are working on prototypes, though they do not yet have a big enough captive market to insure success.

In technology, trade and politics, bold, insightful leadership is the difference. Ross Perot is either the leader with industrial insight or the consummate salesman whose promises aren't pinned down to measurable specifics. The U.S. needs leadership in the dynamic world of industrial competition — commitments, not promises. So far we've heard only promises. □

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Let Women Fly in Combat

By Jamie Ann Conway

The Pentagon is free to assign women aviators to fighter jets, attack aircraft and bombers in combat missions. But it seems unwilling to move quickly enough to act on permission granted by Congress to do so.

The permission was granted by the 1992 Defense Authorization Act, which repealed portions of 1948 statutes that barred women from combat and was signed into law in November.

The Pentagon announced late last year that it would not allow women into combat aviation until the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces completed its work. The report is due Nov. 15, but creation of the commission was delayed for months and no one expects the deadline to be met.

The decision to carry out changes in the law rests with the Navy and Air Force Secretaries. No one has made a responsible case for keeping combat cockpits closed to women officers.

Given the military's unwillingness

Jamie Ann Conway, an Army captain, works in the Pentagon.

to let women engage the enemy in direct combat, the Pentagon apparently is using the commission as an excuse to delay action to give women a chance to compete for combat aviation duty. (Maj. Marie Rossi, killed in a Gulf War accident, was not a combat but a transport pilot.)

The "reasoning" and bureaucratic lethargy preventing progress today mirrors the policy toward black aviators from 1935 to 1941, when the Army Air Corps rejected every measure to train blacks as pilots.

Despite the exemplary performance of women aviators in noncombat aviation, and medical data showing women can handle the cockpit as well as men, Christopher Jehn, an assistant Secretary of Defense, testified last year at a Senate hearing that changes must "evolve deliberately." No, let's change this year, not in the vague future.

The mindset of some officials was illustrated by Gen. Merrill A. McPeak, the Air Force chief of staff, who testified that he would choose a male pilot vying for a combat position over a woman even if she were a person of superior intelligence and in every way more qualified. He admitted his remark "doesn't make much sense," but said, "That's the way I feel." This and other testimony suggested rationalized emotional deci-

sions, even at the expense of effectiveness. Perhaps the officials are being protective of women; yes, a captured woman soldier was molested during the Gulf War, but that is a combat risk women assume upon being commissioned.

Those who don't want to put women in combat roles argue readiness. But Pentagon statistics show women miss far less duty time than men. In 1980, its data showed that even with servicewomen's loss of time because of childbearing, absenteeism among men was twice as high because of alcoholism, misconduct and routine medical problems. In 1990, the Navy reached the same findings after a four-year study of 7,700 people of each gender.

Some critics make pregnancy an issue. A Navy study issued in 1989 showed that pregnancy was a problem only in the lower enlisted ranks and only in the first tour of duty. Senior Navy officials say pregnancy is negligible among officers. In any case, women aviators tend to schedule pregnancy to coincide with nonflying assignments or service schools.

The bottom line is that when I command a deployed unit, the survival of my soldiers will depend on a combat pilot's skill at air support. My concern will not be gender but the pilot's ability to put steel on target. □

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

The Kimberlin Case

BOSTON

In this country government officials cannot stop anyone from speaking, or punish him afterward, because they dislike his political message. That basic understanding of the First Amendment has just been reaffirmed by the Supreme Court in the St. Paul cross-burning case.

But the principle has not helped Brett Kimberlin. A Federal prison inmate, he has been silenced and repeatedly punished for wanting to tell the world that he sold marijuana to Dan Quayle.

It is nearly four years now since Mr. Kimberlin first tried to talk to the press about his charge. What was done to silence him has been reported from time to time. But by delay and obfuscation, the Bush Administration has managed so far to avoid real public focus on what by all signs was an outrageous, political abuse of power.

Mr. Kimberlin was scheduled to talk to the press on Nov. 4, 1988, four days before the election, at a conference arranged by authorities at the Federal prison in Oklahoma where he was then held. Regulations permitted such meetings with the press.

A top aide in the Bush-Quayle campaign, Mark Goodin, heard about the scheduled conference. He telephoned the Justice Department's director of public affairs, Loye Miller, to complain. Mr. Miller told higher Justice officials and the Bureau of Prisons.

The director of the bureau, J. Michael Quinlan, then ordered the press conference canceled. And at 11 that night he ordered Mr. Kimberlin confined in "the hole," a 4-by-6-foot detention cell.

Silenced and punished.

Mr. Quinlan said he isolated Mr. Kimberlin to protect him from reported threats. It is now acknowledged that there were no such threats.

On Nov. 7, the eve of the election, Mr. Kimberlin arranged to telephone reporters. An hour before the call he was returned to "the hole."

On Dec. 22, 1988, Mr. Kimberlin was put in detention. That was after The Legal Times published an article about what had been done to him. Officials explained that he had violated telephone regulations, but later he was found innocent of that charge.

A suit by Mr. Kimberlin against Mr. Quinlan and others could bring out the facts. Federal Judge Harold H. Greene of Washington ruled on Aug. 6, 1991, that there was sufficient evidence to justify a trial of Mr. Kimberlin's First Amendment claim that he had been isolated and punished "because of the content of what he was expected to say."

But Mr. Quinlan and the others appealed, and the Court of Appeals will not hear argument of the case until Oct. 16. Meanwhile Mr. Kimberlin's lawyers are barred from questioning officials about their actions.

Officials have denied any political motive in what they did to Mr. Kimberlin. But they have not had to answer questions, and there are too many supposed coincidences for

the blanket denials to be credible.

One more supposed coincidence is that the Federal Parole Commission has treated Mr. Kimberlin with singular harshness. He was convicted of marijuana smuggling, which he admits, and of bombings, which he denies. He was eligible for release in 1989, but the commission has now scheduled it for February 1994.

Erwin N. Griswold, the former dean of the Harvard Law School and Solicitor General in the Nixon Administration, petitioned the Supreme Court unsuccessfully on Mr. Kimberlin's behalf to review the bombing conviction because prosecution witnesses had been hypnotized before their testimony. Dean Griswold says he has found Brett Kimberlin "able and reliable."

"Dean Griswold has been wonderful to me," Mr. Kimberlin said when I spoke to him on the telephone. "He writes to me. He never forgets my birthday. He's been like a grandfather."

On his case Mr. Kimberlin said: "The marijuana smoking is really a peccadillo. I just thought it was worth people knowing. But what's been done to me since then is an injustice and an outrage. I've been punished and harassed and threatened simply for saying what I knew."

Yes, whether Vice President Quayle bought marijuana is a question of no importance. But it matters a lot if officials manipulated the Federal prison system at the behest of a political campaign. That question should be explored in the way best designed to get the facts promptly: a Congressional hearing. □

USA TODAY

NO. 10001

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

1 DAY

Wall intact between religion, government

By Tony Mauro
and Dennis Cauchon
USA TODAY

There were no prayers or benedictions at public school graduation ceremonies in Providence, R.I., Wednesday — and thanks to a Supreme Court ruling, there won't be any more for years to come.

Legal experts agree that because of the court's sweeping and unexpected decision Wednesday, it will be virtually impossible to include prayer in any kind of officially sanctioned school event, from graduations to pep rallies.

"I'm going to recommend that they follow the law," said Joseph Rotella, Providence School department lawyer. "We are ... required as any other community to follow the dictates of the Constitution and we don't intend to do anything other than that."

The court's 5-4 ruling arose from a challenge to graduation prayers in Providence that was successful in halting the prayers since 1990. When Providence decided to defend its practice of inviting local clergy to offer invocations — similar to ceremonies in hundreds of communities — many expected the conservative court would be sympathetic.

"We went all the way to the Supreme Court because our lawyers told us we had an excellent case, that we probably would win 6-3," said school board vice chairman Mary Batastini. "I was taken aback by the ruling."

For several years, the court has struggled with just how separate church and state should be in American society. It was 30 years ago that the court first banned teacher-led school prayer.

In general, the conservative justices have voiced dissatisfaction with past rulings that built the wall of separation high.

The Bush administration seized on the Providence case and asked the court to revisit its precedents and accommodate more religious practices in public life.

The court decided to keep the wall of separation intact, invoking concern that government-sanctioned prayer, no matter how non-sectarian, would intimidate students of other faiths or no faith.

Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote for the majority: "What to most believers may seem nothing more



By Jann Van Horne

'BEYOND OUR WILDEST EXPECTATIONS': Daniel Weisman with daughter Deborah, who challenged graduation prayers in Providence.

KEY RULINGS

Key Supreme Court rulings on school prayer:

1962: Court rules use of an official non-denominational prayer in New York state public schools is unconstitutional.

1963: Court bars public schools in Philadelphia and Baltimore from requiring students to say the Lord's Prayer or verses from the Bible.

1968: Court upheld ruling keeping kindergarten children in De Kalb, Ill., from reciting prayers even though the word "God" had been deleted.

1971: Court refused to allow a New Jersey school board to resume school prayers on a voluntary basis.

1981: Court lets stand ruling prohibiting students in Guilderland, N.Y., from holding voluntary prayer meetings on public school property before the start of the school day.

1982: Court says Louisiana public schools may not set aside time each day for voluntary classroom prayer.

1983: Court forbids "one minute of silence" for prayer in New Mexico public schools.

1985: Court affirms ruling that says a daily moment of silence in Alabama public schools "for prayer and meditation" is unconstitutional.

1989: Court says suburban Atlanta public high school cannot begin football games with a Christian prayer.

expectations," said Weisman. "One thing that makes this country the envy of most others is that the government has two roles with respect to religion: Protect any challenge to its free expression and prohibit government from promoting any religion."

Weisman, like others, is unsure of the ruling's impact, noting that many schools in New England have ignored past decisions and allowed prayers in schools anyway. Bible Belt public schools also frequently foster religious practices that go unchallenged.

But in any district where someone challenges a prayer or benediction, the ruling will provide strong ammunition.

Advocates for both sides of the church-state debate say they can see no way of fashioning a prayer or benediction that would pass constitutional muster.

John Whitehead, whose Rutherford Institute often files suit in support of religious practices in schools, said only impromptu prayers, unsanctioned by school officials, might be acceptable. "You're going to see some Christians ... standing up and praying in protest."

What about a valedictorian who prays during his or her speech? If the school has reviewed the text and in any way sanctions it, the court's ruling would forbid it, says Joseph Conn of Americans United for the Separation of Church and State. "It's a bright line rule."

Similarly, if a football player drops to his knees and prays individually before a game, nothing could stop him, experts agreed.

Some think the court's decision takes too rigid a view of what constitutes state-sponsored religion.

"We understand not having prayers in the classroom," said Batastini. "But we did not see this as school prayer. We saw graduation as a community ceremony. By taking away prayer at graduation, they've taken a lot away from our community."

nonbeliever respect their religious practices, in a school context may appear to the nonbeliever or dissenter to be an attempt to ... enforce a religious orthodoxy."

No one was more surprised at the ruling than Daniel Weisman, whose daughter Deborah challenged the benediction.

"This was beyond our wildest

COVER STORY

'Not a humanitarian issue anymore'

Continued from 1A

year, for all its political worth.

Likely to profit: undeclared presidential candidate Ross Perot, who has long claimed that soldiers were left behind.

Likely loser: President Bush, if his administration is shown to have ignored or obscured evidence of soldiers left behind.

Wednesday's testimony — like virtually every aspect of the volatile Vietnam POW/MIA situation — was as compelling as it was impossible to prove. To detractors, it was erroneous if not fictitious; to believers, vindication and grounds for hope.

The Pentagon says it has no conclusive evidence of POWs being alive after 1973. The White House says it is monitoring the hearings and declined specific comment.

But for many of the families, Wednesday's testimony "makes me very angry," says Susan Wright, whose Air Force pilot stepfather was reported missing over Laos in October 1968. The government "misled us... and lied to us," said Wright.

But because her stepfather's body never was found — and especially after Wednesday's revelations — "we're not giving up," Wright says.

The panel on POW/MIA Affairs resumes hearings today.

The tragic mystery — what became of 2,266 U.S. servicemen missing in the Vietnam War — has stymied grieving families, spawned a cottage industry of prisoner-hunters and drawn scrutiny to the Pentagon.

At the hearing, Kerry said Defense Department and Defense Intelligence Agency records provide evidence — but not unequivocal proof — that 244 U.S. prisoners not returned during "Operation Homecoming" should have been listed in captivity at war's end.

Based on information from returning prisoners, Kerry said, 111 of those 244 were judged to have died in captivity — leaving 133 unaccounted for.

At the hearing, Kerry quizzed Charles Trowbridge, of the Defense Intelligence Agency's POW/MIA of-

fice, on the government's 1973 claim that all survivors were sent home.

"That is not true," Kerry said. "The last evidence we held was that people were in captivity. Correct. Some people."

"Some people," Trowbridge confirmed. "Yes."

Trowbridge discounted the claims by noting that some names of supposed survivors "were heard from another prisoner. Some were written on the walls. Nobody actually saw the prisoners."

Retired Air Force Gen. Eugene Tighe, however, told the panel he was shocked that the North Vietnamese list of U.S. prisoners released in 1973 was so short: "It should have contained many more names."

Tighe, a former Pentagon intelligence chief, suggested some U.S. prisoners may have been taken to China.

Wednesday's testimony "unfortunately lends credence to some of our deepest concerns," says Steve Van Buskirk of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. "It gives cause to be concerned about... ulterior motives in the way it was handled."

Paul Egan, executive director of the 45,000-member Vietnam Veterans of America, called for appointment of a special prosecutor to pursue anyone who "maintained secrecy on this information."

Senators at the hearing were careful to say that reports of live sightings — through the 1970s and as late as 1989 — end short of any confirmation that servicemen are alive.

Kerry also said the government deliberately misled some families about how loved ones disappeared: "The location of loss for those involved in covert operations in Cambodia and Laos was intentionally falsified, meaning that erroneous information was provided to families," he said.

POW/MIA relatives and activists have long claimed the government dismissed or thwarted efforts to follow-up reports of U.S. troops alive in Southeast Asia. They were written off as crackpots, many say, or as

scam artists playing on hopes.

Barbara White of Huntsville, Ala., says she believes the government misled families like hers.

White says her family "had to fight" to see classified files about her brother, Air Force Capt. Samuel Larry James, whose plane was shot down over Cambodia in April 1973. And she charges the Pentagon tried to discredit reliable reports that her brother was seen alive.

White suspects many U.S. officials, including former CIA director Bush, knew POWs were alive. "Bush has... been very resistant to it coming out because it's going to be very embarrassing to him," she says.

Political commentator Robert Beckel, former campaign manager for Walter Mondale, says if a cover-up "occurred on Bush's watch at the CIA and he knew something about it, he might as well not worry about running for re-election."

"If that connection were to be confirmed, then it could be devastating for him."

As for Perot, Beckel says Wednesday's news "vindicates" what the billionaire has been saying. Thanks to Perot, to Kerry and to Yeltsin's statements, says Beckel, "The POW/MIA issue is now back in full force."

Whatever the revelations may cost politicians, it takes a different toll on the families of missing servicemen.

A plane carrying Air Force Staff Sgt. Steven Adams went down in October 1966 off the coast of North Vietnam and all on board were listed missing. But soon after, a Red Cross official reported Adams in a hospital somewhere in Southeast Asia. And as late as last year, the family heard accounts suggesting Adams is still alive.

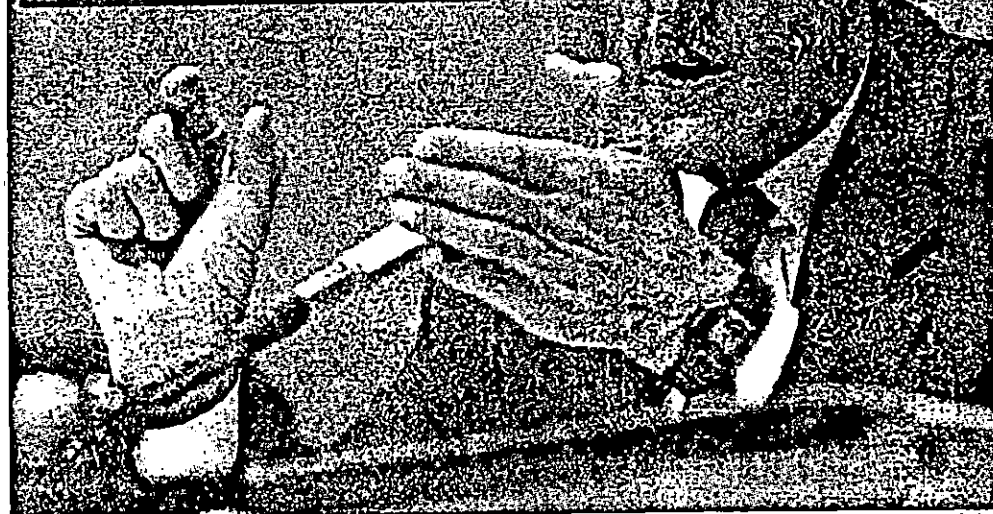
Trying vainly to verify those accounts has left Adams' family "totally, totally disenchanted," says brother Bruce Adams of Laramie, Wyo.

"This is not a humanitarian issue anymore. It has been drug through the political mud for so long there is nothing humanitarian left anymore."

Contributing: Andrea Stone, Laurence Jolidon, Jessica Lee

MIA families: U.S. 'lied to us'

Kerry charges Vietnam POWs left behind



By John Duricka, AP; inset AP file

INQUIRY: Sen. John Kerry, head of the Senate POW/MIA committee, says as many as 133 U.S. servicemen may have been left in captivity after the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam in 1973. Lt. Col. James Lindberg Hughes, inset, is led into Hanoi in 1967. (Russia's POW camp, 4A)

COVER STORY

Testimony opens old wounds

'Operation Homecoming' in 1973 left 133 soldiers unaccounted for, says Kerry

By Carol J. Castaneda
 and Patricia Edmonds
 USA TODAY

Nothing chills families of servicemen missing in Southeast Asia more than charges the government deliberately abandoned its men and lied about their disappearances.

But that charge Wednesday, made by the chairman of a panel investigating the POW/MIA issue, challenges the government's 19-year-old claim that all Vietnam warriors came home at war's end.

Sen. John Kerry's assertion — that 133 servicemen could have been left in the war zone after a 1973 prisoner return — rekindles some families' hopes loved ones are alive.

And Kerry echoed some families' most bitter suspicions when he suggested that government officials intentionally provided misleading, "erroneous information" about where and how some servicemen were lost.

The nation now faces the prospect of sifting its war ashes twice. Russian President Boris Yeltsin jolted the nation with suggestions that U.S. prisoners — from World War II, the Korean War or the Vietnam War — might still be held captive in the former Soviet Union.

Then Wednesday's announcement forced a painful fast-forward to the Vietnam era with a grim claim: 1973's "Operation Homecoming" prisoner return didn't return all.

The grisly drama doubtless will be played, in this election

USA TODAY

NO. 11141

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

USA TODAY

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

Officially sanctioned prayers or invocations at public school graduations are unconstitutional, the Supreme Court ruled Wednesday.

The surprise 5-4 decision may be felt immediately — graduation season at public elementary and secondary schools is well under way.

Reaction was quick:

► "The court has unnecessarily cast away the venerable and proper American tradition of non-sectarian prayer at public celebrations," said President Bush, who had urged the court to allow the prayers.

► "A remarkable win" for church-state separation and "an embarrassing rebuff" to Bush, said Arthur Kropp of People for the American Way.

► "Devastating to the rights of individuals and to the future of religious freedom," said Beverly LaHate of Concerned Women for America.

The decision could reignite the campaign for a constitutional amendment allowing school prayer.

Experts agreed the ruling means an end to all forms of officially sanctioned religious practices at public elementary or secondary schools — including prayers before high school football games.

Not covered: prayer before government bodies and college audiences, where listeners are presumed to be mature enough to realize no religious endorsement is intended.

The court's conservative justices were sharply divided.

While Anthony Kennedy led the majority, Antonin Scalia read a bitter dissent from the bench, attacking the decision as a "sad" and "senseless" negation of religion in public life.

Both are Reagan appointees.

The ruling came in a case brought by the family of Deborah Weisman, who objected to an invocation offered at the 1989 graduation ceremony of Nathan Bishop Junior High School in Providence, R.I.

"I wasn't looking to establish a landmark Supreme Court decision," said her father, Daniel. "I was just looking to correct a wrong in my own local school."



Bush's perfect veto record preserved

By Maria Puente
USA TODAY

The House Wednesday failed to override President Bush's veto of a bill that would have allowed research use of fetal tissue from elective abortions, thus preserving the president's 30-0 veto record.

The veto was Bush's seventh on an abortion-related issue, and the House's failure to override raised doubts about Democrats' future efforts to turn abortion rights into law.

In jeopardy: a promised bill guaranteeing women's right to

choose abortion if the Supreme Court overturns *Roe vs. Wade* and a bill to lift Bush's ban on some abortion counseling at federally funded clinics.

"We've got over one-third of the House to back the president on any pro-life issue," said Douglas Johnson of the National Right to Life Committee.

Thomas Mann, a Congress expert at the Brookings Institution in Washington, said Congress keeps losing because Bush picks vetoes carefully.

"He doesn't make symbolic vetoes that don't have a good chance of being sustained,"

Mann said. "Bush plays to win on these matters."

Despite emotional entreaties, even from Republican abortion opponents, the vote was 271-156, 19 short of the two-thirds necessary to override. Opponents said it would have led to more abortions.

The tissue provision was part of the \$5.4 billion National Institutes of Health research bill, which included funding for women's health research.

After the vote, Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif., announced a bill that would:

► Trim at least \$1.6 billion

from the cost.

► Allow use of fetal tissue from elective abortions if Bush's proposed tissue bank, storing fetuses from miscarriages and tubal pregnancies, proves insufficient.

Researchers say fetal tissue transplants offer hope for treatment or cures of diseases such as diabetes, Parkinson's and Alzheimer's, but the ban has curtailed further study.

That caused many abortion opponents, such as Rep. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., to support the bill. His daughter suffers from diabetes.

THE NATION

Rail strike squeezes businesses

Economic effect is immediate

By Linda Kanamine and Michelle Maynard
USA TODAY

For those who thought the heyday of railroads had long since come and gone, Wednesday's coast-to-coast rail strike was a reminder to think again.

"When a strike occurs, it completely paralyzes the country," said Chand Vyas, president of Illinois' Zeigler Coal Holding Co., which ships nearly all its coal by rail.

But whether coal or cars, paper or poultry, the strike's economic effect was enormous. And instantaneous.

"Basically the pipeline is stopped. Some products are literally on top of a flatcar in the middle of a field in Iowa," said Bob Jensen of Hub Group Logistics, Downers Grove, Ill.

Businesses nationwide — which have been trying to save money and boost efficiency by not stockpiling inventories — warned of almost immediate slowdowns and layoffs.

Half of General Motors' 52 U.S. assembly and parts plants could close. Chrysler's Canadian-built minivans will back up at the border after two days.

Michael Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, said a two-week strike could cost up to \$15 billion and force layoffs of more than 500,000 workers.

George Haydu, production manager for Kentucky's Enterprise Coal Co., said, "Basically we're just dead in the water."

Behind the grim predictions are the simply enormous amount of goods that trains carry every day, faster and cheaper over long distances than trucks or barges. Overall, trains move 115 million tons from city to city every month.

"What else are you going to do if you've got tons and tons and tons of corn to move from one section of the U.S. to another?" said Walt Casey of Nebraska agribusiness giant Con-Agra. "It's not real economical to use a truck."

Among those affected:

► Poultry producers across the Southeast say even a three-day strike could dwindle feed supplies and touch off large-scale chicken kills.

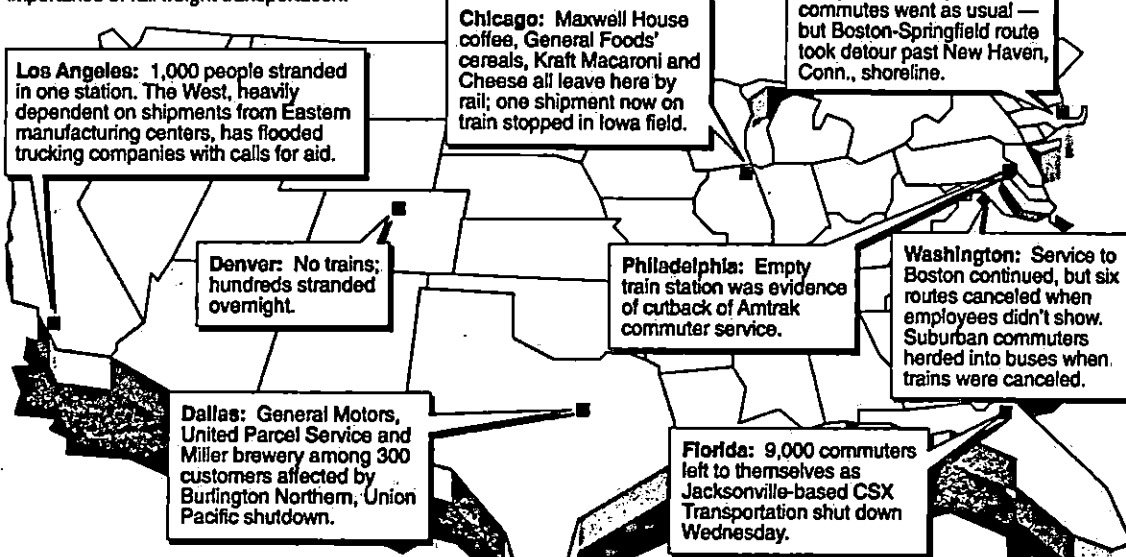
► The nation's 13,000 grain elevators — most of which are served by rail — "will be forced to dump grain into open storage or simply refuse to accept farmer deliveries," said Bruce Lear of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

► Second-, third-, and fourth-class mail, like books and advertising, has been delayed at least a day, said Lou Eberhardt of the U.S. Postal Service.

