

1991

U.S. House Journal of William H. Natcher, vol. 57

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JOURNAL

OF

WILLIAM H. NATCHER

MEMBER OF CONGRESS

2ND DIST. OF KENTUCKY

VOLUME LIII

Since that time Charlie Bennett has missed a number of votes. The number I am not sure about, but at least three or four. On one occasion when Carl Albert was Speaker, he kept a vote open for over an hour for Charlie Bennett to receive the message that a vote was underway and to come from his home in Virginia. The Speaker waited and waited and finally had to close the vote. This is the one when Charlie finally arrived, he made a statement and put his head down on the table. Personally, I like Charlie Bennett and I am just a little tired of contesting him over his record. He has cast a number of votes, but Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi was here in 1941 and he is still a member of the House of Representatives. My guess is that as far as total votes is concerned, Jamie Whitten holds the record in the Congress of the United States--not consecutive votes, but numbers.

June 5, 1991

We have the Legislative Appropriations Bill before the House today and twelve amendments have been offered up to this time. Some apply to elevator operators, others to the Library of Congress, others to the General Accounting Office and so on down the line. Real pious amendments cutting the legislative appropriations bill are offered because that's the one that contains billions of dollars for the legislative branch of the government. Some of the amendments are really hilarious and the press really has a field day when they are offered and almost always defeated. Of course, most of them should not be offered and those who want to make a small "brownie" point with such amendments as a general rule end up with a roll call vote that takes their amendment down.

June 7, 1991

On Saturday of this week a tremendously big parade will be held and this will be another victory parade resulting from the Persian Gulf 100-day war. There will be some 8,000 Persian Gulf war veterans in the parade and they are now located in hotels and college dormitories all over this city. Helicopters, fighter planes and a little bit of everything will be in the air and on the ground during the parade. Thousands of war veterans from as far away as Germany began arriving by bus, train, and air terminals this week. The celebration tomorrow was first estimated to cost about \$8 million, with \$5 million in private money and \$3 million in taxpayer money. Now, the government's share of the cost is estimated to be as high as \$7 million. The President is just jumping up and down and can hardly wait for this parade because the flag is just a little tattered that was used in the Persian Gulf war since so many articles have been written about us kicking a poor little old country all around the world--destroying the country almost completely that we were saving, and those who have been to Kuwait come back with startled looks on their faces, just as if they had seen a ghost.

We finished marking up our bill yesterday and with one or two exceptions we should be alright in the House and in the Senate. The deal that was made to get the immigration bill, designated as the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, passed after some 5 attempts in the House and the Senate is the only obstacle that is left. This is known as the State Legalization fund and totals a little over \$1 billion, with the money going almost exclusively to the states of California, Texas, and Florida. There are 91 votes in these three states, so we may have a bump or two before the bill is finally enacted.

With all of our problems concerning the deficit, unemployment, and the needs of the poor people in this country, the House yesterday restored the \$40-million-space-station "Freedom" program which the Subcommittee on HUD had deleted. On a roll call vote this space station went back in 240 to 173. The full amount for the first year is \$1.9 billion. During the days of President Eisenhower, we had the interstate highway system, the new Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the new Air Force Academy in Colorado, and the start of the space program after the Soviet Union, on October 4, 1957, placed its first Sputnik in orbit. I can still hear John F. Kennedy say in his inaugural speech--"I want to go to the moon." We then later landed 12 men on the moon and returned all of them safely.

Now, we have the space platform matter and the President has made up his mind that this is the best vehicle to ride at this time for a future place in a choice section of the history that will be written of our country during this decade.

June 10, 1991

The predictions from 250,000 to 800,000 were given for the number that attended the tribute to the troops here in Washington on Saturday. This day was unlike any of the usual days in Washington since the end of World War II, with the ceremony beginning at Arlington National Cemetery where families were present who lost 378 men and women in the Persian Gulf War. The parade then, with 8,800 veterans marching down Constitution Avenue, N.W., ended with a triumphant blitz of fireworks Saturday night that was the most remarkable I have ever seen. The crowd was one of the largest ever seen in Washington and even though the Park Service

disagreed somewhat with the number given by the D.C. Police Department, it was still a tremendous affair.