"That's 15% of the mail," Eberhardt said. First-class let-

Walkout derails industry, commuters

Freight railroads shut down Wednesday coast to coast and Amtrak stopped passenger service almost everywhere after the Machinists union went on strike against one of the nation's biggest freight lines, CSX Transportation. The situation for commuters and the importance of rail freight transportation:

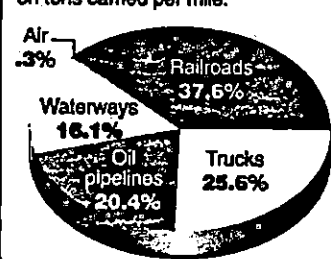


Top 10 products hauled on trains

Coal	5.91
Farm products	1.69
Chemicals	1.53
Food	1.31
Minerals	1.20
Cars/trucks	1.09
Lumber	.79 (In millions of carloads)
Pulp/paper	.61
Petroleum	.57
Stone/clay/glass	.53

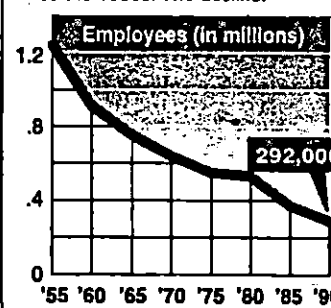
Railroads: Top haulers

Percentage of freight carried, based on tons carried per mile:



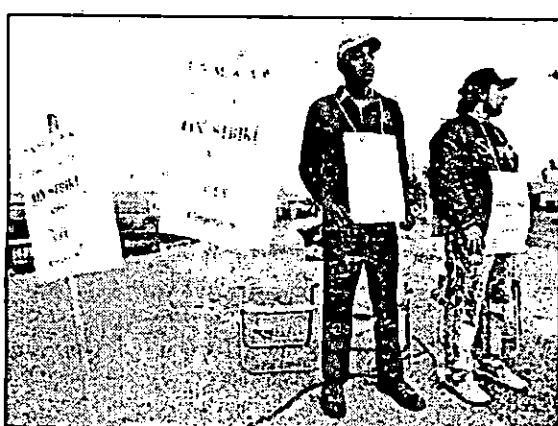
Fewer rail employees

The number of people working in the railroad industry has fallen steadily since the 1950s. The decline:



Source: Railroad Facts; USA TODAY research

By Marcy E. Mullins, USA TODAY



IN KENTUCKY: At dawn, CSX machinists R.I. Dotson, left, and Larry White picket at Osborn Yard in Louisville.

WHERE THEY STAND

Key labor-management points in the rail strike:

► **Settled:** The 1,600-member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 160-member American Train Dispatchers Association, and the 2,500-member Council of Carmen, Helpers and Coach Cleaners.

► **Talking:** 7,800-member International Association of Machinists, 2,100-member Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and 990-member Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

► **Picketing:** Members of International Association of Machinists at CSX Transpor-

tation facilities in Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, and North Carolina. CSX was struck because it is one of the largest of the nation's 40 major freight railroads outside Conrail, says union spokeswoman Linda Ross.

► **Shut down:** The USA's rail freight network, because many other major freight lines, including Burlington Northern, Santa Fe, and Union Pacific, share key interchange points in St. Louis, Chicago, New Orleans, Memphis and Philadelphia with strikebound CSX, and can't get their trains through.

— James Harney

ters and parcels move by truck or plane and won't be affected.

► **Chemical plants,** because of safety and space concerns, will be unable to continue producing and storing large volumes of their products.

"A number of chemical plants would have to shut down and the men and women who work in them would be put out of work," said Robert Roland,

president of the Chemical Manufacturers Association.

► **Paper mills** are in quick trouble. "One of our paper mills may go down by Friday if the strike continues," said Cathy Baldwin, spokeswoman for Oregon's Willamette Industries Inc. "There's not even one day of inventory."

And though some trucking companies are poised to profit

from the strike with increased work, many also are suffering.

Truckers are the fastest-growing customers of railroads. Trailers "piggyback" on trains, double-stacking containers for cross-country treks.

Even companies that stocked up before the strike have troubles. They can keep making products, but may not be able to get them to market.

"There aren't enough haul-away trucks in the world to serve all the auto plants" alone, said Joseph Phillippi, analyst with Shearson Lehman Bros.

Del Bosley, grain merchandising manager for Cargill's flour mills in Kansas, spoke for many: "We can weather the storm for 36 to 48 hours. If it exceeds that, we're going to have a problem."

USA TODAY

NO BUREAU

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

ADVERTISING

Tentacles of strike stretch East to West

Across the nation, commuters, travelers, farmers and a host of other businesses struggled Wednesday to cope with a rail shutdown.

Stranded commuters. Traffic tie-ups. Endless uncertainty. Long bus rides.

Some regions were spared immediate disruption because local passenger service wasn't affected.

Here's how eight cities fared:

PHILADELPHIA: Confusion over a possible Amtrak strike caused cancellation or delay of several passenger trains from Philadelphia to New York and Washington, D.C. Crews and equipment weren't in place. By midmorning, most Amtrak trains were back on track.

"This is a blessing, that drive would have been tough," said Richard Brown, a Philadelphia lawyer who caught an Amtrak train to Washington, from the 30th Street Station.

"We got here today, I just hope we can get back tomorrow," said Elaine Patterson, who commuted on her regular train from the suburbs to work at Meridian Bank downtown.

— Mark Folk

SEATTLE: Boeing — the world's largest plane manufacturer — is gearing up to truck in airplane parts if the strike continues into next week.

"Virtually all parts for the 747 (jet) arrive by rail," said Boeing's Susan Davis. The Northwest also has the USA's closest major harbors to Asia, and import goods bound for the Midwest and East Coast will stack up this weekend if railroads don't start moving.

"Friday could be a challenge," said Port of Tacoma's Rod Koon.

— Deann Glamser

EL MONTE, CALIF.: Poultry grower Al Zacky said his 1 million chickens could perish if the rail strike continues into the weekend. "Our chickens here can't survive on food that's stuck in the



IN CHICAGO: Lola Suderman, 54, waits for a bus to Elkhart, Ind., after learning her train had been canceled. She traveled from Albuquerque to Chicago on Amtrak.

By Anne Ryan, USA TODAY

Midwest," he says.

Throughout the state, growers say thousands of tons of produce — potatoes, carrots, oranges and other perishables — are stuck in railroad cars.

"People back East may be short of food on their shelves if Congress doesn't intervene," said Steve Connors, of Gold Ribbon Potato, near Bakersfield, Calif.

— Maria Goodavage

WASHINGTON: Vacationer Tom Sullivan, 49, of Canyon Country, Calif., got stuck at Union Station.

"Stranded out on the East Coast is not my idea of a vacation," said Sullivan.

Throughout the region, the rail strike halted all freight and disrupted some suburban commuter rail traffic in Maryland and Virginia.

"It's a real pain," said Richard Ethim, 35, of Lovettsville, Va., before

he boarded a bus at the Brunswick, Va., commuter rail station.

— Mary Smaragdís

BOSTON: Accountant Mark Hornby may take Friday off if his train isn't running. "Driving into Boston is bad enough under normal conditions," he said. The transit rail line strike missed Massachusetts and for commuters here it was business as usual.

But Boston is still prepared for the worst if a predicted Amtrak strike materializes Friday: The transit authority has chartered 250 buses for commuters.

— John Larrabee

DENVER: It took Irene Sheats a year to plan her family's cross-country train vacation, and only one day for a rail shutdown to bring it to a screeching halt. "It turned into a chaotic mess from

San Francisco east," said the bleary-eyed Harrisburg, Pa., resident.

— Jana Mazanec

CHICAGO: Freight haulers scrambled to find alternate transportation. So did stranded passengers.

"We're out of business," said Bob Jensen, president of Hub Group Logistics in suburban Downers Grove. The company moves Maxwell House coffee, General Foods cereals, Miller beer, Kraft Macaroni and Cheese, Craftsman tools, Whirlpool dishwashers and other products across the USA by Intermodal, or "piggyback," transportation: Its semi-trailers ride on flatbed railroad cars.

Some Amtrak passengers went to the Greyhound terminal in search of alternate transportation.

Lola Suderman, 54, traveled from Albuquerque to Chicago on Amtrak. She arrived Tuesday evening, only to find that her train from Chicago to Elkhart, Ind., two hours away, had been canceled. So she lugged her three suitcases, three shoulder bags and a cooler to a hotel and then to the Greyhound station. She found she had been given the wrong departure time, and would have to wait six hours for another bus.

"An hour ago I was crying. Now I can laugh about it. I'm exhausted," she said.

— Kevin Johnson

LOS ANGELES: Freight customers were worried, but the rail shutdown had little impact on would-be commuters since the region relies almost exclusively on cars for commuting.

Freight problem: The West is heavily dependent on rail shipments from Eastern manufacturing centers.

"So far we're doing OK," said Port of Angeles spokesman Jeff Leong. "But if it continues over the weekend, it may be a different story. Ships could start backing up and stacking up."

— Victoria Wagner

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

Admiral's aide describes sex-abuse 'sp

By Laurence Jolidon
USA TODAY

An admiral's female aide who set off the Navy probe of the Tailhook affair went public Wednesday, recalling a frightening trip through a gantlet of men who made a "sport" of grabbing her clothes and body.

"Everyone in that hallway got a shot at me," Navy Lt. Paula Coughlin said on ABC News.

In an interview published Wednesday, Coughlin told *The Washington Post*: "It was the most frightened I've ever been in my life. I thought, 'I have no control over these guys. I'm going to be gang-raped.'"

The Naval Investigative Service reported that up to 26 women were assaulted in the gantlet set up in a Las Vegas hotel's third-floor hall dur-

ing the annual convention of the Tailhook Association, an organization of carrier-trained aviators.

Coughlin is the first — and so far the only — woman to press an allegation of sexual abuse.

Coughlin, 30, whose father was a Navy aviator, said realizing that her attackers were fellow Navy and Marine officers was especially galling.

As the men lining the Las Vegas hotel hall put hands down her blouse and tried to "pull my panties off," she said, some shouted, "'Admiral's aide! Admiral's aide!' That made the sport that much more rewarding."

Coughlin said she reported the assault to her commander, Rear Adm. Jack Snyder. The Navy has said Snyder did not act promptly on her complaint and he was reassigned.

After two internal Navy investiga-

tions, Navy Secretary Lawrence Garrett has asked the Pentagon's inspector general to look into the matter. Garrett spoke at the convention's closing banquet, but says he witnessed no inappropriate behavior.

Now assigned to a helicopter squadron in Norfolk, Va., Coughlin said the Navy was a natural choice for a "Navy brat." She chose a flying career when "a lot of girlfriends I went to high school with were into marrying Navy aviators. I thought, 'Why marry a Navy aviator when you can be one?'"

Her message about sexual abuse: "Don't tolerate it. No woman should be ashamed to come forward."

But she said, "It's not a vendetta against every man in the Navy. ... I'm not a hero. I'm a victim who's speaking out."



By Margaret Thomas, Th
SPEAKING OUT: Navy Lt. Coughlin says "no woman should be afraid to speak out."

USA TODAY

NO. 1

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

A DAY

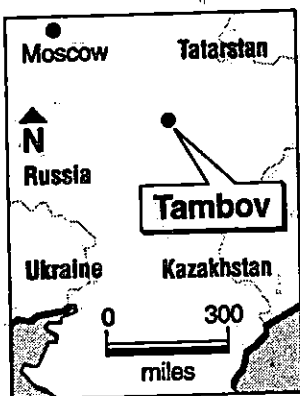
Seeking clues of POWs at Camp 188

TAMBOV, Russia — Three weedy cemeteries and trenches are all that remain of POW Camp 188, where 2,500 U.S. and allied soldiers may have been kept in World War II.

The soldiers' fate is unknown — victim of Soviet communist rulers' secrecy. Russian President Boris Yeltsin sparked interest in the POWs when he said last week that some could still be alive.

Documents found in archives in this town southeast of Moscow revealed Russian authorities in May 1945 ordered the camp to prepare for 2,500 U.S. and allied prisoners.

They may have been captured in German POW camps overrun

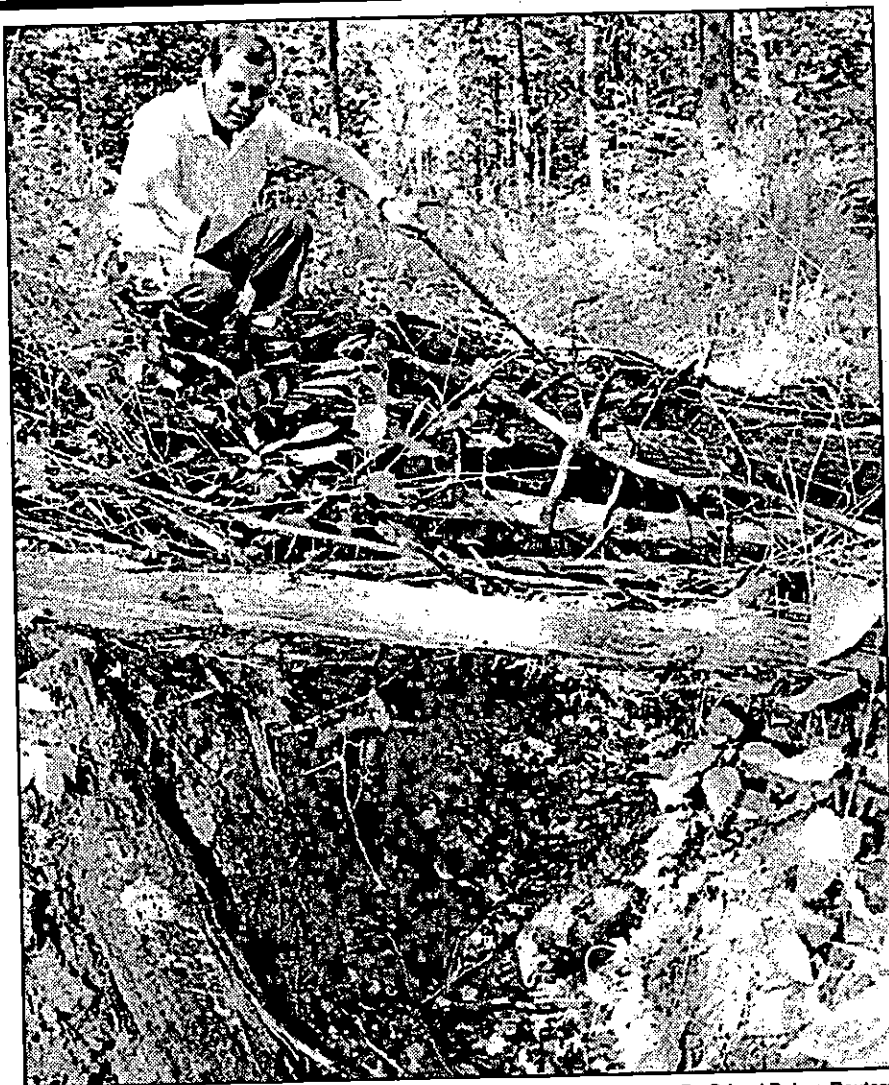


USA TODAY

by Soviet troops.

Tambov archives official Vladimir Penkov told Reuters news agency there is no direct evidence the prisoners ever arrived. But he said former German POWs recalled English-speaking prisoners there in 1945.

Penkov said some 300 classified interior ministry documents from Tambov Region could shed light on the mystery when released for inspection.



By Grigori Dukor, Reuters

SEARCHING FOR CLUES: Tambov archives official Vladimir Penkov looks through the remains of a trench structure used to house POWs at Camp 188. U.S. and Russian officials recently visited a similar camp site in Pechora in northern Russia, but found no evidence of missing prisoners. (Did U.S. hide data on POWs?, 1A)

'Real test' lies ahead for Rabin

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

TEL AVIV — Once-frosty relations between Washington and Jerusalem seemed warmer Wednesday, one day after Yitzhak Rabin's stunning victory over Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

Two years of tortured diplomacy ended as Secretary of State James Baker — who had pushed Shamir and his rightist Likud Party to the Mideast peace table after the Persian Gulf war — said he hoped talks will resume "just as soon as it is conveniently possible."

Rabin also vowed "intensive therapy" to jump-start the peace talks and keep them in session. The leader of the center-left Labor Party spent his day in busy negotiations with parties to his left and right in an effort to form a new government by July 13.

By repeating his intention to stop building settlements in the occupied territories, Rabin removed a thorn in U.S.-Israeli relations and did much toward clearing the way for releasing \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees. The guarantees are a hot topic in Israel, whose hard-hit



By Jerome Delay, AP

LOOKING AHEAD: Israeli Labor Party leader Yitzhak Rabin, right, held several strategy meetings Wednesday in Tel Aviv.

economy has 11.5% unemployment and a 14% inflation rate.

President Bush, reportedly never comfortable with Shamir, rejected the guarantees earlier this year because of Israel's insistence on building more settlements.

Facing re-election in November, Bush is said to be eager to recapture Jewish votes lost over the issue. He also plans to invite Rabin to his summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine, to revive relations.

The loan-guarantees issue "was a festering sore, with Likud intent on rubbing salt into it," said Martin Indyk of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "Given the president's desire to show he was not against Israel, he will be at great pains to resolve to get loan guarantees to Israel before the election."

fore the election."

In Arab capitals, joy over Shamir's defeat was coupled with anxiety about Rabin's intentions. Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Shara, saying no one would miss Shamir, added that Rabin would be judged by his actions, not his words.

Palestinian representative Hanan Ashrawi agreed, saying Wednesday that it's "a real test now for Labor, which was given a mandate to change."

U.S.-Israeli relations are key to any success at the peace talks, a fact underscored Wednesday by PLO spokesman Bassam Abu Sharif.

Asked if he trusts Rabin, the PLO official demurred.

"My trust is in the American administration," he said. "That's who directs the peace process in the Middle East."



ANC rejects de Klerk appeal

By Chris Erasmus
Special for USA TODAY

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — President F.W. de Klerk pledged Wednesday to get derailed constitutional talks with black leaders back on track.

But the African National Congress rejected as "propaganda" his appeal to join two days of talks: "The resolution of the problem requires action on the part of the government and not more words."

On Tuesday the ANC and its allies pulled out of talks with the government aimed at writing a new constitution and ending white minority rule.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela accused the government of involvement in last week's massacre of 42 people in Boipatong township south of Johannesburg. But De Klerk denied any governmental link to the township violence.

De Klerk also made it clear his government will not allow any "foreign interference" in monitoring violence or investigating the Boipatong massacre, as demanded by Mandela.

The president did, however, welcome foreign governments' interest in the talks, and said he would welcome fact-finding missions in South Africa led by the international community.

The ANC has made 13 demands that must be met before it will return to talks.

Among them: prosecuting security forces involved in township violence; closing migrant worker hostels, which the ANC says serve as bases for the ongoing black-on-black violence; and establishing an international inquiry into the Boipatong massacre.

The ANC said it will also demand that South Africa be banned from the Olympic Games to protest the killings.

De Klerk also agreed to have "a suitably qualified person of international repute join his commission" investigating the violence that's killed about 12,000 black people over the past eight years.

De Klerk said he would name "one or more experts of international standing" to evaluate the police investigations into the Boipatong slayings.

USA TODAY

NO. 1111

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1 DAY

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Bosnia's bitter war ebbs; economy is near collapse

Fighting died down in Sarajevo on Wednesday but some 300,000 civilians remained trapped in the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina amid Yugoslavia's bitter civil war. The State Department said that three more months of U.N. sanctions against Serbia, blamed for fomenting the violence after four republics declared independence from the Serbian-led federation, could force the Serb economy into collapse.

The United States has turned up the heat against Serbia. The White House said President Bush won't recognize the Yugoslavian ambassador — only two of the six republics, Serbia and Montenegro, remain in the disintegrating federation — and that he's ordered its Chicago consulate closed.



By Shakh Aivazov, AP

CRUSHED COUP: A gunman, loyal to ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, is led away by members of the Georgian national guard in Tbilisi.

GEORGIA COUP ATTEMPT: Georgian troops crushed a coup attempt by supporters of ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, driving the rebels from a broadcasting center they had seized in Tbilisi, the capital. At least two rebels were killed and 27 wounded. Meanwhile, Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze signed an agreement to stop the ethnic conflict in the breakaway region of South Ossetia. Elsewhere:

► The former Soviet army threatened to shoot down any Moldovan warplanes that try to bomb civilian or military targets in the breakaway region east of the Dniester River.

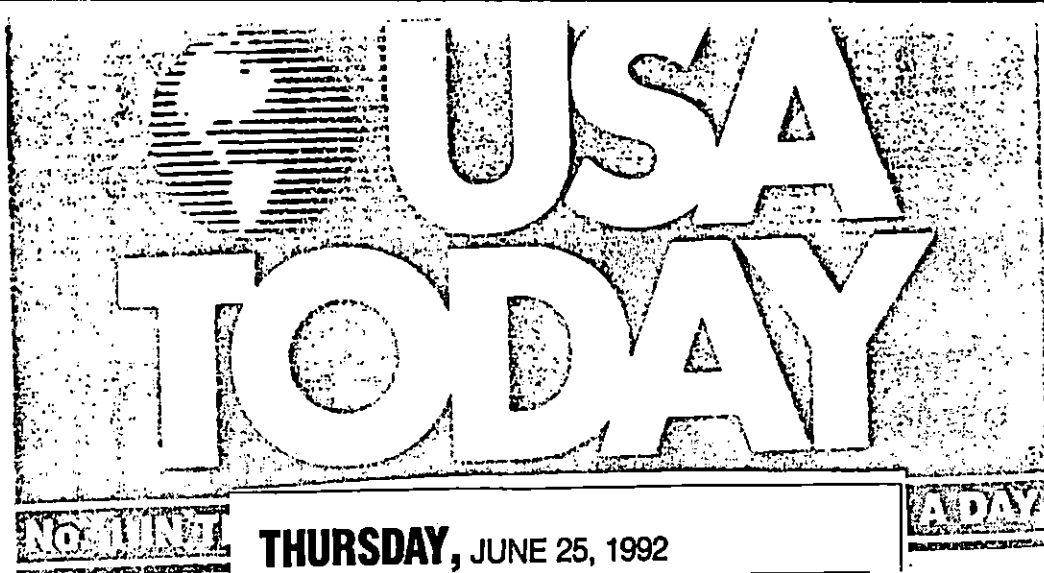
► Armenia said it would ask Russia and other Commonwealth states for help if attacked in force by Azerbaijan.

GERMAN VOTE: German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said he expected the German parliament to ratify the Maastricht Treaty on European union despite threats by the country's regional states to block it if their power is hurt.

CAMBODIA ATTACK: A U.N. helicopter was hit by ground fire in Cambodia, the third such attack in less than a week. A U.N. spokesman said there were reports the Khmer Rouge was offering rewards for such attacks.

JORDAN REJECTION: Jordan has rejected a U.S. plan to station U.N. inspectors on its territory to monitor a trade ban with Iraq, government officials said.

AND IN JAPAN: At the Hamamatsu City Zoo, Daiko the lowland gorilla hasn't shown enough interest in her mate, Sho. So her handlers are titillating her with a steady diet of videos depicting mating gorillas. No pregnancy so far.



Donors: 48% expect access to candidates

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

Does money talk in politics? Hundreds of contributors to both political parties seem to think it does.

A USA TODAY/NBC News poll of 750 people who've given at least \$200 to the George Bush or Bill Clinton campaign finds nearly half believe their contribution would get them top-level access.

While most — 78% — said they dug into their pockets for ideological reasons, 48% thought their donation would pave the way for a meeting with a top Clinton or Bush aide.

"Certainly they may get a phone call returned," says Republican National Committee spokesman Gary Koops. "But there's a difference between getting your phone call returned and getting action."

Says Ginny Terzano of the Democratic National Committee: There's no "quid pro quo."

Other findings:

► 28% thought the gift would help their businesses; 15% their careers.

► 57% have met Bush or wife Barbara; 78% have met Bill or Hillary Clinton.

• THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 • USA TODAY

Excerpts from the news conference

Ross Perot held his first campaign news conference Tuesday. He charged that Republicans are playing "dirty tricks" and discussed other subjects. Excerpts:

ON 'DIRTY TRICKS': Now, look, you all know what's going on, so let's not pretend we don't. There has been a 90-day effort to redefine my personality by a group called Opposition Research of the Republican Party. They're generally known as the dirty tricks crowd. They boast about doing it. Half the people they boast about doing it to call me. And it is a pretty simple and open process, and this has gone on and on and on and on, has little or nothing to do with the truth, so I thought that we might as well just set the record straight.

ON A DEFICIT-REDUCTION PLAN: I have assured you that as soon as I have it done . . . I will release it to you. I have assured you that it will be released to you well in advance of November and the people (will) have plenty of time to study it.