Senator Chuck Robb, Democrat of Virginia, has been in a running battle with Governor Wilder, the black Governor of Virginia, since the days when Robb was the Governor. It seems that Wilder has information concerning Robb's attendance at parties where drugs were used, and also a very controversial meeting with a former Miss Virginia in a hotel room. This weekend it developed that Governor Wilder said that a number of conversations he held in his private automobile were taped. Robb's office announced on Saturday of last week that his office once had in its possession a tape of a secretly recorded telephone conversation of Governor Wilder, but it shredded the tape in recent weeks. The tape, a transcript of which was made available to the Washington Post, was received anonymously, according to Robb's office and was received in late 1988 when Robb was campaigning for the U.S. Senate. The tape apparently was held quite a long time since it was only shredded in recent weeks. This battle continues on and apparently will get no better as time passes.

Today in New York City another tremendous parade will be held which will be twice as large as the one in our Nation's Capital, and I presume will cost as much or more than the one held here.

June 11, 1991

We are about to be redistricted in Kentucky. The census of 1990 shows that we lose one seat in the Congress and this brings us now down to six Members. Two of our present Members will be placed in the same District and some say that the only fair way

to do it is to place two in the same District who have lost a lot of people. Their Districts were way down in the census and if the bill is structured by the legislature correctly, it will not necessarily place two Republicans in the same District, but it is possible that one Democrat and one Republican will go into the same District.

The battle between Governor Wilder of Virginia and Senator Robb of Virginia continues with a front page story today indicating that one of Senator Robb's top aides pressured him to disclose that the GOP was behind an investigation of Robb by threatening him with the contents of a secretly recorded telephone call. The picture of Robb in today's newspaper shows considerable strain and also clearly indicates to a lot of people here in our Nation's Capital that he has used poor judgment in the manner in which he has handled the charges against him by the Governor. His explanation of the bathrobe story and the young lady so far has not been accepted.

We have passed five of our Appropriations Bills in the House and have eight to go. Defense and military construction, along with Legislative, HUD and energy and public works are now under the wire and in the Senate. Tomorrow we report out of the full Committee Treasury and Post Office and Foreign Aid.

When Silvio Conte died, his place as Ranking Minority Member on the Subcommittee that I am Chairman of was filled by Carl Pursell of Michigan. This is all new to Carl and a story that was in the "Washington Post" today clearly shows what happens to you when you divulge any part of the mark up of an appropriations bill before it reaches the full Committee. The Secretary of Health & Human Services Sullivan wanted to take 300 or more to Florence, Italy to attend an Aids conference--considerably more than he should

take and this was brought up at our mark up with our staff advised to talk to the Secretary to tell him we wanted this figure brought down to about 100 or less. Pursell is quoted as to what the Subcommittee did in the mark up and Obey of Wisconsin, who is also a Member of our Subcommittee failed to get the credit he desired so at the full committee meeting this morning when we reported out state, justice, commerce, he made a statement as to the part he played at the mark up which also was a mistake.

June 12, 1991

We pass all kinds of bills in the House of Representatives. Yesterday a bill increasing the federal payment for the District of Columbia under a formula arrangement passed on a voice vote. The House approved legislation that would enable the federal government's annual payment to the district to rise from \$535 million this year to about \$685 million in 1995. The plan would set a precise formula for determining how much the payment would increase annually. The proposal was unanimously endorsed by both Democrat and Republican leaders in the House which is quite a change from the past when the leadership would always disagree to such proposals. Bob Michel, the Republican Minority Leader, said that the passage of this bill established a new era in the history of the District of Columbia politics. From 1986 through 1990 the District of Columbia's federal payment was frozen at \$435 million, an amount equivalent to about 13% of the local revenue during the last year. The legislation provides for a payment formula set at 30% of local funds. This was then reduced to 24% in Committee after key Republicans, including Bliley of Virginia said they could not support anything higher.

During the past 40 years stories have been written about Supreme Court Justices who

accepted money while serving on the Court. William J. Brennan, Jr., who retired from the Court, in a financial disclosure statement which is required of Justices, said that he had accepted \$120,000 in loans from a Washington developer and in addition, received \$20,000 in cash. \$80,000 of the gifts coming to Brennan were during the time that he served on the Court. Brennan reported the gifts from a developer by the name of Charles E. Smith who forgave part of Brennan's mortgage on an Arlington condominium with the amount forgiven totaling \$80,000. Brennan retired from the Supreme Court in July of last year after 34 years on the Court. Brennan's answer, upon being questioned concerning the \$80,000 which was forgiven, was that at no time did this developer have any business or legislation before the Supreme Court. He went on to say that the gifts reflected only the affection and generosity of an old friend.

Redistricting is underway in a great many of the states and the State of Michigan is really having its problems. Most of the Members in the House from Michigan are hoping that two or three of the senior Members will now retire which would make the redistricting of the state where two seats must be eliminated much easier. Dingell, Ford, and Broomfield have indicated no desire to retire so this makes it more difficult for the Governor and the legislature.

The battle in Virginia still continues between Robb and the Governor and in today's Washington papers on the front page there is an article that Robb has suspended three of his top aides. This includes his Chief of Staff, his Press Secretary, and his top assistant at the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. He will now appoint, he says, an outsider to evaluate and investigate his staffs' involvement in the secret tape

that apparently his office had possession of for over two years and with the tape being very derogatory of Governor Wilder. For some reason both of these men want to be President and this little episode will eliminate both from any serious consideration.

June 14, 1991

On the front page of one of the Washington newspapers today there is a story entitled--"On Capitol Hill Fundraising Never Stops." This particular fundraiser was for Senator John McCain (R-Ariz) who by the way was a prisoner of war for a number of years prior to his election to the House and to the Senate. He is still taking quite a pounding in the press for the help he gave to the Chairman of the Board and manager of one of the largest savings and loan organizations in this country. As I recall, McCain so far has refused to give back any of the contributions he received from savings and loan organizations during his last campaign. The Senator is up for re-election next year and it seems that the raising of campaign money never ceases. In this particular fundraiser as set forth in the newspaper story, letters invited about 20 Washington lobbyists and political action committee directors to have breakfast with the Senator at the Hay-Adams Hotel here in Washington. At the breakfast they would be requested to sell \$1000 in tickets to a major fundraising event for McCain. According to plan over the next four months, there would be three other such breakfast meetings with the Senator to line up lobbyists as sponsors, as well as representatives of regional telephone, cable television, airline and railroad industries that also wanted a more private opportunity to meet with McCain, with eventually 5,500 invitations issued and out of this number 1,800 would go to political action groups.

On Wednesday night, according to the story in the ballroom of the National Press Club a number of groups invited all descended at the same time and when it was over, the "Second Great American Chili Cook Off" as it was designated, had raised \$210,000 for McCain's campaign.

All sorts of arrangements are made to raise tremendous amounts and from all sources in a great many instances in campaigns with some of the Senators. This is one of the major reasons why the people in this country are just simply sick to read about the systems used to raise money and the source of the money. They do not understand how all of this money can be raised and and still have fair decisions made on legislative matters before the House and Senate. It seems to go just on and on and it is no better today than it was a year ago. Last year was no better than it was ten years ago, and until some limitation is enacted concerning amounts and sources of the money, it will still be worse in the future.

June 18, 1991

On Sunday of this past week, the President, on Air Force One, while talking with some of the reporters, said that if his family insisted that he not run for re-election and that it was for the best interests of he and his family, he probably would not run next year. In addition, he further said voluntarily that if his health was not good, certainly he would not make the race. These statements really caused consternation here on Capitol Hill because the Republicans are tying everything next year to the Presidential race, hoping that Bush will again win and carry nearly all of the states. If another candidate appears for the Republicans for President, it would

really change the picture next year as far as the outcome in the presidential contest is concerned.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome is really in every newspaper these days and in Florence, Italy, a world conference is being held which is the Seventh International AIDS Conference up to this time. The World Health Organization is in charge of the meeting and 200 scientists and researchers are there representing our country, along with the Secretary of HHS Louis Sullivan. There was quite a controversy as to the number he would take with him, but it was finally settled and 200 was the figure agreed upon. AIDS is now a major problem throughout the world and in Africa we find more infected people than in any other section of the world. The World Health Organization believes that the death rate will be twice as high in Africa as it would have been without the AIDS epidemic and that life expectancy, which would have risen by ten years will instead fall by four years.