ON PRIVATE INVESTIGATORS: On two or three occasions in my business career, when we had someone who had apparently misappropriated money, or misappropriated property in our businesses, or what have you, we would use a private investigator to get to the bottom of that. That's — when you consider how many years I've been in business, how vast my businesses are, that my total experience in investigating people is like a grain of sand on a large beach compared to the ongoing investigations day after day after day after day from Republican dirty tricks.

ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: I stand on the fact that everybody in this country is an American, . . . an equal partner. . . . Now then, if you have to fall back to laws to force it, those laws, while they do create a fair channel for a minority that might not have it, they create a tremendous amount of stress if a less talented person is promoted over a more talented person, and that's just Human Nature 101. So we'll have to walk both paths probably for a while, but my goal would be I'll define success as when you can shut down the legal side and everybody does the right thing.

ON BUILDING CONSENSUS: We look at the plans, whether it's health care, whether it's rebuilding the schools or what have you. We come up with the best plans. We take them to the people. We explain them. We build a consensus. And always take a little bit of time to do pilot programs, even after everybody's wildly enthusiastic, to debug it, optimize it, improve it. And then, and this is kind of unthinkable in our country, when you pass it into law, leave the people who run this program a lot of freedom to optimize and improve it and don't freeze it by so much legislation that it's locked in time. That's our biggest problem with a lot of our social programs.

ELECTION '92

FOLEY WANTS INSIDER: Despite the anti-Congress sentiments shown in polls, House Speaker Thomas Foley thinks Bill Clinton ought to pick a member of Congress and not an outsider as his running mate.

Foley said he gave Warren Christopher, who is heading Clinton's vice presidential search, a list of names. Among them: House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt of Missouri and Lee Hamilton of Indiana.

"I don't think you could make a better choice than a member of Congress," Foley said.

Hamilton says he met with Christopher two weeks ago. What kind of questions was he asked? "You think of it, they asked it," Hamilton replied.



By George Tames, AP
FOLEY: Offers Clinton a list of names

PLATFORM UPDATE: Finishing touches were put on a slimmed-down, "consensus" Democratic Party platform. The platform, backing economic growth, self-help social programs and a strong defense, will be presented to the full platform committee on Saturday. Appeased: Paul Tsongas, who wanted more emphasis on capital gains taxes and cutting entitlements.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrat Bill Clinton: Boston; Little Rock

Republican George Bush: At White House

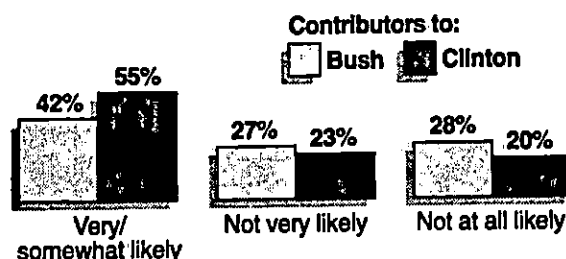
Independent Ross Perot: Hartford, Conn.

Why political contributors give



Most contributors to presidential campaigns say they are motivated by political or philosophical concerns. A new USA TODAY/NBC Poll of contributors to the campaigns of President Bush and Bill Clinton, however, shows that access to the candidate also plays an important role.

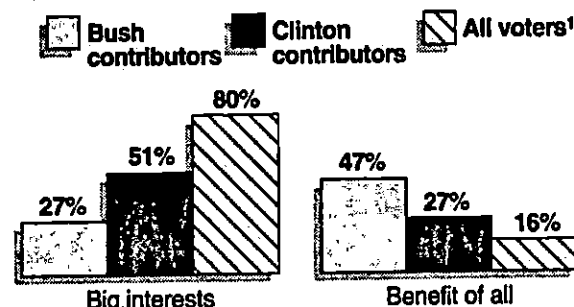
Almost half of contributors (49%) said an important element in their decision to give was the ability to make their views known to top officials. How likely contributors say it is that they could arrange a meeting with the candidate's top aides:



Percentage of contributors who said they:

Have met Bill or Hillary Clinton (Clinton contributors only)	78%
Have met George or Barbara Bush (Bush contributors only)	57%
Encouraged others to contribute	61%
Received birthday/holiday card from a president or vice president	39%

Percentage of contributors who think the government is run by big interests looking out for themselves or run for the benefit of all:



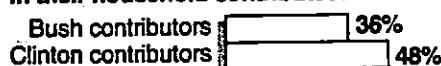
1.—April USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll

MOST DONORS HAVE HISTORY OF GIVING

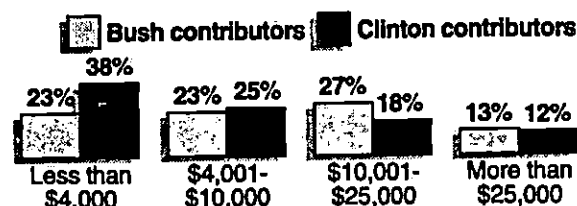
Those who donated to presidential candidates before this election



Those who say more than one person in their household contributed:



Amount contributed to candidates and parties over lifetime:



Percentage who favor campaign finance reform to eliminate political action committees:



Reuters



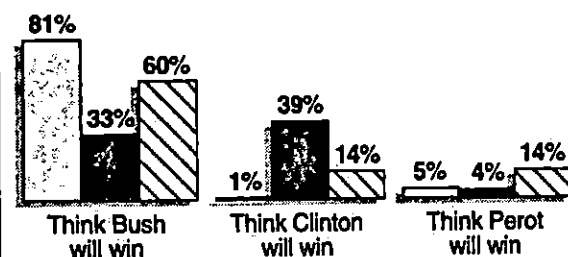
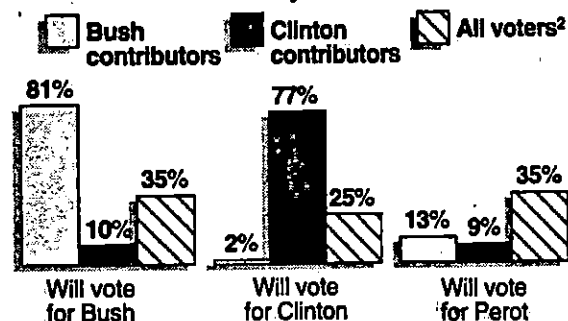
AP

BUSH

CLINTON

SOME CLINTON CONTRIBUTORS DON'T THINK HE'LL WIN...

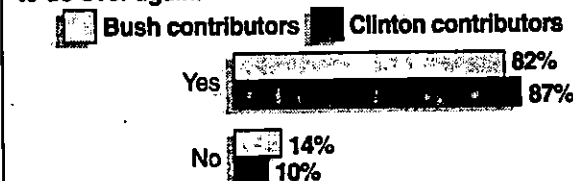
How contributors to the two campaigns plan to vote in November and who they think will win:



2.—June USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll

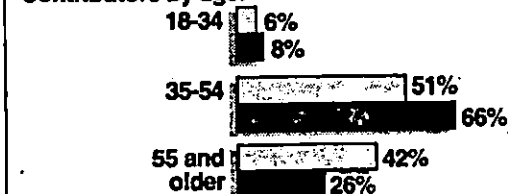
... BUT WOULD STAND BY THEIR DECISION

Those who would still give if they had it to do over again:

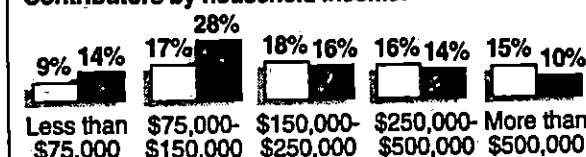


BUSH CAMP DRAWS OLDER, RICHER CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors by age:



Contributors by household income:



Source: USA TODAY/NBC Poll of 350 contributors to the Bush campaign and 400 contributors to the Clinton campaign. A random sample of contributors was selected from those who gave at least \$200 between October 1991 and January 1992. Margin of error: 4 percentage points.

By J.L. Albert and Reqi Ransdell, USA TODAY

USA TODAY

NO. 1

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

ADAY

CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

House panel OKs Dems' aid package

The House Ways and Means Committee on Wednesday approved by voice vote Democrats' \$2.5 billion package of tax breaks to help blighted inner cities and rural areas. It sent to the House the plan by Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., after rejecting a version the White House offered after the Los Angeles riots. The GOP plan, which fell on a 23-13 party-line vote, would have cost the same \$2.5 billion in lost revenue over five years as the Democratic package, but would have provided a more lucrative capital-gains tax reduction for investors in so-called enterprise zones.

NOT ENOUGH: Libya's offer to turn over two Pan Am bombing suspects to the Arab League or the United Nations falls far short of U.N. Security Council demands, the State Department said. Spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said the council required that the two be turned over for trial either in Scotland or in the USA.

Election coverage
► Special report: USA TODAY/NBC Poll of contributors, 1A, 7A
► Perot fights back, 9A

IRAQ HEARING: Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has stepped up his own security in the last year but his position is tenuous and risky, said Assistant Secretary of State Edward Djerejian. "One cannot predict when he might be toppled. Indeed, it might come suddenly," Djerejian told a House subcommittee. Djerejian was responding to a reported intelligence assessment that despite Iraq's gulf war defeat, Saddam was now stronger than year ago.



AP

ALLEN: Gave papers to Senate panel

HOSTAGE PROBE: Ronald Reagan's former national security adviser, Richard Allen, said he brought hundreds of pages of documents to show a Senate committee that Reagan's 1980 campaign team didn't participate in clandestine negotiations with Iranian officials over freeing U.S. hostages.

Allen, who testified before a closed Senate Foreign Relations panel, cited a memo he says refutes charges he met with an Iranian official in Washington in 1980.

Documents Allen said he gave the panel include hostage strategy talks with Reagan and then Vice President-elect Bush.

— Lee Michael Katz

SPY TALES: Russia's spy agency will team up with Crown Publishing Group to produce five books over the next 10 years, based on secret KGB documents. "We're about to step through the looking glass," said Timothy Naftalin, a Harvard scholar and project adviser. Among the topics: the 1961 Berlin crisis, the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, Soviet intelligence operations in the USA and Britain.

THANKS FROM ABROAD: Reps. Bill Alexander, D-Ark. — who lost a primary — and Mervyn Dymally, D-Calif. — who's retiring — got a friendly send-off at a dinner given by the World Federation of Americans Abroad, a lobby group for 2 million U.S. citizens living and working overseas. Both were considered top supporters of legislation for voting and citizenship rights for Americans overseas.

Budget chief needles Clinton, Perot plans

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

President Bush's budget director, Richard Darman, on Wednesday derided the economic proposals offered by Bill Clinton and Ross Perot.

"Neither approach is serious," said Darman, author of the 1993 federal budget loaded with \$400 billion in red ink, the worst in U.S. history.

Darman called Perot's verbal plan "the simple investigator's budget" that claims to wipe out the federal deficit in one year.

He was playing on news reports that Perot investigated Bush's activities and those of his children.

Darman dubbed Clinton's economic proposal the "late night, dark shades budget" — mocking Clinton's appearance on the *Artenio Hall Show*, where he played the saxophone while wearing dark glasses.

Clinton's plan, Darman

said, "would solve the deficit problem never."

Darman's analysis seemed unusual for its political sarcasm:

► He was prodded by the Bush campaign to counter Clinton's plan as "a phony, strictly for media consumption" on a day when Clinton

was in Washington promoting it to the Republican-leaning National Association of Manufacturers.

Darman resisted the campaign's urgings that he appear on TV, preferring to brief a group of report-

ers at his office: "I didn't want to sound bite it."

► Darman, legendary for his encyclopedic knowledge of the federal budget, has never submitted a balanced budget as director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Darman blasted Clinton for touting a \$294.7 billion budget savings over 4 years "when by its own numbers, its net four-year policy savings total \$75 billion."



AP

DARMAN

C A M P A I G N ' 9 2

Perot blasts back at 'dirty tricks crowd'

By Leslie Phillips
and Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

ANNAPOLIS, Md. — Unleashing a counterattack to Republican criticism, Ross Perot used nearly three hours of free TV time Wednesday to blast a GOP "dirty tricks crowd" that he said would make Nazi propagandists "proud."

On NBC's *Today* show, at a midday press conference in Annapolis, and on CNN's *Larry King Live*, Perot rebutted news accounts that he had launched investigations of Bush, Bush's children, his business employees and even his own children.

"The Republicans have had a non-stop saturation bombing to recast my personality," the unofficial candidate said on *Today*. "It is a carefully orchestrated plan to try to damage me at a time when people thought I would announce."

When host Bryant Gumbel began to introduce a video clip of Quayle criticizing Perot for having an "obsession" with investigations, Perot, disgusted, said, "Hitler's propaganda chief would be proud of what we're about to see."

Said White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater later, "Mr. Perot's paranoia knows no bounds."

The spat between Perot and the White House has escalated

in the past week as the administration seized on news reports to portray Perot as dangerous.

Perot's aggressive response seemed to reflect the influence of hired political hands who know damaging charges must be answered quickly, before they stick.

Perot laid the blame for his recent negative coverage squarely at the president's feet.

Bush "is in charge of the whole process," Perot said. "That party does not run... out of control."

Denying he had Bush's sons investigated, he produced a hand-written note from Bush, which Perot said he got after passing along a damaging rumor he'd heard about the sons.

The note dated Dec. 24, 1986, wished Perot a Happy New Year and said, "I was very touched by your call(s) about my kids. They are straight arrows, uninvolved in intrigue."

"Perot has done a hell of a job handling this," said Kevin Phillips, a Republican analyst. "The administration let this one issue become a battlefield and lost. The president is going to spend two days looking like a fool."

But Peter Gold, a marketing expert who has helped run two major third-party campaigns, said Perot may have gone overboard, harming his cam-



MOVING IN MARYLAND: Ross Perot greets Ed Grunwald in Annapolis, where Perot accepted 150,000 signatures on petitions to get his name on the ballot in Maryland. Only 63,000 were needed.

By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

paign by protesting too much.

"Republicans and Democrats can get away with a few slip-ups. An independent campaign is a very fragile beast," Gold said. "Bush barely laid a glove on him, and they've got him running from dawn until night trying to salvage things."

Also Wednesday:

► Perot said Republicans were even trying to find his mother's will, "which has nothing to do with anything, which they're welcome to see."

► When asked if he would have signed a 1992 civil rights bill that overturned Supreme Court rulings limiting job discrimination suits, Perot appeared not to know about the bill, which Congress battled over for two years before it became law. "OK, I guess I'd better read the bill," he said.

► An estimated 6,000 people turned out in Annapolis to watch Perot, a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy there, accept 150,000 signatures — only 63,000 were needed — to get his name on Maryland's presidential ballot. The signatures arrived via 23 sailing, fishing and work boats representing each of the state's counties.

► Contributors' poll, 1A, 7A
► Campaign Index, 4A

GOP: No underhanded tactics used in research

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

The GOP "dirty tricks crowd" Ross Perot charged Wednesday with spreading rumors about him are researchers who spend much of their time reading newspapers, Republicans say.

Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond called Perot on *Larry King Live* Wednesday night to accuse him of spreading "broad, unsubstantiated charges" and demanded, "Do you have one shred of evidence... of dirty tricks?"

"I could go on until midnight," Perot responded, "but I'll pick my time."

Bond: "There is no such thing as dirty tricks in this Republican Party."

Perot: "But you're ducking on opposition research."

The GOP and President Bush's campaign — and their Democratic counterparts — do have secret research staffs finding facts about political foes. But they

say spy tactics are history.

At Bush re-election headquarters, research director David Tell heads a staff of seven and a "larger team of revolving volunteers" researching public documents on Bill Clinton's record as well as Perot's.

The RNC's research department combs newspapers, public documents and campaign finance reports.

Jim Pinkerton, head of Bush's 1988 research team and now a campaign counselor, blames the dirty-trick reputation on Watergate abuses: "In the same way that the dirigible business never really recovered from the Hindenburg fire, opposition research will always bear the taint."

Perot claimed the GOP has orchestrated a 90-day effort to distort his words and redefine his personality — an effort, he said, to "bring out the Orkin man and get rid of the pest."

Bond told Perot that GOP officials had been "repeating your own words."

USA TODAY

NO TINT

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

USA TODAY

LETTERS

Use alcohol responsibly

A letter from Paul J. Savo suggests that alcohol can lead to unsafe sex ("Alcohol and unsafe sex, Monday").

There are many popular consumer products which, used irresponsibly, can cause harm. People who buy these products assume responsibility for using them appropriately, and the vast majority of consumers do so.

If anyone feels that one of these products presents an unjustified risk, he or she should not use it. This rule applies to alcoholic beverages as well as to other products.

Artists commissioned by Absolut Vodka have made enormous contributions to the fight against AIDS and will continue to do so. This battle demands the best from all of us.

Richard McEvoy, Sr. VP.
Sales & Marketing
Carillon Importers Ltd.
Teaneck, N.J.

Check your math again

Although Valvoline's color advertisement inserted in Friday's USA TODAY was impressive, I think the company's mathematical expertise requires further research. (Story, 2B.)

Unless Indiana's unique time-zone strategy has also affected stopwatches at the "500," the 6-foot/0.043-second differential is impossible.

If 0.043 seconds (at 232 mph) is correct, the distance should be 14.63 feet. Conversely, 6 feet is only 0.0176 seconds.

Larry B. Ayres
Sioux Falls, S.D.

Meeting misrepresented

The article on Page 4 of Monday's USA TODAY, "Ex-official implicates Weinberger," is a misrepresentation of the exchange which took place between myself and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in January 1986 and conveys a false sense of the import of that exchange.



Reuter

GOTTI PROTEST: Supporters overturned a car as they attempted to storm courthouse where he was sentenced.

Convicted mobster John Gotti is no hero and should not be anyone's idol, USA TODAY said Wednesday in an editorial. Readers said:

Gotti is a criminal

I agree with what has happened. I think the people who demonstrated were obviously just close friends of his. He probably, in most cases, helped those people with the money he made illegally. So, of course, they're upset. Gotti got what he had coming to him. He's a criminal, and they should all be locked up.

Michael Mihos
San Diego, Calif.

Life sentence too long

John Gotti never should have been convicted. He was never allowed to present a defense, and it appears he won't be allowed

proper consideration of his appeal. Salvatore Gravano (government witness) should be sentenced to life; he admitted 19 killings.

A life sentence is way too harsh for John Gotti, and Marion Correctional Facility would be a cruel, inhumane place to be incarcerated. John Gotti is a hero and he will always remain a hero, no matter what.

Diane Steinert
Littleton, Colo.

Death for death

John Gotti did not get what was coming to him; life imprisonment is not what he deserved. He deserved the electric chair. He deserved death as he gave to so many other people. John Gotti got away with murder.

Simon Mirin
Hilton Head, S.C.

The specifics of this exchange are precisely stated in my public testimony, as well as in depositions preceding and succeeding that testimony. There is nothing in these mate-

rials which "implicates" the secretary in any wrongdoing, and the most cursory reading of the record will confirm that.

Noel Koch
Potomac, Md.

Political donors: Money talks

Giving to candidates is a way to take a stand

By Judi Hasson
and Jacqueline Blais
USA TODAY

Philip Bigler, a McLean, Va., high school government teacher, gave \$250 to President Bush's reelection campaign to do something that's impossible in the classroom — take a stand on the presidential race.

Michael Fink, a lawyer from Huntingdon Valley, Pa., became a Democrat this spring. His motivation for giving Bill Clinton \$1,000: "His views are closer to mine than either of the other opponents."

When USA TODAY and NBC News polled 750 political contributors, the results showed that what givers have in common cuts across party lines: They're idealists — 96% said they gave money because they believe in what the candidate stands for.

What they expect in return: good government and someone to listen to them.

"People really do want to be engaged in politics. Sending a check, whether it's \$1 or \$50, is one way of expressing that engagement," says William Greider, author of *Who Will Tell the People*, about the Washington power structure.

Bigler would agree:

"I figure it's my civic responsibility. It's the one thing I can do," he says. "I get nothing in return except a Christmas card."

Nearly a third of those polled — people who gave at least \$200 to the Bush or Clinton campaigns by Jan. 31 — never gave money to a presidential candidate before.

Contributor profile: 68% are professionals, including lawyers and managers. More than two-thirds are men.

About half thought they have access to Clinton's or Bush's top aides and could arrange a meeting — but it seemed to be a moot point. Some said they already have access; some wouldn't know what to do with it.

For Sean Lane, a New Hampshire lawyer who gave \$1,000 to Bush's campaign, the idea of calling on top aides for a meeting is puzzling.

"I wouldn't really know how to," he says.

In Arkansas, says school administrator Betty Ruth Morris of Fort Smith, "it doesn't take money to get access



By Marta Lavandier, AP

THANKS: Geza Jako, a Hungarian refugee living in Melrose, Mass., says his \$500 Bush contribution is a 'small repayment.'



By Bob Ocken, AP

BOTTOM LINE: "I'm just a regular citizen with regular money," says Carrie Handley, Pine Bluff, Ark., who gave \$250 to Clinton.

to Bill Clinton. But if it did, my little dab would be a drop in the bucket." She gave him \$500.

Alan Kranowitz of the National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors in Washington has access.

"I used to work at the White House myself," says Kranowitz, an assistant to the president for legislative affairs from 1985 to 1989. He contributed \$500 to Bush.

Gladys Barnett of El Paso, who turns 76 on July 4, says she expects good government in exchange for her \$1,000 contribution to Bush.

"I don't expect a single thing personally," she says. "I just put mine in to try to get us back on track."

Many readily say they are not "big bucks" givers, as Morris of Arkansas puts it.

Lane, the lawyer, says his \$1,000 contribution is a good investment, even though it's a stretch. "With two kids, a mortgage and house, it is an expense."

Carolyn Ellis Staton, a University of Mississippi law professor, also says finding \$1,000 to donate was hard. But she wanted to support her former Yale Law School classmate, Clinton. "I guess the more you believe in somebody, the more you're willing to stretch," she says.

Carrie Handley of Pine Bluff, Ark., budgeted \$250 from her household money for the Clinton campaign. Like others, she says she believes her contribution counts.

"I'm just a regular citizen with regular money... but I do know when a person runs for office they need money," says Handley.

The motivation to contribute can be purely personal. Geza Jako, a Melrose, Mass., surgeon, fled Hungary in 1957. His \$500 contribution to the Bush campaign is a "small repayment" for his success in the United States.

"By the time I became a citizen and could vote, I was kind of anxious to participate in politics," he says.

"I wanted to be different from people who are always criticizing this country."

► Does money talk? 1A
► Campaign index, 9A

Push for Mideast peace

On another subject, USA TODAY hails the Israeli election results as a new opportunity for peace.

The Israelis' vote for the Labor Party Tuesday was a vote for peace. That's reason to celebrate.

By handing a sizable victory to Yitzhak Rabin's moderate platform, Israelis breathed new life into the Arab-Israeli peace process — vital in a region where the U.S. can be drawn easily into war.

The best hope lies in signals from Rabin that he will replace right-wing nationalism with flexible pragmatism. How he plans to change Israel's course:

► By limiting construction of settlements to areas essential to Israeli security, rather than building on all lands that Israel controls but Arabs claim.

► By resuming peace talks as early as next month.

► By being willing to exchange some land for peace and pushing for an agree-

ment on Palestinian autonomy.

Those actions, sought by the U.S. and previously resisted by Israel, do much to help. But the U.S. will have to redouble its policy of rewarding moderation on both sides if peace talks are to succeed.

Rabin's words must be followed by actions, and Israel's enemies must show more willingness to compromise than they did Wednesday.

The Palestine Liberation Organization welcomed the new regime but vowed to continue supporting unrest in the occupied territories. Syria cheered the demise of Yitzhak Shamir but refused to welcome Rabin. Lebanon's Shiite Muslim Hezbollah and Iran said there was no difference between a Rabin government and the one his will replace.

Israel, at least, now promises flexibility. As renewed peace talks approach, the U.S. should push others to do the same.

► Election aftermath, 4A

Is peace possible in the Middle East? How?

Tell USA TODAY's 6.6 million readers if the Israeli election encourages you about prospects for peace in the Mideast. Or comment on other topics. The paper's opinions are reached in daily debates of our 15-member editorial board — people of many backgrounds and interests. But we value your views, too.

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The most effective letters are brief and direct, as in today's paper. Include your name, address, day and evening phone numbers for verification and, if you wish, your photo for possible publication.

Today's debate is on **SCHOOL PRAYER** and the Supreme Court's decision barring prayer at school graduations.

Supreme Court is right on school-prayer issue

OUR VIEW Parents and religious leaders, not the schools, should teach children about religion.

This year's crop of graduating public high school seniors will be the last to hear a prayer at their commencement. At least, one planned for the ceremony.

A divided Supreme Court ruled Wednesday such ceremonial prayers amounted to government peddling religion, and that's unconstitutional.

The case involved a junior high school commencement in Rhode Island at which a rabbi offered a non-denominational invocation and benediction.

But Justice Anthony Kennedy's majority opinion made clear the ruling applied to high school programs as well. In either case, there's too much chance of direct and subtle coercion, he said.

The new ruling strikes down a tradition that many like. A recent poll found 78% of Pennsylvanians, for example, objected to a proposed state ban on prayers at graduation. And Justice Antonin Scalia, in his dissent, argued such expressions were an "important unifying mechanism" in society.

But just as a landmark ruling 30 years ago today made officially sponsored prayers in classrooms unconstitutional, this week's ruling recognizes that government prayers have the power to divide people into haves and have-nots.

Oldham County, Ky., schools banned prayers after a parent interrupted a graduation to object. Schools in California, Oregon and Texas all banned prayers at school functions after heated disputes.