June 19, 1991

President Bush and his Chief of Staff Sununu apparently are not agreeing on everything these days. After Sununu was contested over a great many flights where government planes were used, then suddenly he decided last weekend to have a White House limousine with a qualified chauffeur drive him to New York City where he and his wife wanted to do some shopping and wanted to attend a stamp sale where very expensive, old stamps were being auctioned off to the highest bidder. Others in the White House justified the trip by saying that on the way up to New York he used the telephone in the car and transacted White House business which was of great assistance to the President. But, the President

yesterday was described as upset, angry, and perplexed about Sununu's use of the limousine. Sources at the White House said that President Bush contacted a senior political adviser to discuss with him how to handle the controversy after learning of Sununu's use of the car. Sununu has been unable to fly on government planes for personal business since the President instituted a new travel rule after the Sununu controversy in April. Sununu, of course, is in the White House by virtue of the fact that while serving as Governor of New Hampshire he started out with Bush and is really credited with saving his candidacy in the beginning of the presidential primary; so, the reward was Chief of Staff at the White House.

Several years ago we passed a superfund bill which was the vehicle to be used to clean up the nation's worst toxic waste sites. Now, it appears that nearly one-third of the \$200 million spent so far by the federal government since the bill passed in 1981 has been spent, not to clean up anything, but to pay the administrative expenses of private contractors. The Environmental Protection Agency, which runs the clean up program tried to defend the use of this much of the clean up money. It appears that bills submitted covered everything from fringe benefits to office rents, business cards, and parking fees of the engineering firms hired to carry out the work. It seems that we always have trouble with administrative costs here in Washington and the same applies to indirect costs in the biomedical research grants which are so important to our people today.

Our Majority Whip, Bill Gray of Pennsylvania, who was elected after using a whole lot of money with the Members in their campaigns for re-election, now indicates that it is possible he may be selected as the president of the United Negro College Fund

and if so, there will be an announcement of his resignation from Congress soon. Gray is the highest ranking black elected official in Congress and was mentioned several weeks ago as a possible candidate to the United States Senate from Pennsylvania. His Chief of Staff says that he has not accepted anything up to this time. For several months now Gray has been under investigation by the FBI on certain matters pertaining to campaign funds and other things and this move could be a result of the investigation. Gray has complained bitterly over the investigation that was conducted and has maintained for months now that he does not have a chance to enjoy his family and that in traveling almost every night somewhere, he has just about decided to think about other things. Tony Coelho was Majority Whip when he resigned and he too was under investigation, but according to my information, Gray's matter had been settled. The media indicated that the FBI and those investigating him discovered nothing of any consequence, but we will see now as to what he does as to the United Negro College Fund offer.

June 20, 1991

Today, if I am exceedingly fortunate, I will cast my 17,000th vote. This is the all-time record in the history of the Congress and it has appeared in the "Guinness Book of World Records" now for a number of years. Last night, I thought maybe that I would reach my 17,000th, but I was two votes short when the House adjourned. The House meets this morning at 10 a.m. and before Noon, I should reach my 17,000th. Of course, this is not the criteria to be a good Member of Congress, but it still is something I am proud of and even though I may never make another 17,000, I intend to try.

Today I present my bill to the full Committee on Appropriations and we will have a battle or two over abortion and one or two other matters. In today's Washington Post on the federal page, there is a story together with my picture and that of my friend, John Edward Porter, a Member of my Subcommittee, describing the battle which will take place over abortion. I carry in my bill the life of the mother provision only because this is the only one that President Bush will accept. Two years ago he vetoed my bill because the Senate language of "rape and incest" was added and in the conference report back to the House supported by about an eight majority of the Members on a roll call vote. If the Porter amendment goes in on my bill and stays, President Bush will again veto the bill and this means I will have to bring out a new bill deleting the abortion language and then the President will sign the bill.

June 24, 1991

According to the news media, General Schwarzkopf has sold his memoirs and the same company that published Reagan's memoirs was the successful bidder. The price has not been disclosed, but one of the bidders that was considered too low announced that it had bid \$5 million and failed to be selected to publish the memoirs. The price that is being paid now for books and memoirs is absolutely unbelievable. The companies that published the memoirs of Ronald Reagan, Nancy Reagan, Jimmy Carter and Rosalyn Carter all admit that no profit was made on any of these memoirs, so it makes me believe that it is just a matter of being the successful bidder and obtaining the right to publish the memoirs of a famous person in the manner of a tremendous big advertisement which costs considerable money and can be written off in income tax loss columns at the end of the year.