Religious beliefs run deep. And when governments — especially schools — meddle in them, some people are sure to feel government is taking sides, whether by favoring one religion over another or religion over non-belief. And where government is to be the servant of all the people, equally, that must never be.

By limiting government meddling in people's religious liberty, the court's ruling leaves to parents and churches the molding of youngsters' religious beliefs.

And those who wish to pray at graduations can still do so. Only the prayer will come privately from the heart, rather than publicly from a government-selected preacher.

► Court ruling, 1A

Banning prayers is wrong

OPPOSING VIEW Public acknowledgment of God's existence is part of our culture and our heritage.

How ironic. For the first time in many years, former Soviet citizens can now pray in public freely, but American graduates can't.

Just at a time when the walls of oppression are crumbling the world over, the role of religion is being dismantled here at home.

Who is behind the anti-God movement anyway? Some deposed dictator or communist leader?

No, it's none other than the American Civil Liberties Union, whose agenda is to expunge any mention of the G-word from American history and American life.

God is not politically correct, in the ACLU view, and anyone who publicly calls upon him must be silenced. So

much for tolerance.

How sad that the same Supreme Court justices who were sworn in with their hands on the Bible and who sit beneath the Ten Commandments, which are engraved in the marble above the bench, have missed the historical significance and importance of religion in public life.

To ban the utterance of God from any forum is to deny a basic freedom and a valued practice. Congress opens every day with prayer. Our currency boldly proclaims, "In God we trust." And proud Americans everywhere pledge allegiance to a flag that represents "one nation under God." Is all of this now in jeopardy, too?

Public acknowledgment of God's existence is part of our culture and our heritage, and no one ever has been or should be required to participate. The manipulation of the judicial system by the ACLU and its friends now has taken from all the *right* to participate.

Banning God from public life is the rod from which the the ACLU crowd intends to hang its own version of the Iron Curtain across America.



By Rebecca Hagen, a Vienna, Va., writer and a senior editor of *New Dimensions* magazine.

JOE URSCHEL

Baring all for the economy

With all this talk of "family values" and Dan Quayle's attack on the nation's "cultural elite," it might benefit everyone to turn attention to America's "heartland":

A place where everything is still the way it should be.

A place where time has stood still, unaffected by the moral decay, divisiveness and excesses of big coastal cities.

A place where people still know their next-door neighbor and the family down the street.

A place where the merchants are always looking out for the good of the community.

A place like Lesterville, S.D.

It's too bad we don't all live in a place like this town of 168, tucked in the state's southeast corner. Because this is a place where solid citizens are not afraid to go out and vote their conscience.

This is a place where they aren't afraid to confront the dictates of the politically correct or the Catholic Church.

The cultural elites of this town — Melvin "Swede" Lee and his wife, Esther — know about family values. They've been married nearly 50 years. They've run the most successful entertainment venue in town for the last 20 years — the back room of their tavern where the girls dance nude.

Not the coy, fleeting, partial nudity of HBO and the movie studios. At Swede's, the nudity is absolute. No G-strings, no pasties. Nothing.



Joe Urschel's column appears on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

So when the town fathers, spurred by a newly arrived Roman Catholic priest, passed an ordinance requiring the dancers wear *something*, the Lees took it personally.

"I'm of the Catholic faith, myself. But I believe in the separation of church and state," said Lee, who felt the ordinance would have put him out of business. In the end, he said, the town "stuck up for me."

The residents voted the ordinance down by a 2-1 margin.

They voted that way partly because Swede's bar is integral to Lesterville's economy and, in small towns these days, you need all the business you can get. Buses bring people from all over the five-state area because of Swede's. If you need farm supplies, for instance, you might come to Lesterville. Because afterward, it's about the only town around where you can get a little entertainment with your beer.

The vice president is going to places like Lesterville in the heartland and telling people that their values are laughed at in the newsrooms of the big cities, in the faculty lounges of major universities and on the sound stages of Hollywood.

But Quayle ought to know better. People in the heartland are not stupid. They know that few things are more obscene than an empty pocket.

And stripping the economy can be more offensive than stripping a G-string.

USA TODAY

No. 1111

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

A DAY

COMMENT

Women POWs will talk when ready

Donna Long, held captive in Laos, says women will tell their stories 'at their own pace.'

As one who has fought Pentagon news management of the POW/MIA issue for 20 years, I find myself in the most awkward position of having to come to the defense of the military's decision to leave it up to former POWs Rhonda Cornum and Melissa Coleman to discuss their treatment in captivity "at their own pace."

Why? Because I know firsthand what it's like to be a woman imprisoned in a foreign country, and I could not discuss the details of my "rough experience" for a long period of time with even my own family members and closest friends.

On Oct. 3, 1988, Jim Copp, a Vietnam veteran, and I illegally entered Laos and were caught passing out copies of a message offering a \$2.4 million reward for the return of one live American prisoner of war. We were arrested and subsequently imprisoned for 41 days.

During my imprisonment, I was subjected to a mock execution — complete with blindfold and rifle to the head — and an attempted rape.

Upon my release, I told of the mock execution, but I did not publicly admit that I had been molested until almost two years later.

I cannot speak for either Rhonda Cornum or Melissa Coleman, but I believe that, as women, they must also have felt the added pressure I felt of thinking that I had to prove I was not a "weakling," not only while in prison but even more so when I returned home.

I, too, gave what could be called a "rosy picture" of my prison experience upon my release. I made statements like, "I could have been treated worse than I was. . . . I was treated with modest respect by the majority of my captors and even received



CALL TO FREEDOM: Donna Long, after her 41-day captivity in Laos in 1988, called her sister in the USA with news of her release. AP

kind treatment from some of my guards" — none of which was a lie.

My failure to include the sexual assault was not prompted by the U.S. State Department's declaration (before I even had a chance to say anything) that I had been treated well by the Laotians and "anything else [I said] is somebody's image of a Hollywood world."

I was just not ready, either emotionally or mentally, to publicly relive the assault that resulted in subsequent terror-filled nights of sitting huddled in a corner of my cell, clutching a nail to "protect myself" should my assailant return.

Being sexually assaulted, whether in prison or in your own home, is a devastating emotional experience — a degrading personal violation that, despite claims of America being an enlightened society, still carries the unspoken accusation that "she must have done something to have asked for it."

And in the minds of those who hold women culpable when a sexual assault occurs, what woman could be "asking for it" more than one who

would willingly put herself in a position where she could be taken prisoner in a foreign country?

I am not advocating for or against women in combat, but, in all fairness, it must be pointed out that men who are taken prisoner face the possibility of physical torture, perverted degradation and, in some cases, even sexual assault.

And it should also be pointed out that former male POWs sometimes initially paint a "rosy picture" of their personal experience in captivity and are allowed to discuss their rough experiences "at their own pace."

In all fairness to the Pentagon, allowing any POW, whether male or female, to decide when he or she is emotionally and mentally ready to "tell it all" is not only the proper but the compassionate thing to do.

Donna Long is an Annandale, Va., writer and volunteer with Homecoming II Project, a POW/MIA organization.

► POW/MIA hearings, 1A

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 • USA TODAY

COMMENT

But constitutional talks are being jeopardized by ethnic violence.

For many outside South Africa, events there are more puzzling than ever before.

Nelson Mandela's release in February 1990 was supposed to signal a new era. Apartheid legislation was to be dismantled and the African National Congress and other African nationalist organizations were to operate freely. This was a time of hope and celebration.

As recently as March 17, this optimism was renewed by an all-white referendum that gave President F.W. de Klerk a strong mandate to continue constitutional negotiations. Yet today, South Africa's black townships seem to be caught up in recurring acts of violence. What has gone wrong?

When Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party met in January 1991 for the first time in 30 years, there were high expectations that the ethnic violence that had lacerated South Africa for months would come to an end or at least diminish.

Even though the two leaders agreed to set aside differences and to jointly fight apartheid, the violence intensified and spread from Natal province, where it had been localized, to other parts of South Africa.

We now know that right-wing members of the South African security forces, presumably with the knowledge of some key cabinet ministers, directly aided and backed the Inkatha and thus actively fueled the confrontations.

The massacre that took place in Boipatong last week is the most recent atrocity in the escalating violence that has continued for nearly three

years and has resulted in nearly 8,000 deaths.

This time, it is all the more tragic and horrifying because so many of the people killed were women and children. For the ANC and for leaders such as Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Boipatong seems to be "the last straw."

Right-wing extremists would like the U.S. public to believe the Zulu-based Inkatha is pitted in a life-and-death struggle with the ANC and its allies. For these extremists, the violence is an outgrowth of pent-up ethnic or "tribal" rivalries that white rule kept from erupting.

Much of the blame for the violence is due to the divisiveness of apartheid policies which not only separated whites and blacks but also per-



By Patrick O'Meara, director of African studies at Indiana University and a native of South Africa.

petrated and perpetuated deep rifts between ethnic groups in a grotesque divide-and-rule strategy.

There is now no doubt that right-wing extremists in the police and military have continued to ignite ethnic differences to create political instability in the hope of derailing the multi-party Convention for a Democratic South Africa or creating a political vacuum in which extremists would have the opportunity to grab power.

The violence is also an inevitable byproduct of this period of constitutional negotiation. Different groups, jockeying for an anticipated share of the new political pie, have used violence as a means to consolidate their positions and to legitimize their claims.

Tragically, the men, women and children hacked to death while they were going about their daily lives were pawns in this horrifying larger game.

The increasing number of unemployed in the townships, squatters, hostel dwellers, youths and criminal elements also contribute to the complexity of the violence.



DEATH IN BOIPATONG: A relative sits next to the body of a baby killed in last week's massacre (above), and the body of a man lies in his shack after the violence that claimed 42 lives in the black township of Boipatong.



AP photos

I hope the Boipatong massacre will not derail the constitutional talks. Mandela and de Klerk represent the most powerful blocs at the negotiating table and, despite the public posturing, I hope they remain committed to a peaceful transfer of power. If the negotiations fail, so will their credibility and legitimacy. Both Mandela and de Klerk must surely realize there is no alternative.

There is simply no way of going back. It is unthinkable that apartheid might be reintroduced. But it is equally unthinkable for the ANC to call for a new guerrilla struggle.

The United States should make every effort to keep all of the principal actors at the bargaining table and should urge de Klerk to take strong and public action against those who are trying to subvert it.

Is South Africa on the brink of disaster? Possibly. I hope de Klerk has the capability to curb the security forces and the ANC and Inkatha have the ability to fully control the forces they have nurtured and unleashed. De Klerk's threat to impose a new state of emer-

gency is not a real option, nor is Mandela's call for massive protests a solution.

De Klerk would be better advised to speedily bring to court anyone implicated in the violence and to make every effort to constrain those members of the security forces who believe "dirty tricks" and "destabilization" are acceptable.

He should not allow the March 17 white mandate to blind him into trying to "buy time" by stalling the constitutional process.

If the constitutional convention reconvenes and is able to agree on an interim government, the ANC would be able to play a direct role in controlling the security establishment and implementing future reforms. This alone should be sufficient cause for it to remain in the negotiating process.

Black and white South Africans are engrossed today in such issues as affirmative action and better health care and education for all. They are bent on creating a fairer society and are acutely aware of racial injustices and the urgent need to redress them.

INTERVIEW

South African group works to give poor blacks skills in belief that peaceful change is impossible without economic opportunity.

The Independent Development Trust in South Africa is working to provide poor blacks with the skills needed to compete economically. Here is what IDT Chairman Jan H. Steyn, Wiseman Nkuhlu, principal of the University of Transkei, and M.C. Mehl, professor at the University of Cape Town, had to say:

Q: What is the biggest problem of blacks in South Africa?

NKUHLU: Fundamentally, the real problem is poverty. It's estimated that over 50% of blacks are unemployed.

Q: Does your strategy take into account the fact blacks live in rural areas or townships and that industrial jobs are primarily in the cities?

STEYN: One of the tasks we face is to work toward the reintegration of our cities to bring people closer to jobs and to give them access to housing. I don't think you can look at urban and rural in isolation.

Q: The National Party has been in power since 1947. Why hasn't it been able to improve conditions for blacks?

STEYN: The government had an economically indefensible decentralization policy, which artificially created jobs. Because the underlying motivation was separate development and not economic rationality, it was bound to fail.

Q: In what way was economic policy irrational?

NKUHLU: One was the neglect of training of people. You had the majority of the labor force with no skills, and they had no ability to pay taxes. But they require social services. That kind of imbalance is just not sustainable. Then there is the question of restricting people from moving to urban areas where they could find jobs.

Q: What training will you focus on in the short term?

NKUHLU: It's easy to give people training as carpenters, but the important thing is to be able to link training with job opportunities. That can be addressed through skills training, through labor-intensive development programs, through advisory services in the area of promoting small businesses.

Q: What about long term?

NKUHLU: The long-term solution is for the economy itself to improve its employment-generating capacity. But that is not happening.

Q: Shouldn't you wait for the political dust to settle before launching your effort?

MEHL: It is difficult to form a political consensus nationally because you get into a web of different agendas. The way you circumvent that is targeting regions where people are closer to the real needs.

Q: What can President Bush learn from your efforts that might help U.S. cities?

STEYN: We can all learn from one another. Humility in this area is a very important quality because these are very complex issues.

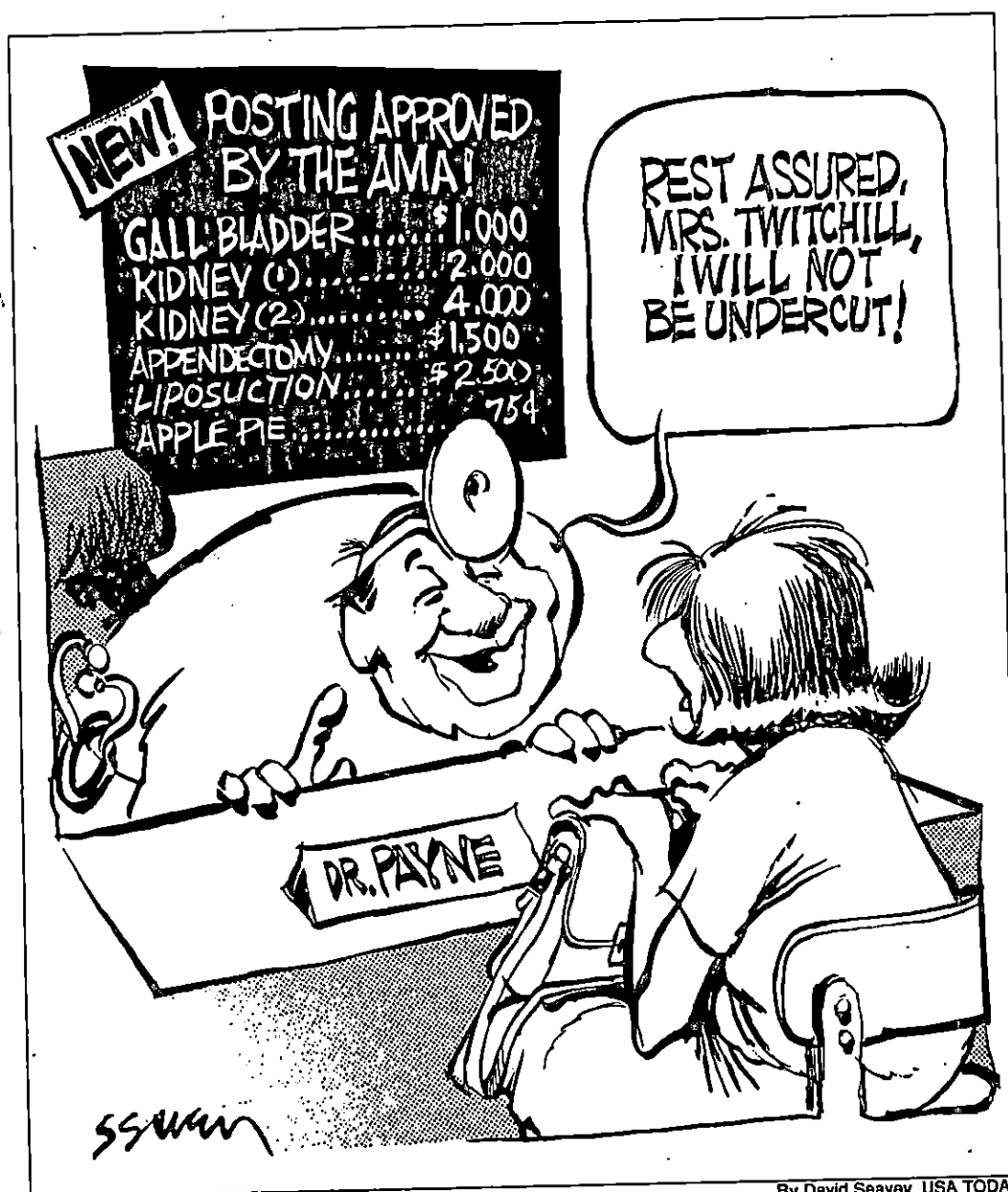
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Today's Q&A is edited from remarks by Independent Development Trust representatives to USA TODAY International's Gary H. Rawlins.

USA TODAY

NO TINT

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

A DAY



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 A3

House Panel Passes Package On Urban Zones

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — A House committee approved a Democratic package of tax breaks to attract investors to certain blighted communities, after rejecting a Republican alternative.

The package, sponsored by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D., Ill.), was endorsed by voice vote yesterday despite many Democrats' reticence about the effectiveness of the so-called enterprise zones. The proposal for 50 such zones, intended as the core of congressional Democrats' response to urban problems in the wake of the Los Angeles riots in April, is a narrower version of the open-ended enterprise zones plan that has been a priority of President Bush.

A substitute from Texas Rep. Bill Archer, the panel's top Republican, included a provision to forgive all capital-gains taxes for investors upon the sale of their assets in the designated areas. The Rostenkowski plan would defer such taxes, and only so long as any proceeds from a sale are reinvested in an enterprise zone. The difference on capital-gains taxes is the major sticking point between the two parties.

Unlike the Democrats' version, which would split the 50 zones evenly between cities and rural areas, the Republican proposal would have required 70% of the zones to be in urban areas. That was appealing to some urban Democrats, who complained at the closed-door session that not enough of the benefits in the package were reserved for cities. The GOP version, turned down on a party-line vote, also would have authorized tax breaks in the areas for 12 years, not 15 years as in the Democratic plan.

The committee vote on the enterprise-zones proposal, which would cost an estimated \$2.5 billion over five years, was its first action on a much broader \$14.4 billion package of tax incentives that Chairman Rostenkowski unveiled Tuesday. The committee also voted to extend some expiring tax incentives that are popular with a variety of lawmakers' supporters.

At a cost of almost \$6 billion over six years, the bill would extend permanently several existing tax breaks that are deemed to fall under the category of urban aid. Those are credits for developers of low-income housing and for employers of disadvantaged people, and authority for local governments to issue subsidized bonds to finance affordable housing, small farms or manufacturing facilities.

Other expiring provisions would be extended just 18 months, at a cost of \$2.7 billion. Those include a 20% credit for business research; exclusion from taxes for businesses' costs of providing educational and legal benefits to workers; a

benefit for certain donations of appreciable property, including such assets as stock that currently aren't eligible; an excise tax on some vaccines to compensate victims of their use. A 25% deduction for self-employed individual's health-insurance costs would be extended just six months, because a proposed permanent authorization is included in pending health legislation.

Efforts to make permanent the provisions on business research and employee educational benefits were unsuccessful. So, too, was an amendment from Rep. Fortney Stark (D., Calif.) to kill a special provision for Federal Express that exempts it from an anti-discrimination law governing pensions for its nonunion pilots.

The committee broke up yesterday evening just as it was getting to perhaps the biggest fight — over a Rostenkowski provision establishing write-offs for intangible assets acquired in business purchases. The provision would permit a 14-year amortization period for future purchases of those assets, which include customer lists and a purchased company's goodwill. It also would allow a retroactive 19-year write-off for past acquisitions, a change that critics complain would reward those who led the 1980s takeover boom.

Several Democrats only reluctantly backed the enterprise-zones proposal, an idea that is more often identified with

Republicans. They view it as an insufficient and probably ineffective way to aid troubled neighborhoods.

Florida Rep. Sam Gibbons called it "a waste of money," and Rep. Robert Matsui of California added, "Most of the committee members acknowledge that enterprise zones in and of themselves aren't that helpful. You also need such things as job training, and there's concern" about whether such legislation will pass.

House Democratic leaders intend to push a \$2.5 billion increase for job-training programs — an amount matching the cost of the enterprise zones plan — as part of pending appropriations bills. But such an increase ultimately would require Mr. Bush's support for a waiver from existing spending limits.

The Democrats' enterprise zone plan would bestow a number of tax benefits for investments in qualified businesses in the 50 blighted areas, which would be designated before 1997. They would include:

- A 15% tax credit for the first \$20,000 in wages of each employee who lives within the zone, or a maximum credit of \$3,000.

- As much as a \$20,000 first-year deduction for small businesses' equipment purchases, double the existing amount for such expensing.

- A deduction of as much as \$25,000 annually for each investor's stock purchases.

Republicans' reaction to the overall
Please Turn to Page A11, Column 5

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House Panel Approves Democrats' Package On Enterprise Zones

Continued From Page A3

Democratic tax package was mixed. Most seemed to agree with Michigan Rep. Guy Vander Jagt, who dismissed the bill as "totally partisan." But Rep. Clay Shaw of Florida said the measure was the first in his experience on the panel with "bipartisan appeal."

He added, "The chairman has indicated he's serious about getting the president's signature on a bill, and I believe him."

Earlier yesterday, the Ways and Means Committee unanimously approved a measure that would make it an explicit violation of federal law to knowingly make false or misleading statements in connection with primary issues of a public debt obligation.

The measure, which resembles Senate-passed legislation, is an amendment to a broader government-securities bill passed by the House Energy and Commerce Committee. It is aimed at preventing false bidding at Treasury auctions and overstated distributions of federal agency debt.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992

Strike Prompts Freight Lines To Halt Service

By DANIEL MACHALABA
And ALBERT R. KARR

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Rail freight shipments were halted across the nation, and some commuter and intercity passenger services were suspended as major freight railroads shut down operations.

Railroad managements shut down their freight operations in response to a Machinists union strike against CSX Corp.'s rail unit.

However, the much feared disruption Tuesday midnight of Amtrak's busy passenger corridor between Boston and Washington didn't materialize. Three rail unions moved the deadline for a strike against Amtrak to 12:01 a.m. tomorrow, citing progress in the negotiations.

Railroad executives said they suspended freight operations for fear that the selective strike against CSX, whose tracks are mainly in the Midwest and Southeast, would soon disrupt rail operations elsewhere. "We are an interrelated network, and if one of the major railroads isn't working it is inevitable the other railroads will clog up," said Richard Davidson, chairman of Union Pacific Corp.'s rail unit, which reported scattered picketing of its rail lines.

Many rail shippers said they didn't expect to be hurt unless the shutdown lasted more than a few days. Electric utilities can ride out even a long rail outage because they carry one to two months supply of coal.

However, auto makers, which increasingly rely on just-in-time deliveries of parts, said they would begin curtailing operations soon unless the rail dispute is settled.

In trading yesterday, copper rallied to its highest levels in more than seven months as fears of supply disruptions from a freight railroad outage buoyed prices.

Testifying in a House hearing yesterday, Michael Boskin, chairman of President Bush's Council of Economic Advisers, warned, "The rail strike is a more serious problem for an economy that is not yet improving at a pace that any of us would deem sufficient." He estimated that the economy will lose \$1 billion each day the industry shutdown continues. "A prolonged strike could well push the economy into negative growth," and "the bulk" of the loss would be permanent, Mr. Boskin said.

A Consolidated Rail Corp. spokesman charged that the strike against CSX was a "whipsawing tactic and there could be further selective strikes against other railroads." Another railroad lobbyist defended the shutdown, arguing that since the unions have the right to honor each other's picket lines, railroads should be

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Strike Prompts Halt In Rail Freight, Some Commuter Services

Continued From Page A3

able to support other roads when they are struck.

But rail labor leaders and sympathetic congressmen said they were enraged by what they viewed as a rail management lockout of unionized employees. They said that the freight railroads were trying to create a transportation crisis that would prompt Congress to intervene quickly and adopt recommendations made by a presidential emergency board last month. The board's recommendations for changes in wages, health benefits and work rules were more popular with rail management than with the Machinists.

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees filed a lawsuit against the 40 railroads in federal district court in Washington, charging an illegal lockout. The BMW has opted, at least temporarily, to continue separate negotiations with Conrail and Amtrak, though Conrail and much of Amtrak are shut down amid the industrywide lockout.

According to the Machinists union, a machinist working in the railroad industry makes an average of \$14.13 an hour, or more than \$29,000 a year. The union contends that those wages are lagging, with

experienced airline mechanics earning more than \$20 an hour.

But the Association of American Railroads, which represents rail management, says the rail machinists make more than most other industrial workers. The AAR said there are about 8,000 Machinists, or less than 5% of unionized workers, at the 40 railroads around the country.

At a hearing yesterday, members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee transportation subcommittee made it clear that they weren't eager to reward the railroads' lockout by simply adopting the emergency board's reports. Full Committee Chairman John Dingell (D., Mich.), laid out a set of other steps that Congress could take, including adopting part of the emergency board recommendations, creating a new cooling-off period for negotiations or creating a new emergency board. The transportation subcommittee is expected to begin working on the legislation today.

The lawmakers were clearly in no mood to repeat last April's action, in which Congress cut off a nationwide rail strike after 18 hours. It created a special board that merely rubber-stamped an emergency board's findings, pleasing the industry but angering unions.

Railroads and the Bush administration referred to the "seamless" rail-transportation system, contending that a strike against one railroad, such as the CSX, seriously disrupts the entire network. But angry union leaders and some equally angry Democrats on the House subcom-

mittee didn't buy that argument. They claimed that the impact of a CSX strike, by itself, would be minimal, and they branded the shutdown a clear industry lockout.

"If railroads are so concerned about their customers . . . why did they take this local problem and make it a national problem?" asked Rep. Gerry Sikorski (D., Minn.). Added Rep. Dennis Eckart (D., Ohio): "My fear is that we have a contrived national emergency."

In testimony before the subcommittee, John Peterpaul, Machinists vice president, said his union considered striking all major railroads. "But from the administration's rhetoric, we were frankly concerned that that would simply invite a carrier-orchestrated, legislated settlement of a dispute which should be decided the old-fashioned way—through collective bargaining."

Mr. Peterpaul said the carriers "conspired to hold their employees hostage to obtain a legislative settlement that is one-sided." He added, "They are like the child who killed both of his parents and throws himself on the mercy of the court because he is now an orphan."

Amtrak, which ordinarily operates many of its passenger trains on the tracks of freight railroads, said it had to shut down passenger train service through most of the country, except on the Northeast corridor tracks—which it owns and operates—and on a few other lines such as the Milwaukee-Chicago line and the one between Harrisburg, Pa., and Philadelphia. Commuter trains in New York, Chi-

cago and Boston operated on regular schedules, although commuter trains using the tracks of freight railroads in Washington were curtailed, affecting about 9,000 riders.

The U.S. Postal Service said it has begun to reclaim trailers from trains, but expects that some third and fourth class mail will be delayed at least one or two days. United Parcel Service of America Inc., Atlanta, which moves a lot of its longer-distance shipments by rail, is switching to over-the-road trucks as much as it can. But a UPS spokesman said that "If the strike doesn't end quickly, it will be impossible to move all that volume without delay."

General Motors Corp. assembly plants operated as scheduled yesterday. But a GM spokeswoman said the company is concerned that as many as 25% of GM's factories could feel the strains of the rail shutdown within 24 hours of the time rail service ceased. And the company said about half of its production facilities could be affected within 72 hours. "With the just-in-time system, the lack of a single, critical part could cause a shut down," said the GM spokeswoman.

Chrysler Corp. doesn't expect the rail stoppage to disrupt its manufacturing operations this week. The auto maker stockpiled certain parts at its plants last week and switched some shipments of inbound materials to trucks. But a spokesman said the company anticipated some problems if the rail shutdown continued into next week.

Ford Motor Co. will have problems only if the rail outage a long one. That's because workers at all of Ford's assembly plants begin a planned two-week vacation starting next Monday. "We can't make the case that [the rail shutdown] is a catastrophe for Ford Motor Company," said Charles Wilkins, Ford's director of transportation and traffic. "We're just lucky."

Weyerhaeuser Co., the big Tacoma, Wash., lumber and paper company said it would begin slowing or shutting some of its paper mills if the rail shutdown lasts more than three days. "We haven't taken major action to inventory ahead or to shift modes of transportation," said Mike Lyders, Weyerhaeuser's director of transportation for forest products.

Dow Chemical Co. said a rail outage longer than a week could cause "major difficulty" for the company. The chemical producer doesn't have the capability to stockpile a great deal of material. And trucks aren't really much of an alternative to railroads for the bulk shipper, said Conrad Romanick, Dow's senior traffic manager. "There wouldn't really be enough trucks and you'd need four or five trucks to equate to one rail car," he says.

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Bush Unveils Bill to Ease Regulations In Bank Law, but Action Unlikely Soon

By PAULETTE THOMAS
And KENNETH H. BACON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Bush administration unveiled a bill that would roll back many of the regulations created in last year's banking law, contending they are constraining credit.

The bill would roll back community lending laws for small banks, give banks greater flexibility in lending to their own officers and directors, and delay the dates that some regulations take effect. "The S&L crisis taught us the perils of weak regulation," said Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady at a news conference yesterday. "Now we are learning about the costs of over-regulation."

Despite lobbying from the industry to ease its regulatory burden, however, there is little optimism that such a bill would pass this year, with few legislative calendar days remaining.

"I never thought the sole purpose of legislation is to get enacted in two or three months," Mr. Brady said. "It doesn't happen that way." At least two similar bills have also been proposed.

Moreover, consumer groups oppose many of the amendments. "I'm kind of incredulous," said John Taylor, director of the Coalition for Community Reinvestment. "You ask taxpayers to reach in their pockets for billions for these industries, and then they turn around and say they've got too much paperwork."

Last year's banking bill provided a \$70 billion line of credit for the nearly broke Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., and it added a list of stiffer safety regulations on the banks. The total cost of the S&L bailout is expected to be roughly \$230 billion, not including interest costs.

The biggest political hurdle for the bill is that it exempts roughly 70% of the nation's banks from examinations under the Community Reinvestment Act, which requires banks to lend in all parts of their markets — including low-income areas. Small banks, with less than \$100 million in assets, would be allowed to "self-certify" their compliance with the law. And any bank seeking a merger that received an "outstanding" rating on CRA compliance couldn't be challenged by outside groups seeking to quash the merger.

Those changes are especially controversial at a time when concerns about the Los Angeles riots and inner-city problems are strong. Moreover, a recent Federal Reserve study revealed wide racial disparities in lending, and an avoidance of lending in poor neighborhoods. Regulators have only recently begun to vigorously enforce the law. "It's amazing that after the Federal Reserve studies that show disparate lending on a broad scale, that they would consider lessening the reporting requirements," said Mr. Taylor.

The administration bill would also provide broader exemptions allowing banks and S&Ls to make loans to their own officers and directors. The Federal Reserve could grant broad exemptions to banks under the bill as well. Current rules limit loans to insiders to an amount equal to roughly 6% of assets.

In other banking action yesterday, the Senate imposed a 15-month moratorium on a new regulation that would allow thrifts to open branches in other states. The amendment, which took the industry by surprise, passed on a 82-15 vote. But the final bill,

imposing slightly higher capital requirements on the Federal National Mortgage Association and the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp., was still pending late yesterday. The moratorium isn't included in the House version of the bill.

Also yesterday, the Fed asked for public comment on proposed modifications in its capital regulations to account for the risks banks face from changes in interest rates.

Currently, banks and thrifts must hold capital tied to credit risk — the possibility that a borrower will default on a loan. But last year's banking law requires regulators to rewrite capital standards to cover a broader range of risks, including potential losses deriving from changes in interest rates, loan concentration and nontraditional activities, such as commodity-based transactions. The new regulations must be in place by June 19, 1993.

Under the Fed's proposal, banks that face excessive interest-rate risk because the maturities and rates on their assets and liabilities don't match would have to hold additional capital as a cushion against potential loss.

The Fed is allowing 60 days for public comment because the proposal is complex, particularly for small banks. After reviewing the comments, the Fed is likely to issue a second, more refined proposal.

U.S. Says Israel Withheld Help In Dotan Probe

By EDWARD T. POUND

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Defense Department acknowledged for the first time that the Israeli government has refused to cooperate fully with a U.S. investigation into the diversion of millions of dollars of U.S. military aid.

The Pentagon's acting general counsel, Chester Paul Beach Jr., said the Israeli government hasn't allowed the Justice Department to question its officials, despite repeated prodding by the Bush ad-

ministration. Mr. Beach also disputed Israeli arguments that it was prohibited by its own laws from making officials available to U.S. investigators.

Mr. Beach's comments were made in a letter to Rep. John Dingell, a Michigan Democrat, who is heading a congressional investigation into the diversion. Mr. Beach's letter seemed intended to put more pressure on the Israeli government. He said the administration expected the Israelis to cooperate more fully with the U.S. investigation of the so-called Dotan affair, named after Israeli Air Force General Rami Dotan, who was imprisoned last year in Israel for skimming millions of dollars in U.S. military aid to Israel.

"The administration believes that the government of Israel should provide" Justice Department investigators "with direct access to all persons involved in the Dotan affair," Mr. Beach wrote. He said the administration hoped to resolve the issue in continuing talks with Israel. But he

added, "Clearly, if we . . . cannot reach a mutually satisfactory resolution, other alternatives will have to be considered."

Mr. Beach didn't specify those alternatives. However, he noted that if Israel is found to be in default of agreements under which it receives military aid, the U.S. could terminate or suspend such aid. Rep. Dingell says Israel is required under its grant agreements to cooperate with U.S. investigations of aid misuse or face loss of its aid. Israel, which receives at least \$1.8 billion a year in military aid, says it has cooperated extensively with U.S. investigators.

Mr. Beach said the Israelis have provided the U.S. with some evidence gathered during their Dotan probe. He said "no action will be taken that affects the provision of military assistance to Israel without careful, high-level consultation with other executive branch agencies."

Rep. Dingell has said that his Energy and Commerce subcommittee has turned

up evidence indicating that between \$40 million and \$70 million in U.S. funds were improperly diverted in the Dotan affair. The case involves contracts in which U.S. companies supplied jet engines and military services to the Israeli Air Force.

Rep. Dingell previously has charged that the Israeli government "stonewalled" the U.S. criminal investigation. His investigators have been probing whether any of the diverted funds were used for covert Israeli operations. Israel has denied such allegations; it says Gen. Dotan was simply a rogue officer.

Topps to Produce NBA Cards

NEW YORK—Topps Co. said it signed a three-year agreement with the National Basketball Association to produce a line of basketball trading cards. Terms of the pact weren't disclosed.

The agreement with National Basketball Association Properties Inc., the league's licensing arm, isn't exclusive.

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The Education Revolution

"What this country needs is a G.I. Bill for Kids," says Education Secretary Lamar Alexander. The educational choice proposal he announces today would provide \$1,000 scholarships so that one million low- and moderate-income parents could send their kids to the school of their choice, public or private.

Some 47 years after the original G.I. Bill opened up both public and private educational opportunities for millions of war veterans, Secretary Alexander wants to do the same for low-income children. His initiative is a radical step from an administration often criticized as having no domestic agenda.

The administration program is further evidence that empowering parents with choice is an idea whose time has come. Support for choice cuts across income, political and racial lines. Its major opponent is the entrenched educational bureaucracy that benefits from the status quo.

In California, where a choice initiative will probably be on this November's ballot, teachers unions vow to spend \$14 million to defeat it. The measure would grant students who wanted to attend a private school a \$2,600 annual state scholarship. Overall, it would save big bucks since the scholarship would represent less than half the average cost of a public-school education.

Educrats did everything they could to block the initiative, from trying to intimidate potential petition signers to using a Los Angeles cable-TV channel to propagandize. Julie Korenstein, an L.A. school board member, said that under choice "you end up with bigotry and ultimately with a fascist type of society." Helen Bernstein, head of the United Teachers of Los Angeles, suggests choice will result in more Los Angeles riots. She told CBN News: "If this initiative passes, I will be more than happy to go on record to predict the kinds of uprisings that we saw will be nothing compared to what will happen a few years down the line."

Starr Parker, a small-business owner active in promoting choice in the black community, calls such statements "absurd demagoguery." "Polls show over 70% of minorities support school choice," she told us. "The rich have choice now. When I was on welfare, there was no way I could put my child in a good school. It's time we stop condemning the poor to a monopoly education system."

The same activism is apparent in Chicago, where 410,000 public school students are subjected daily to a form

of educational malpractice. Out of 66 public high schools, only 19 graduate more than half their students, and many of those are nearly illiterate. Chicago's public school teachers recoil in horror from sending their children to the very system they teach in; 46% send their kids to private schools. Chicago's Catholic schools, which have a racial mix similar to the city's population, graduate more than 99% of their high school students. More than three-quarters go on to college.

Recent lawsuits filed by the Institute for Justice on behalf of parents in both Los Angeles and Chicago ask that control of the children's share of state school aid be transferred to their parents so they can enroll them in other public or private schools. They argue that the abysmal quality of their public schools violates their children's right to equal educational opportunities. John Jenkins, one of the parents bringing suit, says he tried to improve Chicago's schools but ran into a brick wall, and that choice is the only recourse for the schools and more broadly for the hope-starved inner city; "Quality education could change conditions overnight."

The Bush administration believes its new G.I. Bill is the fastest way to bring good schools back into the inner cities. Far from destroying public education, choice would in fact strengthen public schools as they learn to improve and compete for students. Mr. Alexander expects many parents will use the \$1,000 scholarships to send their children to public magnet or special-education schools. Others would find good private schools finally within their means. A surprising 37% of private schools charge less than \$1,000 in annual tuition, and the average charge is only \$1,915 a year.

The fate of the proposal is now up to Congress. Senator Ted Kennedy, whose own children attended private schools, has been a fierce opponent of educational choice. So have most other Democrats, but their opposition may be weakening as the overwhelming support for choice among the poor and minorities becomes more clear.

Recently, Democratic Senator Bill Bradley voted for a pilot program that would allow students to use federal money to attend private schools. "I'm not saying choice is the answer, but many of our schools are so bad we have to try something dramatic," he told us. "Assumptions about how government provides services are changing all over the world, and maybe it's time Americans challenge our own ways of thinking on that."

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Trying a New Yitzhak

In an election variously described as a referendum on the settlements, the economy and the Middle East peace process, Israeli voters have put Yitzhak Rabin's Labor Party back into power after 15 years of Likud rule. Clearly, the vote was a call for change. Whether Labor can supply it is another question.

The U.S. State Department will most likely interpret the vote as a rebuff to Yitzhak Shamir for insufficient enthusiasm toward Jim Baker's peace process. But though Israelis no doubt hope for peace, they also would no doubt like some prosperity, too.

As it happens, the big swing to Labor was delivered mainly by the nearly 300,000 new immigrants in Israel — largely from the former Soviet Union. Most likely, this was because Likud's snail-pace economic reform has left so many of them unemployed. They were joined by Israeli Arabs who, frustrated by the lack of cohesion in the Arab parties, threw in their lot with Labor and the left-wing Meretz. With 12 seats, Meretz now is the third largest party in the Knesset and will link with Labor to form a majority coalition.

But even though Laborites are promising a more decisive government, able to rejuvenate the economy and make real progress in the Mideast peace talks, we — as with many Israelis — are skeptical that there will be major changes on either front.

As a goodwill gesture to the U.S., Mr. Rabin has promised to halt settlements in the West Bank and Gaza territories. This does not amount to a large-scale retreat, as some Likud members suggest. Those settlements are already substantial and, many argue, adequate to secure Israel's security interests there. Moreover, while new building may stop, anyone wishing to move to the numerous existing developments can still do so.

Labor will push for extensive autonomy for Palestinians in the occupied territories, but only slight border changes. Any major concessions, like those negotiated in the Camp David accords, would have to be approved by two-thirds of the Knesset and are unlikely. Mr. Rabin has also said he would not accept the creation of a Palestinian state and pledges that Jerusalem — including the eastern half of the city annexed in 1967 — will remain Israel's capital. Like Mr. Shamir, he will retain a military presence on the Golan Heights.

Neither is it likely that the new government will be any better at running the economy, or more efficient in general. Aid to Israel — including the pending U.S. grant — is likely to be funneled right back into the public sector, and the bureaus of state-owned firms will probably be packed with Laborites. We cannot expect a sudden wave of privatizations or incentives for private sector development, which is what the economy needs.

On the other hand, a big new dose of socialism isn't likely either. Even under Likud, the Israeli bureaucracy has picked up some free market principles, and bureaucrats are hard to move. Mr. Rabin, with few obvious economic theories, is likely to leave much of that to his ministers — which may not be bad. Amnon Rubenstein, number three on Labor's list for ministry posts, is said to be a free marketer. Moshe Shahal, also high on Labor's list, is another; he brought about substantial reforms in the energy sector as minister of energy.

As for Likud, it must regroup in time for the 1996 direct elections for prime minister. Maybe while out of power it can pull together its warring factions and reflect on how it lost by being insufficiently less socialist than the socialists.

Asides

To Rent or Not to Rent?

That is the question for the young prince of Denmark, who's about to enroll in Harvard this fall. The Cambridge City Council is complaining that the university, which is Cambridge's biggest landlord, has offered Crown Prince Frederik a rent-controlled house not far from Harvard Yard. (There's no room in the dorms

for bodyguards and courtiers.) That the prince could end up paying the princely sum of \$1,900 for a three-bedroom house in Cambridge's tight housing market is not the result of the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, but of the pernicious effects that arise when government manipulates the housing market. Something is rotten in the state of Massachusetts and it's known as rent control.

A Central Bank Faces Its Limits

By DAVID M. JONES

George Bush leaned on Alan Greenspan about as hard as he could this week. Mr. Bush's call to action may indeed succeed in provoking the Fed chairman to lower interest rates. But the president's public plea also represents a new turn in an interesting story. It is a story that reflects the limits of central bank chairmen and central banks. It is also the story of Alan Greenspan.

All Fed chairmen, including Mr. Greenspan's predecessors, have one main economic lever at their disposal: short-term interest rates. In his first term as Fed Chairman, Mr. Greenspan used this lever to nearly its maximum potential. As his second term begins, Mr. Greenspan may be finding that his policy lever has reached its limit. This is not Mr. Greenspan's "fault." It is the fault of a Congress that failed to allow changes on the fiscal side that would help the nation move faster into economic recovery. It is to some degree too the "fault" of Mr. Bush, who could have tried harder than he did to prevent the tax hike that resulted from the 1990 budget agreement.

Let's look, though, at Mr. Greenspan's odyssey. He first used his lever to deal successfully with the 1987 stock market crash. Then he and his colleagues supplied sufficient liquidity to cushion the economy from the crash's effects. He followed with a solid if unspectacular performance during the period from early 1988 through early 1990 when he tried to achieve a "soft landing" that would bring progress toward price stability without the

recession that typically accompanies anti-inflation efforts. The Greenspan Fed sought to nudge real growth onto a downward glide path that leveled out not too far below the economy's long-term growth potential (a rate of about 2½% per year). At the same time, Fed officials sought to encourage an orderly contraction in the previous decade's credit expansion and asset price inflation.

The "soft landing" however ran into considerable turbulence, and Mr. Greenspan's performance, along with that of his fellow Fed policymakers, left much to be desired. Specifically, Mr. Greenspan — a recognized master of the economic art of interpreting inventory changes and other signals of real sector imbalance — was slow to diagnose an unusual "balance sheet" recession. The 1990 recession was distinguished by a clash between a dangerously overleveraged economy and a bank-induced credit crunch. The Greenspan Fed's response to recession was tardy and timid.

The Fed's performance in 1991 was modestly better, though some of the Fed's numerous easing steps aimed at countering recession were excessively influenced by partisan political urgings. The interest-rate cuts of Feb. 1, 1991, which came on the

heels of the State of the Union address, and an April 30 cut stand out here. In addition, some Fed easing steps were taken precipitously or without adequately preparing the financial market. This was the case with last year's interest-rate cuts of Oct. 31 and Nov. 6.

The most dramatic of the Greenspan Fed's easing actions came on Dec. 20, 1991, when Fed officials announced a full percentage point cut in the discount rate to 3½% and an accompanying "pass through" funds rate drop to 4% from 4½%. A slowing economy caused long-term rates to decline at the same time. The result was a restructuring of debt welcomed by both individuals (they refinanced mortgages) and businesses (they refinanced debt). In addition, businesses were able to raise funds in the soaring equity market and use these funds to repay debt. The strong stock market rally that followed is in no small measure attributable to Alan Greenspan.

Likewise, Fed easing actions have pushed short-term interest rates down sharply relative to longer-term rates, thus providing banks with a historically profitable interest margin. As a result, bank fortunes appear to be gradually improving — and with them, the willingness of banks to make new loans.

During the first three months of 1992, the Greenspan Fed awaited evidence that early signs of recovery in the housing sector and retail sales were spreading to output and employment. The evidence wasn't clear, and on April 9, the Fed moved to let the federal funds rate drop to 3¾% from 4%.



Alan Greenspan

The Fed still has considerable influence over short-term interest rates. But its control of longer-term interest rates appears to be diminishing. For example, despite a stable Fed policy posture during the first three months of 1992, long-term interest rates remained subject to upward pressure, influenced by signs of economic recovery, election-year threats of additions to an already huge federal deficit and Germany's high interest rates.

In any case, Mr. Greenspan probably can do little more to aid the recovery. Indeed, there is a growing perception among bond investors that Mr. Greenspan, perhaps prodded by election-year political pressures, has come to be concerned only with stimulating real economic activity and not with inflation.

The perception that the Fed is pulling out all stops to guarantee recovery in an election year already greatly increases the chances that any further Fed easing moves will be accompanied by rising long-term interest rates. (The bond market, for instance, rallied on May 8, despite the fact that unexpectedly strong payroll employment figures had dashed hopes of further near-term Fed easing moves.) So, even if Mr. Bush "gets what he wants" (a short-term rate cut), he won't get what he wants, which is a stronger recovery. A Bush-Greenspan cut for short-term rates will drive long-term rates up. That hurts housing. It also hurts capital spending.

You don't therefore have to share a bond trader's worldview to see the main problem here. It is fiscal policy. Traditionally, recoveries have been aided by tax cuts equivalent to 1% or 1½% of gross domestic product. But this time there has been an unproductive election-year standoff between the Bush administration and a hostile Democratic Congress on tax cuts.

So, the still heavily debt-burdened economy must recover without much help from Washington. This will be, at best, a "soft recovery." And that's something Mr. Greenspan can't do much about.

Mr. Jones, chief economist at Aubrey G. Lanston & Co., is author of "The Politics of Money: The Fed Under Alan Greenspan" (Simon & Schuster, 1991).

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The Nikkei Begs for a Tax Cut

By JESPER KOLL

TOKYO — With the Tokyo stock market down again on Tuesday and Wednesday, Japan's policy makers are casting about for ways to boost the economy — by which they mean more public spending. There has been little talk, however, of tax cuts. This, although it is now clear that the 1989 tax reform that cost the ruling Liberal Democratic Party its majority in the upper house of the Diet has also cost Japanese households dearly. Since the implementation of the 1989 tax reform, the average person's income tax bill has grown by 14.5% a year, almost twice as fast as the rate of increase in nominal household incomes.

If the government's priority is to get Japan's domestic economy out of recession, an income tax cut is required. The case is made particularly strong by the jump in social security taxes over the past three years — an average of 11.7% a year. The combined effect: While the average Japanese paid 21.8 yen to the government for every 100 new yen earned in 1985-89, in the past three years he has had to pay 28.4 yen in taxes for every 100 new yen. The total cost of these new taxes to the economy is some 12 trillion yen, or \$94.38 billion. If it had not been for tax reform and bracket creep, disposable income of households in Japan would be about 5% higher than it is today.

It is not fair to blame only the Ministry of Finance's tax reform for the decline in disposable-income growth in Japan. Just as the tax reform was implemented on April 1, 1989, household income growth began to benefit from the economic boom that began in 1987. Wages and salaries climbed to a record 63% of national income. The resulting bracket creep turned the original goal of tax reform upside down. The tax authorities had reduced the number of tax brackets from 12 to five, with the top rate reduced from 60% to 50%, and had imposed a 3% consumption tax. The ministry actually anticipated a net decrease in tax revenues of 2.6 trillion yen.

This redistribution of money from the

government to the people never happened. Total tax receipts exceeded the ministry's initial estimates by 3.2 trillion yen in fiscal 1989 and by one trillion yen in fiscal 1990. The sharp rise in tax payments suggests that more Japanese were catapulted into higher tax brackets.

Japan's postwar economy has a long history of "bracket creep" cutting into household's disposable income growth. The ever prudent ministry budget and tax bureau had, in an understandable bias, estimated income growth to be much slower than it actually was. This conservative attitude is laudable, since it promotes budget surpluses, which in turn have positive implications for a country's overall savings rates and the cost of capital. In the short term the consumer loses out. And an overtaxed consumer is hardly in a position to cut into Japan's record inventory build-up and to spur a new economic growth cycle.

The traditional argument against a tax cut in Japan has always been that since Japanese households save so much, they would only save more if disposable income increased, instead of spending more. This, at least, has been a favorite Ministry of Finance riposte to past tax-cut proposals. Although the argument in itself necessitates some rather dramatic assumptions about savings and consumption propensities, it doesn't matter whether the consumer saves more or consumes more as a result of an income tax cut, as long as savings now are translated into consumption someday. This usually happens, in Japan and elsewhere — unless a rising debt-repayment burden is cutting into so-called savings.

Is this happening in Japan? Not exactly. Between 1985 and 1990, average debt per household in Japan almost doubled to reach 4.9 million yen. Now, the rising repayment burden on consumer credit and loans — up an average 18% a year between 1989 and 1991 — makes a farce out of most of the recent increase in the Japanese "savings rate." Savings are being used to finance past consumption.

Household debt does not deter consumer spending, as long as disposable income is growing faster than the debt-repayment burden. Unfortunately, Japan's gross national product data reveal disposable-income growth of only about 7%. This pattern, that debt repayment is rising faster than disposable income, is a historic first for Japan. The recent lowering of interest rates will ease the burden somewhat, but not enough to reverse the trend. Disposable incomes will have to be boosted through a tax cut.

Chances for this happening in Japan, however, are slimmer than one would expect in an industrial democracy. As clear as the economics of fiscal drag might be, there is a complete lack of a vocal opposition pointing to this most blatant failure of the 1989 tax reform.