June 25, 1991

On Thursday, June 20, I cast my 17,000th vote. I have my doubts that I could do it again, but at least I have done it one time. I was sworn in as a Member on January 6, 1954 and since that time, I have never missed a day or a vote. This event brought about a number of newspaper stories and newscasts on television. I have received letters from a number of people including my old friend, Richard Nixon.

One of the articles went on to say that the Appropriations Committee was in session at the time of Natcher's 17,000th roll call vote so the Committee recessed and all went to the House Chamber to pay their respects. The article then said that following the vote the Committee returned to its room and then "rolled" Natcher. I was presenting my bill which appropriates the money for the Departments of Labor, Health & Human Services and Education and an amendment was adopted which might prevent the "Gag Rule" approved by the Supreme Court in regard to family planning matters. In substance, the amendment provides that no part of the funds in the Department of Health & Human Services could be used to prevent any family planning organization from advising teenagers as to abortion or matters concerning pregnancy either by rape or incest, or otherwise. Of course, President Bush says that if this provision remains in the bill he will veto the bill.

Another article went on to say that this was just one of the many issues that the Democrats were attempting to establish to use next year in the 1992 Presidential election. I still maintain if this is their only system, without a good candidate, we still will have trouble.

June 27, 1991

We passed three appropriations bills in the House yesterday and this leaves only one to go. The one that has not passed up to this time is the transportation appropriations bill. This is the first time in over ten years that all 12 of the 13 bills have passed prior to July 1. This clearly indicates that the leadership will have trouble keeping us here way up in the month of November with all of the appropriations bills going through so early. Ordinarily without press releases the leadership slows down the appropriations bills and this then makes us remain for weeks longer than is necessary and also places the blame on us because word goes out that the appropriations bills are late in being enacted.

The three we passed yesterday were District of Columbia, Agriculture, and Labor, Health & Human Services, and Education. Our bill passed on a roll call vote of 353 to 74. An amendment was offered which if enacted would have reduced our bill 5.9%. 5.9% of our bill would have brought it down by \$3.5 billion. The roll call vote on this amendment was 366 nays to 55 ayes and only one Democrat Member voted for the amendment. The amendment was offered by Walker of Pennsylvania and the amendment did not surprise me since he ordinarily in his usual manner of attempting to obtain as much publicity as possible, decides to offer an amendment which if ever adopted would really be something. Several years ago he made a similar move and his people really took him on after he was overwhelmingly defeated on the amendment.

The leadership in the House occasionally appears on the floor when we have a real battle underway and yesterday the Speaker appeared and I presumed he was trying to get Barbara Boxer time. It later developed

that he was in the process of trying to prevent a vote to strike the Porter Amendment which pertained to the Supreme Court decision and was successful. Family planning money, of course, is not authorized at this time and we simply left it out of the bill. The Speaker assured one or two Members that the authorizing committee would finally get down to business and authorize the program and then the money would go into one of the appropriations bills. Along about the time he was making his move to keep this particular vote from coming up, Boxer of California was making every move possible to get time so that she and others could praise the action of those who placed the Porter amendment in the bill. With three appropriations bills before the House and the leadership agreeing that if all three passed yesterday the House would only be in pro forma session today and the Members could leave early for the 4th of July recess period. After talking with me about the question of time, I decided that if possible, we would take our bill through in about two hours. Ours was the largest one from the standpoint of money, but is an excellent bill and one that I knew would survive most amendments. We proceeded with general debate of only 30 minutes and then when the Clerk started reading the bill, I was ready to move that the bill be considered as read in its entirety and placed in the record subject to amendments at any point. Here is where Boxer made her move and she said she would not object to the first 70 pages of the bill being considered as read, but she would object to the last five pages unless she and others were given time to express themselves on the abortion issue. Instead of one hour as I had planned, I had to agree to one hour and 30 minutes and this simply meant that we had to sit there and listen to a number of would-be candidates from the state of California and one or two other states who are thinking about running for the Senate next year,

expostulate on the matter of abortion and how easy it was to place the Porter amendment in my bill. The President's letter of June 4, 1991 states emphatically that he will veto the bill if the Porter amendment is in the version that is sent to the White House. There are not enough votes in the House to override the veto, but maybe something will take place in the meantime whereby we can make some sort of an adjustment and place the bill in line for signature by the President.