One can understand the ministry's resistance to an income tax cut. The revenue loss would probably trigger the need for renewed issuance of deficit financing bonds, a taboo since the early-1980s.

One can even understand the ruling LDP's reluctance to propose an income tax cut for consumers. The LDP is, after all, being courted by businesses actively seeking a corporate tax cut instead, and the Japanese consumer simply does not have a potent lobby in Tokyo. The opposition parties should be the natural choice, particularly with the July upper house election in sight. Unfortunately, however, the opposition parties are apparently still only interested in pure Kabuki politics and complaining about the tyranny of the majority's decision on the bill that would allow up to 2,000 Japanese troops to assist in United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Pushing for economic policies that would help the Japanese consumer, and get the economy out of the current morass, is up to foreign pressure once again. Perhaps the participants at the forthcoming G-7 summit in Munich should compete for votes in Japan's next elections.

Mr. Koll is chief economist for an investment bank in Tokyo.

School Choice Foes Defend the Indefensible

By MARTHA C. BROWN

The educational choice movement is gaining ground. Today, Education Secretary Lamar Alexander is expected to propose providing \$1,000 vouchers to one million low- and moderate-income parents. The administration's move comes in the wake of state efforts.

California's Choice in Education League has announced that it has enough signatures to put a state school voucher referendum on the ballot. In March, the Wisconsin Supreme Court upheld the right of poor Milwaukee parents to choose private schools paid for with tax dollars. A campaign for school choice legislation in Pennsylvania is temporarily stalled after a preliminary victory last year. Four Ohio legislators recently introduced a bipartisan proposal for school vouchers. Illinois's house minority leader, Republican Lee Daniels, a former opponent of school choice, now favors it.

Uncertified Teachers

As proponents of school choice hail these breakthroughs, public school partisans quake—and their arguments for shoring up the public school wall grow more illogical and self-serving.

Days before the Wisconsin decision, Chicago's Board of Education president said vouchers would encourage "providers [of education] . . . that are out just to make a buck. They'll have uncertified teachers, uncertified facilities." How much does his board pay for certified teachers? Does he read the test scores? The reports of rapes and shootings in certified city schools?

Harry Weinberg, superintendent of the San Diego County public schools, also worries that parents will fall prey to no-account private education purveyors. He asks in Education Week, "If a private school spends public money foolishly, to whom can taxpayers complain?" He forgets parents can withdraw children if the school doesn't shape up.

Another of his concerns: "Unregulated private schools would be free to promote their particular religious, social, or ethnic agendas at the expense of our democratic traditions." At the core of these traditions

is freedom to choose one's own agenda. Choice allows parents who wish to do so to reject the public school agenda, which—at taxpayer expense—often substitutes counseling for education and teaches values many believe to be in conflict with the family, morality and free enterprise.

Like many educators, Mr. Weinberg wants private school teachers licensed like public school teachers to ensure "a level playing field." State licensing has helped make U.S. public schools the world's worst. Leveling private school teachers would level private schools.

Another version of the argument that private schools must be accountable to the

establishment of religion," we've been guilty for decades. Some of the millions educated under the GI Bill chose religious colleges or even seminaries. Graduates of religious colleges teach in public schools. Public school teachers take graduate courses at religious institutions, paying tuition with tax money. Is it equitable to deny the same right to their students?

A favorite anti-choice argument is that private schools seem better only because parents who choose them are more caring, or—from a letter in the Washington Times—because their students have more "basic intelligence and testing ability overall." The writer ignores those children

As proponents of school choice hail breakthroughs, public school partisans quake—and their arguments for shoring up the wall grow more illogical and self-serving.

state if they get tax money comes from Frank Kemerer, education law professor at the University of North Texas. Writing in Education Week, he doubts "taxpayers will accept . . . the unregulated expenditure of large amounts of public money" in private schools, suggesting that if taxes fund private school choice, heavy government regulation must follow.

This seemingly logical argument has led some private schools to declare they would refuse vouchers. Yet there's no legal basis for claims that choice would end private education *qua* private education, according to attorney William Ball, an expert on public aid to private schools. He says that aid given directly to parents isn't an institutional subsidy to schools and so won't entail "burdensome regulations of private schools."

Choice opponents also raise the specter of state-supported religion. "Separation of church and state," or "Remember the establishment clause," they warn. Article One says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

If giving students state money to pay for religious schooling amounts to "estab-

public schools label "disabled," who succeed when placed in private schools.

He says private schools have "smaller classes and frequently more idyllic atmosphere." Nonsense. Except for a few costly private schools, most—including Roman Catholic schools that teach poor children in inner cities—have larger classes than public schools. Their secret isn't "idyllic atmosphere," but willingness to maintain order and stress academic learning.

Despite strident union opposition to choice, many teachers support it. Some teachers, frustrated by lax discipline policy and the psycho-behavioral programs that now pass for public education, leave the profession. Others gladly switch to private school teaching, accepting lower pay and benefits so they can truly educate children. Several studies show that public school teachers often send their own children to private schools.

Some opponents take the moral high ground, claiming choice denies equal education for all students. They say some parents would make poor choices. True, but even their children couldn't be worse off than they are today in chaotic, no-learn public schools.

We all lose when everyone is forced to accept government decisions for fear of "inequalities" if people make their own. After suffering this egalitarian insanity for 70 years, the people of the former U.S.S.R. know it's a fraud. It's sad to see public school defenders trotting out the same argument, trying to ensure millions of U.S. children an equally bad education.

Some public school defenders, misled by this perverse logic, really do care about children. Others don't. They stand the some-children-will-be-shortchanged argument on its head, complaining that private schools will take their good students, leaving the "worst" in public schools. Aside from exposing public educators' view that the public should serve them, and not vice-versa, this argument is meaningless. First, parents of failing students are as apt to flee public schools as are other parents. Second, many private schools accept all comers. Many, like Marva Collins's school, take pride in succeeding with children public schools have given up on.

A Ringing Indictment

Finally, opponents of choice betray their desperation by admitting that today's public schools couldn't compete in a free market. Reacting to the Wisconsin decision, a teachers union spokesperson says, "The precedent would start and just snowball." Despite the inevitable challenges ahead, the snowball could turn into an avalanche capable of demolishing an already weakened public school wall.

Since Day One of the choice movement we've heard laments that "Choice will destroy public schools!" It sounds more convincing every year—a ringing indictment of public schools, no different from "If we take down the wall, they'll all leave." There's no better argument for dismantling the wall that denies millions of U.S. children and their parents the freedom to choose good education at reasonable cost.

Ms. Brown, a former teacher, is an education consultant and writer in Olympia Fields, Ill. (A related editorial appears today.)

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Perot Accuses Bush Campaign Of 'Dirty Tricks'

Undeclared Candidate Says He Never Investigated Any of Bush's Children

By TIMOTHY NOAH
And DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
ANNAPOLIS, Md. — Ross Perot lashed out at the Bush administration and what he termed the "dirty tricks crowd" in the Republican Party for spreading unfavorable stories about him.

In an escalation of a rhetorical war with the Bush administration, Mr. Perot said on NBC's "Today"

show that Vice President Dan Quayle had made remarks about him that "Hitler's propaganda chief would be proud of." At the same time, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said Mr. Perot's "paranoia knows no bounds," and Budget Director Richard Darman called in reporters to ridicule Mr. Perot's budget ideas as "the simple investigator's budget" and "not serious." Mr. Darman also criticized Democratic candidate Bill Clinton's economic proposals.



Ross Perot

Later, Mr. Perot, in the first news conference of his undeclared presidential campaign, fervently denied reports that he once investigated President Bush's children. Mr. Bush had voiced anger this week about the reported investigations.

Mr. Perot said that certain representations about then-Vice President Bush's children had come to him unsolicited and that he had passed them along to the vice president. He also released a letter that seemed to support his contention that a conversation between Mr. Perot and then-Vice President Bush about the allegations had ended on a friendly note.

In the letter, addressed "Dear Ross" and dated Dec. 24, 1986, Mr. Bush wrote that he was "touched by your call[s] about my kids. They are all straight arrows, uninvolved in intrigue and yet the rumor mill links them; and Ross it hurts 'em."

"You understood all this," Mr. Bush wrote.

But Mr. Perot was unwilling to explain why in 1988 he passed along to the Washington Post, rather than the Internal Revenue Service, information he had collected about a tax break received by Pennzoil Co., whose chairman, J. Hugh Liedtke, had once been a partner of Mr. Bush's in the oil business. On Sunday, the Post reported that Mr. Perot previously described the arrangement as a "mini-Teapot Dome" scandal, but the paper said its own investigation uncovered no impropriety by Mr. Bush.

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Mr. Perot confirmed at the news conference that he had hired a Washington law firm to collect documents on the Pennzoil deal, in which the company received a \$48 million tax break for donating 100,000 acres of land, according to Mr. Perot. He said he "casually mentioned" the arrangement to a Washington Post reporter, who subsequently investigated it.

In his NBC appearance, the Texas billionaire played down inquiries he made regarding a senior Defense Department official in the mid-1980s. Mr. Perot portrayed himself as a public-minded citizen who only served as a conduit of information between a suburban Virginia police detective and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"He presented this information. And here is what I did with it: I gave it to the appropriate law enforcement authorities, walked away from it, and that's it," said Mr. Perot of his dealings with James Badey, then a police detective in Arlington, Va. "Now that is not chasing down information on someone. That's having someone bring it to you. And I handed it to the FBI, and that's the end of that."

But Mr. Badey has said he already had provided his investigative notes to the FBI months before. And though Mr. Perot may have passed on the information again, he also pursued the case with other officials in the government in an attempt to learn more about the relationship between the Pentagon official and a Vietnamese-born woman gambler who figured in Mr. Badey's investigation.

Mr. Badey, for example, has said he met with Mr. Perot more than once regarding the case. In addition, the Texan later used two photographs collected by the detective in meeting with government officials. For example, a State Department employee with family ties to the Vietnamese-American community told this newspaper that Mr. Perot asked for assistance in identifying individuals in a photograph of a social gathering attended by the defense official and the Vietnamese woman.

In his news conference, which drew a large crowd of reporters, Mr. Perot assumed a combative stance toward the press. "You guys don't understand what tough is," he said at one point, launching into an anecdote about visiting captured employees held in an Iranian prison. "This is Mickey Mouse tossed salad."

But Mr. Perot saved his harshest criticism for Mr. Bush. Asked to defend a previous statement that as vice president Mr. Bush had been involved in the Iran-Contra affair, Mr. Perot said he could not substantiate it. But he added: "Who was in charge of antiterrorism? Vice President George Bush."

Yesterday evening, on CNN's "Larry King Live," Mr. Perot received an angry phone call from Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond, who demanded that Mr. Perot offer evidence that

the Republicans were engaging in a smear campaign against him. Mr. Perot said he had such evidence, but would not reveal it. "When I'm ready, I'll do it," he said.

At the news conference, Mr. Perot also discussed in general terms a variety of substantive issues. For example, he suggested that as president he might create a domestic equivalent to the National Security Council to concentrate on domestic economic issues.

might create a domestic equivalent to the National Security Council to concentrate on domestic economic issues.

But he avoided being more specific on this and other matters. Asked, for example, whether he supported the 1992 civil-rights law, Mr. Perot said he would have to read the measure.

In his interview with reporters, Mr. Darman said Mr. Clinton's budget plan, while more substantive than Mr. Perot's, relies on gimmicks and excessively optimistic growth assumptions. Gene Sperling, the economic policy director for Mr. Clinton, countered with an allusion to the movie "Batman Returns": "The Bush administration complaining about budgetary gimmicks is like the Penguin complaining about the lack of law and order in Gotham City."

Mr. Clinton presented his economic plan to the National Association of Manufacturers yesterday and received a chilly welcome. "Gov. Clinton's new economic package is long on public-sector investment and short on private-sector incentives to stimulate growth, with real questions about how much the budget deficit is actually going to be reduced," said NAM President Jerry Jasinowski.

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House Fails to Override Veto of Fetal-Research Bill

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The House failed to override President Bush's veto of legislation that would have allowed federally funded research using tissue from aborted fetuses.

The 271-156 vote in favor of the bill was, as expected, well short of the two-thirds majority needed for an override. It kept President Bush's string of sustained vetos intact; he has issued 30, and none has been overridden.

The bill the president rejected would have authorized \$5.4 billion for the National Institutes of Health. It is likely now to be reintroduced without the controversial fetal-tissue provision.

Proponents of fetal-tissue research say transplanting healthy cells from such material holds promise for the treatment of Alzheimer's disease, juvenile diabetes, spinal cord injuries, Parkinson's disease and a number of other genetic disorders. Opponents say it encourages abortion.

The government will pay for research using fetal tissue from miscarriages and tubal pregnancies. But opponents of the ban on using tissue from aborted fetuses say much of the tissue from miscarriages and tubal pregnancies is damaged and therefore unusable.

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U.S. Should Turn In Its World Policeman Badge

The collapse of the U.S.S.R. has left advocates of an expansive military, like the Journal, with a slight problem: Who is our enemy? The Journal almost, but not quite, suggests Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic as an appropriate target of U.S. arms. Even Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, admits that "I'm running out of villains. I'm down to Castro and Kim Il Sung."

As evil as these three dictators are, they hardly justify the 1.6 million military personnel and roughly \$290 billion annual defense budget proposed by the administration for coming years. The Pentagon's proposed reductions are cuts only in rela-

and the other newly independent republics, roll troops who refused to back last August's coup through the Baltic states, Poland and united Germany, and on to the Atlantic. But an imploding Russia, squabbling with its fellow CIS members, still seems a poor substitute menace for a united and communist Soviet Union.

In any case, whatever residual military danger remains can be met by the Europeans themselves. Britain, for instance, could stop demobilizing troops and join with France, Germany and Italy, in particular, to turn the Western European Union into a real alliance. The Western Europeans have the ability and incentive to defend themselves, and need no longer be welfare dependents of the U.S.

Aren't there alternative perils in what everyone agrees will be a dangerous world? Yes, but they are nothing compared with what we have faced throughout the past 40 years. Moreover, in the absence of the Cold War, when international relations seemed to be a zero sum game between the U.S. and Soviet Union, Washington can remain largely indifferent to foreign conflicts. Put bluntly, there is no interest at stake that warrants the sacrifice of American lives and treasure in Liberia, Somalia, Yugoslavia, or similar places around the globe. (The real threat of nuclear proliferation warrants accelerated research and deployment of a missile defense, not 1.6 million uniformed personnel.)

Oddly, some on the left join with the Journal and other post-Cold War hawks in wanting to police the globe, only they want the U.N., backed by Washington, to be the new international cop. Sen. Joseph Biden, for instance, said on this page that he wants to put "new muscle into institutions of collective security." However, for all of the U.N.'s recent good press, it remains little more than a farcical debating society controlled by a majority of delegates representing brutal and venal autocracies. Giv-

ing this body an independent military would be criminally naive.

More conventional peacekeeping missions can work only where the participants want peace, which is why the U.N. forces have been unable to halt Serbia's aggressive expansionism in what was Yugoslavia. Where peace has been imposed it has been through Potemkin collective security exercises like Korea and Iraq, which were really U.S. operations with an international facade. (Secretary of State James Baker is hinting at possible humanitarian intervention in Yugoslavia but so far disavows any large-scale military effort to end the conflict.)

Another concern, articulated by the Journal's George Melloan, is that military cutbacks will cause the U.S. to lose "leverage... in exerting global influence." Like what? The presence of more than 320,000 troops in Europe didn't stop the Europeans from subsidizing the Sandinistas, negotiating with the Soviets to build a natural gas pipeline, providing generous loans to Moscow and its Warsaw Pact allies, and objecting to the bombing of Libya. This kind of expensive "leverage" we can do without.

Not that the Journal seems to think it is expensive, since the percentage of GNP to be devoted to the military under the president's plan will fall "to 3.5% of GDP by 1997, the lowest level since before Pearl Harbor." But the danger to the U.S. has dropped far more. Our vast force structure created to guard against past threats is simply obsolete.

What we see is a classic example of public choice economics at work: The defense bureaucracy, having lost much of its *raison d'être*, is desperately seeking alternative missions to justify its continued existence. How else can one explain the argument of Vice Adm. Roger Bacon, commander of the Atlantic submarine fleet, that the Trident II (D-5) missile will help defend against terrorism and drugs?

Or the suggestion from former Reagan official Robert Hormats that NATO be expanded to "student exchanges, to fighting the drug trade, to resisting terrorism, to countering threats to the environment"? Or the Pentagon's increasing enthusiasm for getting involved in the drug war, which it once sought to avoid?

Even worse, however, has been the pork barrel mentality of the Democratic Congress, which ignored the best opportunity in decades to implement its defense-cutting rhetoric out of fear over lost jobs. Yet the U.S. demobilized a 12.8 million man military after World War II without mishap. Anyway, the Democrats can't seriously think we are better off paying soldiers to sit in tanks guarding Germany's Fulda Gap against phantom enemies (or to take part in boondoggle civilian projects, as proposed by Sen. Sam Nunn) than in letting taxpayers keep more of their incomes and hiring those same young people to work in the private economy.

With the end of communism and the Soviet threat, the U.S. can again become, in Jeane Kirkpatrick's words, "a normal country," a republic rather than an empire. Will the world still be full of tragedy? Of course. But the ultimate responsibility of this government is to protect the freedoms, lives and wealth of its people. And, as George Washington recognized in his farewell address, that is best achieved by avoiding conflicts that don't concern the U.S., rather than making them America's own. The U.S. "is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all," observed John Quincy Adams 171 years ago, "but she goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy." It is time to rediscover the Founders' vision for America.

Mr. Bandow is a senior fellow at the Cato Institute and a former special assistant to President Reagan.

Counterpoint

By Doug Bandow

tion to the abnormally high levels of military outlays that occurred during the Vietnam War and the Reagan-era buildup.

In real terms, the president's budget equals outlays during the 1950s, the height of the Cold War. If the administration has its way, the policy of containment will live. But who will be contained?

Pentagon planners are naturally working hard to come up with new enemies. One of the latest Defense Department scenarios, for instance, envisions intervention to stop a Russian invasion of Lithuania. But for 50 years the U.S. calmly accepted Moscow's absorption of that small country. Why should we now risk American lives to protect the same nation, one of not even peripheral security interest to the U.S.?

Might more than just Lithuania be at risk? Warns a Journal editorial: "The rise of a Bonaparte can't be ruled out." Presumably the generals could reassert control in Moscow, stir up war fever among their hungry subjects, swallow up Ukraine

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IMF Is Moving To Speed Up Aid for Russia

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The International Monetary Fund is moving toward granting Russia \$1 billion in advance financing while details of the country's economic-reform program are being negotiated, U.S. officials said.

The move, which could send money flowing to Moscow by next month, comes as the fund is under pressure from the U.S. to speed up negotiations on a broad economic plan. Completion of a full economic program would qualify Russia for billions of dollars in help, but that may not come until September.

Under the procedure being discussed by IMF officials and the Russian government, Russia would get what the IMF calls a "first credit tranche" — essentially an advance—of \$1 billion, pending completion of a full agreement. An IMF negotiating team, which is about to begin a new round of talks in Moscow, is likely to suggest such a credit installment if it is satisfied Russia has made progress on narrowing its budget deficit and establishing a realistic value for the Russian ruble, officials said. The team's recommendation would be sent to the IMF executive board for approval.

Similar advance funding has been extended by the IMF in recent years during negotiations with India, Venezuela and Chile, U.S. officials said.

Officials of the U.S. and other industrialized nations are eager to make some tangible show of support for Russian President Boris Yeltsin to help him convince skeptics at home that market reforms are paying dividends. Mr. Yeltsin meets with

leaders of the world's seven major industrialized nations in Munich in early July.

One of the biggest stumbling blocks to a full-blown IMF program for Russia, officials said, is uncertainty about which other former Soviet republics will use the ruble and what kind of central bank system will be in place to oversee money supplies.

The Bush administration has been prodding the IMF to move more quickly toward an agreement with Moscow without waiting for many smaller details to be worked out.

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High Court Bans Nonsectarian Worship At Public School Events in 5-4 Decision

By PAUL M. BARRETT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court, barring nonsectarian prayer from public school ceremonies, declined a Bush administration invitation to allow more government involvement with religion.

The court ruled, 5-4, that a public school setting presents a great danger of real or perceived religious coercion, which is prohibited by the First Amendment.

Writing the majority's main opinion, Justice Anthony Kennedy invoked constitutional history and child psychology in concluding that "what might begin as a tolerant expression of religious views may end in a policy to indoctrinate and coerce."

'Lays Waste a Tradition'

Justice Antonin Scalia wrote a dissent that was typically caustic. The court's decision to ban invocations and benedictions at public school graduation ceremonies, he said, "lays waste a tradition that is as old as public-school graduation ceremonies themselves, and that is a component of an even more longstanding American tradition of nonsectarian prayer to God at public celebrations generally."

Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Byron White and Clarence Thomas joined the dissent. Justices Harry Blackmun, John Stevens, Sandra O'Connor and David Souter joined the majority.

The ruling involved prayers offered by a rabbi at a junior high school graduation in Providence, R.I. The rabbi spoke under a school policy that allowed invocations and benedictions. School officials have

given clergy a pamphlet entitled "Guidelines for Civic Occasions," written by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The prayers at issue in the case mentioned "God" but by all accounts were inclusive and nonsectarian.

Surprising Decision

Still, Justice Kennedy said, school officials improperly involved themselves in directing and approving the religious talk. "The degree of school involvement here made it clear that the graduation prayers bore the imprint of the state and thus put school-age children who objected in an untenable position."

The high court's decision was surprising in several ways. Justice Kennedy has urged the easing of restrictions on government activity related to religion. But he clearly decided that a school-prayer case wasn't the proper occasion to rethink this area of law.

Other justices have indicated unhappiness with the existing standard used in such cases. This standard, set forth in a 1971 high court decision, bans government from practices that have a religious purpose, "primary effect," or that entail government "entanglement" with religion. In 1983, the court carved out an exception to these principles by allowing prayers opening state legislative sessions.

But Justice Kennedy said that the atmosphere in a legislature, "where adults are free to enter and leave with little comment . . . cannot compare with the constraining potential of the one school event most important for the student to attend." (*Lee vs. Weisman*)

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Perot Invites Views of Many People; Pleasing Them All May Be Difficult

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Here's some free advice to future presidential contenders: Return your phone calls.

That's one apparent lesson to draw from Ross Perot's transformation from Beltway parvenu to the candidate many Washington experts across the political spectrum want to see — or be seen with.

Consider Ralph Nader. The ornery consumer advocate was getting hot under the collar waiting for Bill Clinton to respond to some papers he had sent the presumptive Democratic candidate on a number of issues. "He had his assistant say 'I'm going to call you tomorrow afternoon,'" recalls Mr. Nader. But the call never came.

So Mr. Nader rang up Ross Perot instead. "He called right back," marvels Mr. Nader. "That's what's so good about him." Mr. Nader doesn't usually speak warmly about billionaires, but he says Mr. Perot listened attentively to his pitch on enhancing shareholder rights and other matters, and occasionally seemed "quite enthusiastic."

Mr. Perot seems quite enthusiastic about a lot of people's ideas these days. The band of grateful partisans finding a friendly audience in his fledgling campaign runs the gamut from Mr. Nader to Marc Nettle, campaign manager for conservative evangelist Pat Robertson's 1988 campaign, and from tart-tongued civil-rights veteran Roger Wilkins to corporate buy-out artist Theodore Forstmann.

Positions on Issues

Of course, that raises an interesting question: How can the Texan possibly please people of such diverse views? The answer is that for now, "people want to read into him their ideal of what a presidential candidacy is all about," says Michael McCurry, a Democratic public-relations strategist. But that could well change as the campaign progresses and Mr. Perot begins to define himself and his positions on issues.

By most accounts, Mr. Perot does more listening than talking when he meets with policy experts. He tends to interrupt either when he fundamentally agrees, or fundamentally disagrees, with the point being made; in either case, he wants to move on to another topic. He tends to perk up at ideas he hasn't heard before.

Mr. Perot's accessibility clearly has a lot to do with his ability to draw advice from such a disparate lot. Like Mr. Nader, many of those lending advice to the nascent Perot campaign feel shut out by the Clinton or Bush campaigns. Mr. Nettle, who in addition to his Robertson work also served as executive director of the National Republican Congressional Committee, says he has tried again and again to set up a session with Bush campaign chairman Robert Teeter and senior campaign adviser Charles Black. "We can't ever seem to get the meeting scheduled," sighs Mr. Nettle, adding that he is hearing similar complaints "everywhere."

Thus, his spirits perked up when he got a call from Ed Rollins, the Republican operative now serving as one of two campaign managers for the Perot campaign. (The other is Democrat Hamilton Jordan.) Mr. Nettle says he and Mr. Rollins discussed "some world events we see unfolding." He won't say whether he is about to join the Perot campaign, and he is uncertain whether he'll even be offered a meeting with Mr. Perot. But he isn't hesitant to say what he likes about the independent candidate: "He's not afraid to include everybody."

Many of those contacted by the putative Perot campaign are part of an extensive issues dragnet coordinated by issues director John White, who is preparing papers for Mr. Perot outlining possible policy positions. "We're reached out across the country to people who have expertise" in various areas, says Mr. White. "We haven't asked them to endorse Ross." Although he won't name any people who have provided assistance, he says they include some Democratic congressional staffers, individuals close to Mr. Clinton, and a few in the Bush administration.

Welcome Publicity

For some of Mr. Perot's ad hoc advisers, the connection is a source of welcome publicity. "He's been very kind on several occasions, telling people, 'Read Pat Choate's 'Agents of Influence,'" so God bless him," says Mr. Choate, whose book focuses on Japanese influence peddling in the U.S. Mr. Choate, who has worked for both Democrats and Republicans, called Mr. Perot to thank him and ended up speaking to a group of Long Island Perot supporters about closing the revolving door between government and the lobbying sector. He now counts himself a Perot "volunteer."

Former Resolution Trust Corp. Chairman L. William Seidman, now chief commentator at CNBC, a cable-TV business network, says he must remain impartial. But he makes little secret of his fondness for Mr. Perot, a friend for two decades.

Mr. Seidman recently had a long chat with Mr. Perot about "the budget and those types of things" after they taped a CNBC interview. "I've worked with lots of presidents and I think he has the potential to be as good as any of them," says Mr. Seidman. "I think he listens very well."

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Bush to offer Congress new school choice plan

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush plans to confront Congress anew today on the school choice issue, redrafting a plan for \$1,000 tuition grants or scholarships and naming it the "GI Bill for kids."

The plan reportedly would provide \$500 million next year to give 500,000 children from moderate to low-income families tuition help at private secular or religious schools.

The children also could use their scholarship to buttress finances of the public school they already attend, a dramatic change from past plans to overcome objections that children were being encouraged only to leave public schools.

"It's our intention to bypass the bureaucracy. Dollars go directly to teacher or principal. It'll upset the bureaucracy, but we're in the kid business," said one administration official who declined to be on the record before Mr. Bush has his say.

Conservatives, while pleased with the president's initiative, doubt it can pass without a major nationwide political effort by the administration, including vocal support for California's school choice initiative for which only Vice President Dan Quayle has campaigned.

It was understood the "GI Bill" — named to draw public-relations help from a popular education plan for veterans — would eliminate the requirement in previous proposals that states match grants.

Rep. Dick Armey, Texas Republican and a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, tried unsuccessfully to amend the education reform bill to earmark 25 percent of its \$700 million for school choice funding including private and religious schools.

That was defeated last month, and the final version of the bill was called "worse than awful" by Education Secretary Lamar Alexander.

Rep. William Ford, Michigan Democrat and chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, was unavailable yesterday but has predicted the first attempt to

'GI BILL FOR KIDS'

President Bush's proposal in a speech today is expected to:

- Seek \$500 million in fiscal 1993.
- Propose \$1,000 scholarships for children in low- and moderate-income families.
- Drop the state matching-funds requirement in an earlier proposal.
- Stand fast on including religious schools in school choice.
- Allow pupils to stay in public schools and contribute the new scholarship checks to that school for needed resources.

The Washington Times

"It's our intention to bypass the bureaucracy. Dollars go directly to teacher or principal. It'll upset the bureaucracy, but we're in the kid business."

spend federal dollars at a religious school would prompt a lawsuit, possibly blocking the entire program.

Some private and administration sources do not see a constitutional bar but said overcoming constitutional questions about providing funds to religious schools must be part of the marketing job to pass it.

School choice has been an ever-green issue for Mr. Bush and one of the most popular passages in his campaign stump speech has been repeated advocacy of school choice programs such as those already passed in 10 states.

Under such programs, govern-

ments essentially subsidize a portion of tuition for pupils who choose to attend private school but cannot afford it.

A private advocate of such programs, May Duggan of St. Louis, president of Citizens for Educational Freedom, said government and some private scholarship plans typically provide half the tuition and many religious and secular schools contribute the remainder. Such schools, especially in the inner cities, often charge less than \$2,000 a year for tuition, she said.

"The \$1,000 grants would send disadvantaged children to good private schools, and I don't mean elite private schools. As it is now, if you're poor you can't have a choice, the blacks especially," said the former teacher who was in town to attend this morning's speech representing 50,000 members in 30 states.

Miss Duggan predicted renaming it would help win public approval and called the current Senate bill "just a handout to the public school establishment of \$900 and it doesn't do a thing."

Gary Bauer, domestic policy adviser in the Reagan administration and now with the Family Research Council, called the plan's chances slim.

"Not with the liberals in Congress who remain horrified by the concept of any competition whatever in education," Mr. Bauer said. "The proposal will probably fly among conservatives, but what's unclear is whether the administration has the stomach to fight for it in the way it will have to be fought for to pass it."

A plan to provide similar grants conditioned upon matching funds from states and cities was included in the Bush 1993 fiscal year budget last Jan. 29 but was removed from education reform bills wending through Congress, at least in part because no state appeared ready to include religious schools.

Vermont and Wisconsin, the only states allowing block grant funds to be used for school choice with local school board approval, would not permit it for religious schools.

Fetal tissue veto upheld in Congress

The House failed today to override President Bush's veto of a medical research bill that would have overturned his ban on the use of tissue from aborted fetuses.

The House vote of 271 to 156 was well short of the two-thirds needed to pass the \$5.4 billion bill over the president's objections.

Mr. Bush, in executing the 30th veto of his presidency on Tuesday — none has been overridden — said the legislation "is unacceptable to me on almost every ground — ethical, fiscal, administrative, philosophical and legal."

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

Calling the roll of genius

The 17th century, wrote Alfred North Whitehead, "is the one century which consistently, and throughout the whole range of human activities, provided intellectual genius adequate for the greatness of its occasions." The philosopher said we "have been living upon the accumulated capital of ideas provided ... by the genius of the 17th century."

Look at who lived and flourished in "the century of genius" — Cervantes and Shakespeare, both of whom died on the same day, April 23, 1616; Harvey, Newton, Galileo, Descartes, Kepler, Pascal, Huyghens, Boyle, Locke, Spinoza, Leibniz and Francis Bacon. It was the latter, said Whitehead, "who constructed the mind of the modern world."

And who in our century will be inscribed on the roll of genius — Niels Bohr, Enrico Fermi, Albert Einstein, James Watson of DNA fame? The Wright brothers? And in the 21st century? About which philosopher, scientist or writer will it be said that he "constructed the mind of the modern world"? Einstein?

As I read Whitehead's "Science and the Modern World" I kept asking what will the later historians of another century write about the 20th century and ourselves? Will they echo what T. S. Eliot wrote: *And the wind shall say "Here were decent godless people; Their only monument the asphalt road And a thousand lost golf balls."*

Will they write about us that instead of studying the legacy of the ancient and medieval world and "the accumulated capital of ideas provided ... by the genius of the 17th century," many intellectuals and academics attacked the classical civilization and its aftermath as racist, sexist and imperialistic? That instead of rewarding merit and talent,

people of high intelligence discarded such standards in favor of what was called "affirmative action" and "multiculturalism"? Will it someday be written that the last third of the 20th century so blurred the achievements of the first two-thirds that it will become known not only as the century of total war (which it was) but also as the century of anti-genius?

As Americans we can boast of our own "century of genius," the 18th, particularly the second half and into the early 19th century. For in some mysterious fashion, a group of men arose among the 13 American Colonies to become military strategists, statesmen, philosophers and publicists, patriots dedicated to a country that did not yet exist. They not only defeated the powerful British Empire in 1783 but four years later wrote a Constitution for the "first new nation" dedicated to a classless freedom and the dignity of man.

Our century of genius would include the men who wrote that Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787 — Washington, Madison, Hamilton, John Jay, Franklin, George Mason, Gouverneur Morris, John Rutledge, among others — thus creating a republic based on principles that have become the world's paradigm. And, add to that list, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. How many of these dead-white-male "elitists" could get tenure at an American university today? No doubt these men would be aghast if they could but see what has happened to American universities.

And what has happened to the American university is to be found in Rita Kramer's book, "Ed School Follies: The Miseducation of America's Teachers." Miss Kramer reports that attitudes of professors at schools of education are anti-competitive, standards and examinations are regarded as elitist, and curricula irrelevant. She quotes from a lecture by a professor of education that teachers should be more concerned about students' feelings than course content or thinking.

"You are not there," the professor told future teachers, "to feed them information but to be sensitive to their need for positive reinforcement, for self-esteem." Can such an intellectual climate spark the same kind of scientific and humanist outburst as occurred in the 17th century? There was little or no public education then. In fact, education was limited to churchmen and to those with private incomes who could afford formal education. Most people, regardless of class or station in life, were ignorant, illiterate and innumerate. Yet genius broke through — like Shakespeare — in that glorious century and helped create some of the major triumphs of modern civilization.

One of the most important reasons for this explosion of creative intellectual energy, said Whitehead, was the rise of pure mathematics that he described as "the most original creation of the human spirit." Yet in the United States, mathematics as a subject of study in secondary schools is taking a back seat to make-believe curricula. The deplorable results are teacher shortages in the engineering and natural sciences and students who know little or nothing about science and mathematics and couldn't care less. The gap between American and Asian students in mathematics is abysmally wide because, according to Education Undersecretary Diane Ravitch, while schools in most countries emphasize geometry and algebra, "our kids are still learning arithmetic."

"Education 2000" is what President Bush has called his program for improving schools, and the target date is the beginning of the next millennium. At the rate of scholastic decomposition, it is doubtful that the target will be met. Perhaps it is gallows humor to recall a Woody Allen peroration: "We stand here at a great crossroads. One leads to utter chaos and despair, the other to complete annihilation. Let us hope we have the wisdom to choose the right one."

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THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 *

RICHARD GRENIER

With Ice-T creating rap music for what he calls the "intelligent hood-lum," and Sister Souljah assuring us she's both "intellectual" and "very well-educated," we might get the impression we're witnessing the emergence of some kind of Black Renaissance, or Hoodlum Renaissance, or at least hoodlum "upliftment"—an educated word of Sister Souljah's that perhaps encapsulates the whole debate.

But upliftment to what? In a millennialist rap number noticed by neither Dan Quayle nor Bill Clinton, Sister Souljah chants repeatedly and angrily, guns all around, "We're at war! That's what I toldja!" Examining Sister Souljah's entire oeuvre leaves little doubt the rap orator wants to uplift other Africans (she considers herself "African" with no "American" attached) to an awareness that they're at war with the white race.

For the moment—to my relief and doubtless her chagrin—all public opinion polls show the vast majority of American blacks don't agree with Sister Souljah ("soldier"). Actually, some of her most emotional supporters are white liberals, who, by the indulgent treatment they've been giving for years to such creatures as Ice-T and Sister Souljah in the media, might be partly responsible for the whole phenomenon.

To be fair to Sister Souljah, who says only white people can be "racist" (black hatred of whites some-how escaping her definition), she'd doubtless claim that, whereas when whites make war on Africans it's

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Renaissance masquerade



None of the world's great European democracies, despite constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech much like ours, would tolerate for a moment as Ice-T's "Cop Killer" such incendiary lyrics

The unfairness lies in the far greater deservedness of Ice-T, whose "Cop Killer" lyrics lend themselves with far greater difficulty to metaphorical interpretation. I quote:

I got my 12-gauge sawed off
I got my headlights turned off
I'm 'bout to bust some shots off
I'm 'bout to dust some cops off
This is followed by: "Die! Die! Die, Pig! Die!" repeated eight times. Now to be fair to Ice-T, for I must point do I go out and say, "At no character who's fed up with police brutality. I ain't never killed no cop. I felt like it a lot of times. But I never did it."

And Warner Bros. Records has leaped to Ice-T's defense, saying the lyrics of "Cop Killer" in the context of vice president hasn't listened to the production of censorship, somewhat

to my surprise, was the hottest topic. For few Americans seem to remember now that this country, without violating the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech, survived with rather strict censorship in some areas for most of its first 200 years.

Even today, for that matter, none of the world's great European democracies (let alone Japan), despite constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech much like ours, would tolerate for a moment such incendiary lyrics as Ice-T's "Cop Killer."

The nations of the European Continent, which have in the past had to deal with religious hatreds as intense as the race hatred Sister Souljah and Ice-T apparently feel for whites (and many of which nations in recent times faced the threat of communist subversion), all have a very firm notion of "public order." In addition to that, thanks to Adolf Hitler, almost all of them have highly specific laws against "incitement to racial hatred." And if Ice-T and Sister Souljah aren't inciting their listeners to racial hatred, I don't know

France, to take only one example, has received a good deal of attention in recent months because of the rise of the anti-Arab, "neo-fascist" National Front, which claimed some 14 percent of the vote in the last election. But if Jean-Marie Le Pen, the Front's leader, were ever to start talking about "dusting off" Arabs, the French government would wreak upon him terrible punishment. Only in America, it seems, can one sing out heroically of dusting off one's adversaries and call it free speech.

DOUG BANDOW

Wiser ways to create jobs inside cities?

The Los Angeles riots have disappeared from public consciousness, but Congress and the Bush administration have finally agreed on a compromise \$1.1 billion aid package to fund disaster relief and a summer jobs program for kids.

Alas, this legislation will do nothing to solve the problems of urban America. Los Angeles Rep. Maxine Waters rightly observed that "It's business as usual around here." Of course, her complaint was that partisan bickering prevented approval of even more money. Yet the federal, state and local governments have spent \$3.4 trillion (in 1990 dollars) since 1965 on poverty programs; poverty rates, however, have actually increased slightly since then.

The real tragedy is that all of this spending has not been able to even overcome the pernicious effects of other federal policies. Consider youth unemployment. After passage of the aid bill, House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt argued that, "The important thing here is we're able to get the summer jobs program going." But why can't inner-city teens find work? The government won't let them:

It seems churlish to resist spending more money on urban problems, but more money is simply not the answer, else the \$3.4 trillion spent since 1965 would have inaugurated a domestic utopia.

Existing law hinders job creation in a number of ways; probably the most important barrier is the federal minimum wage, which rose to \$4.25 in April. (Some states, like New Jersey, and the District impose even higher minimums: \$5.05 and \$5.25, respectively.) Supporters of the minimum wage seem to think the law tells employers to pay workers a higher salary. Actually, it tells firms to fire current employees and refuse to hire applicants who can't produce as much as the arbitrary wage levels set by the government. The most obvious victims are precisely the people Mr. Gephardt claims he wants to put to work: disadvantaged, ill-educated and inexperienced young blacks.

The point is that the economy is dynamic, not static, and that increasing employer costs necessarily changes employer behavior. As labor costs rise, firms simply leave some less important tasks — marginal janitorial jobs, for instance — undone. Companies also shift toward more expensive, more productive labor, since it becomes more cost-effective to hire one or two skilled rather than two or three unskilled employees.

Finally, firms will automate, preferring to make the one-time capital

investment than pay ever-higher labor costs. In this way, the minimum wage spurred the installation of automatic elevators and adoption of self-service gas stations (some of which have even fully automated the payment process). Automation also is spreading throughout what has been one of the most people-intensive industries — restaurants. As labor costs rise, operators are saving money by installing automatic drink pourers, pizza garnishers, roast beef slicers, sushi-makers, and taco-makers. Over the long term, automation is beneficial and promotes economic growth, with a concomitant increase in em-

ployment. But government's inadvertent acceleration of the process has made the transition much more painful for the most vulnerable workers who now lose their jobs.

Given their lack of education and experience, black inner-city teens tend to be harmed the most by the minimum wage. Economist Walter Williams, for instance,

points to the divergence in the unemployment rates afflicting black and white teens as the minimum wage steadily escalated starting in the 1950s. Gauging the exact effect of the minimum wage is difficult, but even Jimmy Carter's Labor Secretary Ray Marshall admitted that a Carter-sponsored wage increase would put some 30,000 people out of work, and the Minimum Wage Study Commission, a federal body with liberal as well as conservative members, estimated that youth job opportunities fall as much as 2.5 percent for every 10 percent increase in the minimum. Additional kids simply drop out of the employment market, especially in the inner-city.

The usual response from advocates of a higher minimum wage to these unpleasant facts is misdirected moral outrage: No one can support a family at present wage levels. True, but it is even harder to support a family if one has been put out of work by an increase in the minimum wage. In any case, the vast majority of minimum wage recipients are part-time workers in non-poor households where someone else is the primary breadwinner. For these workers — typically young people — the experience and skills that they gain may be as important as the rate of pay.

It seems churlish to resist spending more money on urban problems, but more money is simply not the answer, else the \$3.4 trillion spent since 1965 would have inaugurated a domestic utopia. If Washington really wants to put young people to work, it should stop telling employers to fire them and repeal the minimum wage.

Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 *

The Railway Labor Act dinosaur

The U.S. economy won at least a temporary reprieve yesterday. Two railroad unions announced a two-day delay in a threatened nationwide strike that could have crippled key industries as well as discomfiting commuters and long-distance passengers. The fact that President Bush and members of Congress seemed ready to shut down any strike and impose a settlement on the two sides may have had something to do with the delay.

With all that's at stake — economic stagnation, lost union jobs, political fallout for the president and Congress — there are good reasons for a settlement, perhaps even by the time this editorial appears in print. But the prospects for labor peace aren't very good either in the short or long term, and there's a two-word explanation: government meddling.

This particular meddling goes by the name of the Railway Labor Act, a dinosaur of a law passed in 1926 when railroads had shipping largely to themselves and Congress was worrying about profiteering capitalists. In the name of "leveling the playing field" between management and organized labor, an expression still prevalent in congressional committees that time forgot, the RLA basically gave rail unions a cartel of their very own. In commodity markets, unions had the monopoly on railroad labor.

The act also allowed secondary union pickets of businesses not party to the dispute, forced members to pay dues to the union leadership or be fired and established the mediation route that parties to the current dispute are stumbling through today. On the whole, the act was in keeping with sweeping federal oversight of railroads that regulated the routes on which they operated and the rates they could charge.

It was an ideal system for organized labor, which promptly set itself up for work it didn't perform — known as featherbedding — for pay it didn't deserve. As late as 1987, some Burlington Northern crews collected "hazardous pay" for traveling through Indian territory in Montana. As transportation markets changed, and carriers began crashing under the weight of preposterous contracts and growing competition from truckers and others, even Congress figured out that this was no way to run a railroad. In 1980, lawmakers decided to let the railroads have a crack at running themselves by passing the Staggers Act and getting the feds out of much of the business.

But they didn't deregulate labor relations, which helps explain why mediation has been so unsuccessful to this point. As Herbert R. Northrup, professor emeritus of management at the Wharton School, points out, neither side has much incentive to negotiate when Congress and the president may decide to step in and settle the matter for them. Unions understand that lawmakers often give them what they can't win at the bargaining table. Management knows that each offer it makes becomes the floor below which a federal compromise will not go.

If you want the two sides to bargain seriously in the future, then repeal the Railway Labor Act. Let unions offer their skilled workers. Let carriers offer their jobs. If the two sides can't reach an agreement, then allow unions their right to strike and carriers their right to carry on business as best they can without them. Faced with similar prospects in other industries, organized labor and management usually settle their differences. Rail carriers and unions can too, if the feds will only let them.

What Israel's election doesn't change

President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker seem to have been granted their fondest foreign policy wish. In Israel, the Likud Party, whose insistence on continuing to build settlements on the West Bank has so vexed the administration, has been defeated. The likely new government, a coalition led by Labor's Yitzhak Rabin, has pledged a halt to new settlements, a reinvigorated commitment to the peace talks currently under way (emphasizing negotiations with the Palestinian delegation) and autonomy for Palestinians on the West Bank in as little as nine months.

Labor's outlook fits better with the administration's hitherto expressed view on the course negotiations should take than Likud's view ever could. One likely consequence is Washington's moving forward on \$10 billion in loan guarantees for housing for Jewish emigres from the former Soviet Union. This is a welcome development, however it will have been arrived at. Likud's continuation of West Bank settlement against the wishes of the Bush administration had derailed the guarantees. That should not have happened, both because the United States' taking this position amounted to its doing the Arab side's bargaining and because assistance in the resettling of Soviet Jews is a matter of long-standing U.S. policy unrelated to the "peace process." In any case, the guarantees will relieve Soviet Jews in Israel of their unenviable status as pawns in the peace game.

But if the Bush administration concludes from the election results that everything has changed, it is in for

a rather big surprise. Mr. Rabin is no soft-liner when it comes to the central Israeli issue in peace negotiations, namely Israel's security. It bears repeating that Israel is in a state of war with its neighbors (except Egypt). The Arab embargo of Israel continues. Neighboring states, which maintain no diplomatic relations with Israel and which have not accepted its right to exist, continue large-scale programs of arms acquisitions. They also have harbored and aided terrorists who have repeatedly attacked Israelis, emphatically including civilians.

These are all facts of which Israel's population is keenly aware. In electing Labor, they have not voted for a government that will turn its back on their irreducible security requirements. If Washington thinks Mr. Rabin's freeze on settlements paves the way for Israel's imminent withdrawal from existing settlements; if the administration thinks Mr. Rabin's endorsement of Palestinian autonomy verges on the acceptance of a Palestinian state on the West Bank; if the White House and the State Department think that Mr. Rabin's acceptance of the "land for peace" formula means he is committed to trading all the land Israel acquired after Arab nations attacked in 1967 for questionable promises of peace — then they are mistaken.

These are all matters that Israel should resolve with its Arab negotiating partners. Excessive expectations on the part of the administration will only result in frustration, as Washington discovers it is trying to lead Israel where no Israeli government, Labor or Likud, can follow.

Needle exchange

The D.C. Council's approval of the hypodermic needle exchange program for intravenous drug users sought by the Kelly administration was unanimous. Still, council members said they were unsettled by their decision. Indeed, the council that a government is party to distributing paraphernalia to addicts is most unsettling. The council vote sends a signal that the greatly deteriorating social and health conditions in the city have done some damage to government as well.

The object of the distribution is to curtail the expansion of AIDS among drug users, who spread the virus through shared needles. The statistics are sobering enough. About a quarter of the city's known 16,000 drug users have been diagnosed with the virus. Given the rate of infection among city residents today, AIDS cases are projected to increase by 34 percent by 1994. Clearly, local officials must take a lead in figuring out how to stem this public health problem.

Two years ago, the city health department began a sterilization program in which health care workers visited known drug holes to distribute packets of bleach for addicts to sanitize their syringes before sharing them. The results of that program remain unclear, although a reasonable guess is that a person who is inclined to shoot poison into his body in a trash-strewn, vermin-infested hole is unlikely to be diligent about personal hygiene.

Administration officials initially indicated that needles would be given to those who, in exchange for the hypodermics, signed up for drug treatment programs. So they sign up. Then what? That little deal might make city officials feel less guilty about their new role in the paraphernalia distribution business, but will it actually have an effect on drug use?

The waiting list for drug treatment programs stretches for years. What's more, if suddenly there was an availability of space in treatment programs, how would you reach people who don't have an address, as is the case among scores of addicts, to tell them they've been accepted? Some addicts forced to sign up for treatment through court orders still are waiting. And it's not clear how much good treatment does those who are coerced into it.

Studies of needle exchanges in cities in Europe suggest that such programs may reduce the number of addicts who share syringes, may reduce the spread of hepatitis and may slow the rate of new AIDS infections. But they do nothing to discourage drug use. And if the council's unanimous approval of the needle exchange program gives pause, the reservation expressed by D.C. Council Chairman John Wilson gives it voice. He is "scared to death of this program," he said. And he is scared because "I don't think the administration has thought this through." No argument there.

Gotti, dressed for life

Perhaps now it will end. From the front page of the New York Times yesterday: "The 51-year-old Mr. Gotti, wearing a dark double-breasted suit, white shirt and bright yellow tie flecked with burnt orange," etc. The dapper don, the one who can claim that entire magazine articles have been written about the kinds of ties he chooses to wear — John Gotti was sentenced to life in prison without possibility of parole Tuesday for murder and racketeering.

He attracted, as usual, a large crowd to the steps of the courtroom. One thousand or so of his biggest fans, many hopping out of more than a dozen chartered buses, waved photos of Gotti and placards decrying the U.S. judicial system. A phalanx of tow trucks from a company owned by Gotti's son-in-law cruised the block

festooned with signs saying things like "another government conspiracy," hunking their horns. No doubt it would all have seemed like one of those giant bar-hood, until the angry crowd decided to overturn police barricades and take out its frustration on U.S. marshals' cars. On the other hand, maybe that's standard behavior for those who give their love and allegiance to killers and crime kings.

In the courtroom, Gotti had nothing to say before the judge imposed the sentence. He will appeal his conviction, of course — though the trial he got was fair and the case of the prosecution scrupulous. If all goes well, he will spend the rest of his life with some of the rest of those who are not fit to walk among us — wearing dark blue pants and a light blue workshirt, like the rest of them.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 ★

PAUL GREENBERG

When candor counts

That'll teach Boris Yeltsin to talk straight to the American people. Last week the leader of the new, free Russia came to Washington, talked as freely as he does at home, and immediately got in trouble. When he mentioned that American prisoners of war might still be held somewhere in what remains of the Soviet gulag, the reaction among some members of Congress was instinctive and understandable, but wrong. They wanted to hold up all help for the new Russia till the POWs — if they do exist — are found and rescued.

Citizen, formerly Comrade, Yeltsin knows the solution to problems caused by candor: more candor. He and George Bush announced that a joint Russo-American commission would search out any Americans who might have wound up in Soviet hands during the late unpleasantnesses in Vietnam or Korea, or even any who might have fallen into the hands of our fighting Russian "allies" during World War II. That last possibility sounds like something out of a poli-sci-fi fantasy. But so does a lot of the news out of the Soviet Disunion during the past few years.

Within 48 hours, Mr. Yeltsin had made his good intentions clear even to those lawmakers — like Arizona's John McCain — who were planning to hold up the Russian aid package till the question of American POWs was resolved. Mr. Yeltsin was at his most Yeltsinesque during this speech — alternately reasoning, blustering, smiling and pleading. He hadn't been quite so effective since he was addressing the Russian people from atop a tank. That was during the three days in August 1991 that shook the world. Now he seeks to consolidate the fragile democracy he helped save. As he promised Congress:

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"There will be no more lies — ever. The archives of the KGB and the Communist Party Central Committee are being opened. . . . I promise you that each and every archive will be examined in order to investigate the fate of every American unaccounted for. As president of Russia, I assure you that even if one American has been detained in my country, and can still be found, I will find him. I will get him back to his family."

What a change from the bureaucratism of Mikhail Gorbachev that so captivated our cultural elites only weeks ago, as it had captivated them for years when Boris Yeltsin was still a lonely voice demanding change.

This latest visitor from Moscow made clear his contempt for the evil empire he had rebelled against: "The idol of communism, which spread everywhere social strife, animosity, and unparalleled brutality, which instilled fear in humanity, has collapsed never to rise again."

As a political figure, Mr. Yeltsin seems a combination of two American archetypes: Thomas Jefferson and Huey Long. He switches back and forth between republican thinker and populist orator with astonishing ease. The practical result of his visit — an arms-control agreement that exceeded all expectations — confirms that the arms race, or at least the bipolar one the world once knew, is now only an abstraction.

The arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States did not cause the Cold War — quite the opposite — and the arms race could not

be ended till the Cold War was. Once the Soviet Union had ended, it was only natural that the arms race would.

When countries have similar aims and values and systems and interests, any jostling for superiority in weaponry becomes increasingly pointless. Boris Yeltsin could afford to make great concessions because he knows the democratic Russia he seeks has nothing to fear from this country.

Russia's needs right now are anything but abstract: Credit. Investment. Stability. The essential question before Congress is not whether the United States should help Russia, but how. A free Russia is a great bargain. Should democracy fail to take hold there and a hostile autocracy resurface, the arms race and all its expense and danger will be back. That is why Mr. Yeltsin's appeal should not only be answered, but answered in such a way as to spur the economic and political reforms he seeks.

To quote a congressman from the American Georgia, Newt Gingrich, on Boris Yeltsin's moving appeal: "None of us expected to see anything in our lifetime like this. Emotionally, how can you abandon a man like this?" But rationally, what is the best way to use American aid rather than waste it? Aid delivered the wrong way could risk reinforcing the very elements in Boris Yeltsin's country still balking at his economic reforms. Yes, help the Russians. But in a way that allows them to help themselves.

Billions in loans through the International Monetary Fund may only add to Russia's massive problems if the ruble remains an unreal, inflated currency — and if a free market does not materialize. Aid to Russia must not subsidize socialism and disaster, but freedom and progress. In the end, as Mr. Yeltsin himself knows and says, it will not be government aid but private investment that transforms his new-old country, and makes the dream of a free and strong Russia a reality.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 *

HARRY SUMMERS

Twenty-six years ago this summer, while we were discussing an attack to clear out a Viet Cong trenchline, my best friend, Maj. Richard DeWyatt Clark, took a bullet from an enemy sniper and was dead before he hit the ground. Traumatic as it was for me, it was much worse for his family. But as events of recent weeks make clear, it could have been even more tragic. Instead of being killed instantly, he could have been missing in action.

As it was, within days his body had been returned from Vietnam and buried in his home state of Montana with full military honors. When the flag that draped his casket was folded and presented to his widow, there was a finality to the tragedy. But if his body had not been recovered, the suffering would still be going on.

Thousands of Americans are in exactly that situation. For decades those with family members listed as prisoners of war (POW) or missing in action (MIA) in Southeast Asia have been condemned to what the ancient Chinese called the "death of a thousand cuts." Instead of an instantaneous death by beheading, a victim would be slowly put to death by a series of small and painful cuts, no one of which was fatal, thereby prolonging the victim's excruciating agony for as long as possible.

Instead of knife cuts, the POW-MIA families have been tortured by

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Like death from a thousand cuts

The sad truth is that in most cases the "truth" will never be known, not because of insidious conspiracies but because of the reality of the battlefield.

a continuing series of false hopes. Fueling such hopes is the notion, peculiar to the Vietnam War, that there can someday be a "final accounting" of those still missing there. This then created a virtual cottage industry of those, for good or evil, who purport to be able to provide such an accounting.

But the sad truth is that in most cases the "truth" will never be known, not because of insidious conspiracies but because of the reality of the battlefield. That's why the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Now the "Tomb of the Unknowns") at Arlington National Cemetery was created after the First World War.

Tens of thousands of American soldiers, sailors, airmen and Ma-

rines are still missing and unaccounted for from the two World Wars (78,500 from World War II alone), and more than 8,000 are still unaccounted for from the Korean War. But it is the 2,266 Americans officially listed as missing in action from the Vietnam War that most concern the American people. And that's no accident.

During the prolonged negotiations to bring the Vietnam War to a close, the North Vietnamese, following the lead of their communist colleagues during the Korean War, sought to use American POWs as pawns in the negotiating process.

To counter that move, in early 1969 the Nixon administration launched its own campaign to generate public support for the POWs. Millions of Americans, for example, wore POW-MIA bracelets to show their solidarity with those held captive.

That emotional support did not go away with the end of the war, especially when many of those believed to be held prisoner were unaccounted for by North Vietnam. When pressed, North Vietnam used the POW-MIAs as bargaining chips by linking the section of the 1973 Paris Peace Accords calling for reparations with the section calling for POW-MIA accounting.

The United States, for its part,

used North Vietnam's stalling as a means of bolstering U.S. public support for continuing aid to South Vietnam. That's where the issue stood when the North Vietnamese overran South Vietnam in April 1975 with their 20-plus divisions cross-border blitzkrieg.

The POW-MIA question has remained a political football to this day, with normalization of U.S.-Vietnam relations depending on a satisfactory resolution of this issue. Fanning the fires have been not only Hollywood epics selling the idea that Americans are still held in Vietnamese prison camps, but also lurid conspiracy theories advanced by hustlers of every kind and nationality.

Even Russian President Boris Yeltsin latched onto the POW-MIA issue to endear himself to the U.S. Congress, which is considering an aid package for his country, and to lambaste his chief political rival, former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, whom he accused of complicity in a POW-MIA coverup. Once the ballyhoo died down, Mr. Yeltsin proved to be just as bogus as the other charlatans.

Meanwhile, the suffering of the POW-MIA families continues. Appearing with me on NBC's "Sunday Today" show earlier this week to discuss Mr. Yeltsin's claims was Bruce Brown, whose father, an F-111 pilot, had been shot down over North Vietnam in 1972. For him it proved to be yet another of the "thousand cuts" that have tortured him since he was a child. And as long as profit can be made by exploiting the POW-MIA issue, that torture is likely to continue.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 *

DONALD LAMBRO

Gingrich offers a political antidote

Like Ross Perot and Bill Clinton, House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich now says flatly that President Bush "is not currently providing consistent, clear, leadership for change."

This surprisingly sharp criticism of Mr. Bush's lack of leadership from a senior GOP congressional leader is but the latest manifestation of the president's deepening re-election problems. It is born of Mr. Gingrich's growing frustration, and those of his colleagues, with a wimpy White House that has been reluctant to go toe-to-toe with the Democrats in Congress and slug it out for the president's domestic agenda.

Mr. Gingrich's blunt assessment, made during a wide-ranging interview in his Capitol office, was by far his strongest criticism to date of the president's record. It came barely two weeks after the White House coldly dismissed his confidential strategy memorandum to get Mr. Bush's anemic re-election campaign back on offense.

The Georgia lawmaker's red-hot anger with the administration also extends to Mr. Bush's almost invisible Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and his timid policy style. "What we see now is a Treasury which blocks the president and a policy process that is muddled," he says.

"Supply-siders are so disgusted and so fed up with the way the Treasury has mismanaged this economy, that they are besides themselves over the current lack of economic growth," he said.

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."

Mr. Gingrich's antidote to the image of a helpless president unwilling to wage war in behalf of his agenda: A fully coordinated action campaign, supported by a grass-roots coalition, that shows Bush tirelessly fighting to shrink the bureaucracy, curb spending, and get his economic growth initiatives passed.

"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," he says.

White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner can blame the president's problems on poor communications.

All of this is widely shared by many disgruntled GOP lawmakers. But most are willing to say only privately what Mr. Gingrich is now willing to state publicly.

The American people "want dramatic, bold, consistent change," Mr. Gingrich told me. That desire for change is what has fanned the fires of Mr. Perot's candidacy. "People are fed up with both political parties. They are fed up with business as usual."

The president has made numerous proposals for economic growth, education reforms, inner-city job creation and getting tough on crime. Virtually all of them have been stalled or killed by Congress. Yet Mr. Bush has shown no appetite for mounting a full-blown lobbying offensive to force legislators to bend to his will.

The result has been 3½ years of stalemate and inaction, with Mr. Bush seen as someone who cannot deal with the nation's problems and, worse, as someone who doesn't stand up and fight for what he believes needs to be done.

"It doesn't just worry me; it frightens me," Mr. Gingrich said of Mr. Bush's free fall in the polls. "The American people, if they are frustrated enough, will gamble on a total outsider, about whom they know little, and from whom they expect much."

The White House inner circle and Bush campaign strategists need to

from now until doomsday, but "until we provide consistent, repetitive, systematic leadership, we're going to continue to see Ross Perot be very strong," he says. "Perot would melt away in the face of an aggressive Bush presidency."

Mr. Gingrich is hardly proposing ground-breaking political strategy here. These are the things that "Ronald Reagan taught us to do and Franklin Roosevelt taught us to do which is the most basic elementary principles of how you lead a great country — forming coalitions at the grass roots among people who want the things you want."

For starters, he suggests, Mr. Bush could "go out and announce 60 to 70 inner-city enterprise zones . . . that would be creating jobs right now if the Democrats in Congress would act" on his legislation to implement them. In short, Mr. Bush must be seen as an activist, relentlessly prodding, poking and pushing Congress to act and taking his case to the people when they don't.

"It is the duty of the party in the White House to be responsive to the American people," Mr. Gingrich warns the president and his men. "And in the end in a free society, the people are sovereign. They only loan us power. They have loaned it to us for the present. It is their right to take it back."

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

**RICHARD
BERNAL**

To spur growth among neighbors

This week the House of Representatives is expected to consider a foreign assistance bill. As the ambassador of a nation that is vitally interested in this legislation, I am deeply concerned about a political climate that I believe is opposed to initiatives that are in the mutual interest of both the United States and countries like Jamaica. I refer to the so-called "debt relief" component of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

The antipathy toward "debt relief" under the EAI is perhaps due to a failure to appreciate the mutual benefit. The use of the nomenclature "debt relief" may be the real problem. "Debt relief" under EAI is not relief at all but rather a redirecting of U.S. foreign assistance away from inefficient government bureaucracies and toward investment in the newly efficient private sector. Every cent that the United States invests in our private sector today will finance increased trade and increased U.S. exports to the Caribbean.

President Bush introduced the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative in 1990 as a means of fostering market-driven economic growth in the Caribbean and Latin America. It calls for nations in the region to implement a program of economic reform. Those nations, like Jamaica, who orient their economies toward free-market growth strategies, have entered into investment treaties to open trade and investment avenues with the United States.

Resources to assist us in making this transition are included in the

Failure to fully fund the EAI would be a missed opportunity that would hurt not only the Caribbean nations but the U.S. economy as well.

EAI. Rescheduling debt payments to the United States will enable Jamaica to concentrate its limited resources on programs to encourage the private sector and stimulate entrepreneurship that will permit us to earn sufficient foreign exchange to pay off all of our remaining debt.

Reduced debt payments will have very limited impact on the U.S. budget. However, the benefits to the U.S. economy will be far greater than any impact from the loss of revenues deferred by debt relief.

Jamaica, as is the case with every nation in the region, is a strong market for the United States. We purchase most of our imported technology, raw materials, food and capital goods from the United States. As our economies and those of our neighbors expand, we will be enabled to purchase even more, stimulating a stronger export market for the United States and providing a stimulus for increased U.S. production.

There is a debate as to whether priority should be given to domestic programs or foreign assistance. But that debate hangs on a false dichotomy, especially when the foreign assistance program is oriented toward encouraging economic reform and creating vibrant, private sector economies. Jamaica needs the EAI and so does the United States. The short-term assistance EAI will provide to Jamaica will be a catalyst for our economic growth.

The benefit to the United States is that this region provides the states with one of its largest trade surpluses in the global marketplace. Further strengthening of hemispheric trade can only enhance U.S. ability to counteract the increasingly protectionist trade blocs developing elsewhere in the world.

If exports to Caribbean Basin nations could be doubled — which is possible with sufficient "relief" and development aid to boost real growth — the U.S. trade deficit could be substantially reduced. Foreign assistance has a substantial multiplier effect because almost 75 cents of every dollar of aid is spent on purchasing technology, trucks, vehicles, tractors and equipment from the United States for important development projects.

Caribbean economies are at a critical stage. With U.S. assistance, these countries can overcome underdevelopment and achieve sustainable, economic growth. Without it, they may become enveloped in a deprivation that fosters social instability, corruption and illegal drug activity. Failure to fully fund the EAI would be a missed opportunity that would hurt not only the Caribbean nations but the U.S. economy as well.

Richard L. Bernal, Ph.D., is Jamaica's ambassador to the United States.

BRUCE FEIN

As Mark Twain might have quipped, media rumors of the death of so-called "hate speech" laws in the aftermath of last Monday's Supreme Court ruling in *R.A.V. vs. City of St. Paul, Minn.*, have been vastly exaggerated. Contrary to much instant analysis, the *R.A.V.* decision affirms a variety of constitutional methods of punishing racial, religious or other bigotries exceptionally menacing to social harmony.

Writing for a court majority in *R.A.V.*, Justice Antonin Scalia held that the First Amendment forbids laws that punish only "fighting words" whose provocations are founded on racial, religious, or gender bigotry. "Fighting words," as the Supreme Court had explained in *Chaplinsky vs. New Hampshire* (1942) are "those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace." They may be punished consistent with the First Amendment, according to *Chaplinsky*, because "such utterances are no essential part of any exposition of ideas, and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in

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Reworking the ban

order and morality." Thus, in *Chaplinsky*, the court upheld the constitutionality of a conviction based on calling others racketeers and "fascists."

Justice Scalia did not question the "fighting words" doctrine of *Chaplinsky*. Indeed, the doctrine was the cornerstone of Justice Scalia's opinion. Since all fighting words are punishable consistent with the First Amendment, Justice Scalia reasoned, confining a fighting-words law to those especially despised by

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lawmakers demonstrated impermissible viewpoint discrimination. Accordingly, the ruling nullified a St. Paul ordinance that selectively punished cross burnings or other displays tantamount to "fighting words" only when the communications bristled with racial, religious or gender bigotry. The ordinance did not reach fighting words stemming from hostility based on political affiliation, homosexuality, union membership, or a host of other incendiary expressions likely to incite a breach of the peace. The ordinance was flawed because it disfavored certain types of fighting words based on the speaker's viewpoint.

The *R.A.V.* decision provides a reasonably clear constitutional blueprint for attacking bigotries based on race, religion or gender. A prohibition on the use of epithets or similar derogatory speech addressed to an individual or group likely to provoke the average person to retaliation should pass First Amendment muster. The prohibition would include, but not be confined to, the communication of racial, religious or gender hatreds in circumstances calculated to provoke violence.

Group libel laws received tacit affirmation in *R.A.V.* through Justice Scalia's unreserved acceptance of *Beauharnais vs. Illinois* (1952). That case upheld the conviction of a white man for publicly casting obloquy or contempt on the Negro race. Justice Felix Frankfurter, writing for the majority, declared that group libel laws pass constitutional muster because they restrict only inconsequential speech and are tantamount to social nitroglycerin. In accepting *Beauharnais* as good law—a conclusion that many had previously questioned—the *R.A.V.* decision invites criminal punishment of communications intended to expose the citizens

of any race, religion or gender to contempt, hatred or obloquy.

The *R.A.V.* precedent further permits the enhancement of punishment for criminals motivated by racial, religious or gender bigotries. Those enhancements do not denounce the expression or ideas, but a state of mind that the community believes is exceptionally depraved or immoral. A bill (H.R. 4797) introduced in the House of Representatives by Charles E. Schumer, New York Democrat, would direct the U.S. Sentencing Commission to establish guidelines for sentencing enhancements when the criminal motivation was hatred, bias or prejudice based on the victim's race, color, religion, national origin, gender or sexual orientation. Nothing in the *R.A.V.* decision beclouds the constitutionality of the bill.

Finally, Justice Scalia concluded in *R.A.V.* that fighting words statutes designed to protect certain groups from provocation are facially valid. In other words, a statute could proscribe fighting words directed at citizens of any race, religion or gender consistent with the First Amendment because the proscription is ideologically neutral. Such proscriptions should also pass equal protection scrutiny because verbal assaults against such protected groups have historically proven especially dangerous to domestic tranquility. Indeed, the latter fact was a linchpin of the *Beauharnais* group libel precedent.

The *R.A.V.* ruling acknowledged a "compelling" government interest in safeguarding "the basic human rights of members of groups that have been historically subject to discrimination." It created no constitutional sanctuary for the bigot. The several avenues of attack *R.A.V.* left open deserve careful but firm pursuit. As the 1933 death of the Weimar Republic at the hands of the Nazis shows, democracy in a nation filled with bigotry cannot survive.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1992 *

SUZANNE FIELDS

Selective bigotry

Anger makes us say terrible, hateful things. We scream ugly epithets at the driver who runs a red light and almost kills a child. We grumble at the couple pushing ahead of us in the line to buy tickets at the movies.

We offer nasty remarks to the waiter who forgets to bring our food. Most of us use ordinary exclamations that are a little worse than our mother would allow. But occasionally even the best among us, black and white, believer and infidel, go for the sexual stereotype, the racial slur, the religious blasphemy.

Unless we incite violence, inflict injury, or cry fire in the crowded theater, we're protected by the First Amendment. A policeman in the United States can't arrest us for say-

ing something that constitutes racial or religious bigotry.

He can book us for creating a disturbance, starting a fire and intruding on personal property, but not for the content of our vitriol.

Not everyone is satisfied with the breadth of the First Amendment. It's fine to uphold speech honoring mother, child and the beasties of the forest, but the tougher stuff has got to go. Politically correct laws identifying "hate crimes" have become the trendy means to save us from ourselves—and to undermine the guarantee of free speech that is the envy of free men everywhere.

This week the Supreme Court, in its wisdom, said that at least one of these "hate crime" laws is unconstitutional. The justices unanimously struck down a St. Paul ordinance (which had been unanimously upheld by the Minnesota state Supreme Court) that prohibited cross burning, swastika displays and other expressions of racial denigration.

Does this mean the Supreme Court is made up of closet Nazis and Klu Klux Klansmen? Of course not. Nor does it mean that Raymond Victoria, the white teen-ager who burned

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

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a cross on the lawn of a black family, should necessarily stay out of prison.

"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," says Justice Antonin Scalia.

The cross-burner could be charged with arson, trespassing or terrorism. But an ordinance that criminalizes messages of "racial, gender or religious intolerance," handicaps the expression of ideas. A statement "casting aspersions on a person's mother" might be equally offensive to the listener, says Justice Scalia.

Imagine the possibilities. Animal rights groups could lobby to bar messages that make fun of mules. The spotted owl and the snail darter could be protected from verbal attacks as well as the destruction of their habitat. Polish jokes, Irish jokes, redneck jokes, Jewish princess jokes and attacks on Famous

Dead White Men might be eradicated with an ordinance.

Those who wrote the ordinance no doubt meant well. They said they wanted to curb what they perceive to be a growing intolerance. But what they didn't understand is that one man's hate is another man's satiric barb.

Readings from the biting satirical novels of Evelyn Waugh or the comedy routines of Lenny Bruce, cowperson-and-Native American movies as well as performances of many rap singers (including Sister Souljah), could be prohibited by broad brush ordinances that criminalize behavior when it arouses "anger, alarm or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender."

But aroused in whom?

Two self-proclaimed witches in Concord, Calif., asked their local school board to ban the story of "Hansel and Gretel" because it arouses anger and resentment toward witches. "This story teaches that it is all right to burn witches and steal their property," says the high priestess of the Oak Haven Coven. (How Grimm.)

As bigoted as they may be, witchists deserve protection, too.

BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Thursday, June 25, 1992

8:00 am (15 min)	Briefing on "Federal Grants for State and Local 'GI Bills' for Children" (Skinner)	Oval Office (TAB A)
8:15 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	Roundtable Discussion with Educational Choice Advocates and Reformers (Demarest)	Roosevelt Room <u>live feed</u> (TAB B)
9:45 am (10 min)	<u>Meeting with Senator Wallop</u> (Calio)	Oval Office (TAB C)
9:55 am (20 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
10:15 am (15 min)	B <u>Ceremony Announcing GI Bill Opportunity Scholarships for Students</u> (Demarest)	South Lawn (TAB D)
10:30 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
11:00 am (45 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
11:45 am (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Card</u> (Holiday)	Oval Office (TAB E) <u>Travel Pool Bottom</u>
12:00 pm (60 min)	<u>Lunch with the Vice President</u>	Oval Office
1:00 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office



1:15 pm (5 min)	<u>Photo with White House Fellows</u> (Porter)	(TAB F)	Rose Garden Steps
1:20 pm (5 min)	<u>Photo with 1992 National Superintendent of the Year, Dr. Donald W. Ingwersen</u> (Demarest)	(TAB G)	Oval Office <i>Wires Pool</i>
1:25 pm (5 min)	<u>Photo Opportunity with Lt Col Michael Gould, USAF</u> (McBride)	(TAB H)	Oval Office
<i>1:30 Pre-Brief</i> <i>(Dorman, Calio, Skinner)</i>			
~~1:30 pm~~ <i>1:40</i> (10 min)	<u>Meeting with Congressman Bill Goodling and Republican Members of the House Education and Labor Committee</u> (Calio)	(TAB I)	Roosevelt Room
1:40 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)		Oval Office
2:10 pm (35 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
2:45 pm	<u>Depart for the Omni Shoreham Hotel to Address the College Republicans Centennial Celebration</u> (Kaufman)	(TAB J)	South Lawn <i>Travel Pool</i>
3:30 pm	<u>Arrive White House</u>		South Lawn
3:40 pm (50 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>		Oval Office
4:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>		Oval Office
5:00 pm	B <u>Reception for New American Schools Development Corporation</u> (Holiday)	(TAB K)	State Floor <i>NO coverage</i>

UNP 06/24/92
8:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/25/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, June 25, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 10/28/2024	OA/ID Number: 90691-007
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

7:25 POTUS In w/ Calif. Skinner In

7:26 Gray In

7:33 Gray Out

8:02 sec. Alexander In

8:03 Skinner, Calif. Dorman

8:15 Skinner Out

8:18 Skinner In

8:30 Calif. Dorman, Porter, sec. Alexander Out

8:31 scowcroft, Gates, (b)(3), House In

8:32-33 Skinner Out

9:00 Gate, (b)(3) Out

9:01 VPOTUS In

9:13 Skinner In

9:14 Skinner Out

9:15 Moore, Metzger In / scowcroft, Howe

9:17 out

9:17 Skinner, Fitzwater In, Moore, Metzger Out

9:22 POTUS out and into Roosevelt Room

9:52 POTUS In

9:53 Sen. Wallop, Calif. scowcroft, Skinner

James Oyer In

10:05 Wallop, Calif. Oyer, scowcroft Out

10:10 Skinner Out

10:13 Judy Smith In

10:15 Judy Smith Out

10:16 POTUS Out to Res.

10:20 POTUS, POTUS, VPOTUS, Mrs. Quayle, sec. Alexander

Announced out to the South Lawn.

10:40 POTUS In

11:20 Skinner In

11:31 Skinner Out

11:46 Gray, Skinner, Calif. Fitzwater,

Holiday In

11:48 sec. Card In

12:05 Skinner, Calif. Out

12:06 Skinner In

12:08 All out, VPOTUS In

1:14 VPOTUS Out

1:16 POTUS Out to Rose Garden

1:24 POTUS In

1:25 Dr. Donald H. Ingveson, Michael (son), sec. Alexander, Paul Jung In

1:30 Mike Gould, Wife + Two Sons, Russ Gonsilla, M. G. In

1:33 Mike Gould

1:34 Dorman, sec. Alexander In

1:35 Calif. In

1:44 All Out to Roosevelt Room

* POTUS + POTUS Walk to OAS Building

17th + Constitution.

2:01 POTUS In w/ Calif. Skinner In

2:04 Skinner, Calif. Out

2:21 Dan McGee (McCarthy) In

2:27 Dan McGee Out

" See Tab 5 "

3:36 POTUS Arrives WH

3:37 POTUS In

4:04 Skinner In

4:14 Boskin In

4:30 Boskin Out

4:31 Skinner Out

5:02 POTUS Out

5:05 POTUS announced in to East Room

5:13 POTUS, POTUS arrive cross hall

5:33 POTUS, POTUS In State Dining Room

Mix + Mingle.

6:00 POTUS + POTUS up to 2nd floor

* 6:43 POTUS + POTUS Out to OAS Building

6:51 POTUS + POTUS Arrive OAS Building

7:12 " " Depart OAS "

7:15 " " Arrive WH