While the bill was on the floor under general debate, the Clerk of the House, Donn Anderson, walked into the Chamber with a large beautifully wrapped package and up the aisle he walked to where I was sitting, and presented me a beautifully framed scroll signed by him as the Clerk, including the House seal and a nicely worded statement concerning my 17,000 consecutive votes. I certainly have a place in my office for this framed scroll and at least half of the Members before the final vote, stopped by to take a look. One of the Pages came down the aisle and asked if she could take it back to the Page station so that they could all take a look. It was a real long day, but a successful one and we succeeded in presenting the best bill that has ever been presented to the Congress for health and education appropriations.

Along with our problems here on Capitol Hill, we have unusual events taking place almost daily that at least attract some attention. A lady who has written a number of books and stories about Zachary Taylor finally succeeded in obtaining a court order in Jefferson County, Kentucky after she had obtained the support of the Jefferson County Coroner, Richard Greathouse, to exhume the body of Zachary Taylor who died in 1850.

To be exact, on July 9, 1850 Taylor died at the age of 65 years, just 16 months after taking office. This lady had received information that indicated maybe Zachary Taylor was poisoned and she made her move to have the body exhumed. She based her belief mainly on the fact that Taylor, although a southern slave owner, might have been poisoned because of his opposition to the spread of slavery. Clara Rising is now in the process of writing another book about Taylor and she paid for the exhumation which by the way, was endorsed by Taylor's descendants. The Taylor scholars in this country doubted the wisdom of such a move and did not believe that the author had sufficient evidence to prove anything. These people believed and still do, that Taylor died of gastroenteritis, an inflammation of the stomach and intestines which apparently worsened when his doctors bled him and gave him doses of mercury and quinine. Taylor's body, upon exhumation was said to be well preserved in its lead-lined coffin. Observers said the corpse looked like Taylor because of his protruding eyebrows. The body was in a pleated shroud, a bow tied under Taylor's chin and white gloves were on his hands. The Kentucky Medical Examiner who examined the body was a man by the name of George Nichols and at a news conference in Louisville yesterday he said that in his opinion Zachary Taylor died of one of a myriad of natural diseases which would have produced the symptoms of gastroenteritis. Nichols did report that trace amounts of arsenic were found in Taylor's remains, but that the concentration would have had to be hundreds to thousands of times greater to cause death. Arsenic was used in early medicine and by the embalmers. At the time the body was exhumed, fingernail, hair and bone samples were removed and the search for signs of arsenic poison then were made by tests. The condition of the body was the main thing that surprised most of the people who were in charge of the exhumation.

June 28, 1991

During the time that Ronald Reagan served as President, Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall said on many occasions that Reagan would never have the opportunity to fill his seat because he did not intend to die or to resign while Reagan was President. At age 82, Marshall announced his retirement yesterday from the Supreme Court and President Bush immediately announced that he would move quickly to recommend a successor. Marshall was a major figure in the civil rights movement for half a century and the only black Supreme Court Justice in the Nation's history. He said in his letter of resignation to the President that his advancing age and medical condition made it impossible for him to meet the strenuous demands of court work. He will be 83 next week and the announcement of his retirement came shortly after the court issued its last opinions for the term. Marshall, in more than one of the last opinions, complained of the court's conservative majority. His announcement of retirement was worded in a rather unusual manner. He made his departure contingent on the confirmation of a successor which is an unusual act that gives Senate Democrats slightly more maneuvering room by removing the issue of the need for a speedy confirmation. Most modern Justices have retired without condition. Marshall is by far the most liberal Justice on the Court and this will give President Bush his second appointment to the Court. Justice William H. Brennan, Jr.,'s retirement last summer and his replacement by Justice David H. Souter certainly left the Court firmly under conservative control. Marshall's resignation symbolizes the final passing of an era in which the Court used the Constitution as a tool to advance the rights of minorities and the down-trodden. In a statement, Bush thanked

Marshall for his extraordinary and distinguished service to his country and said he intended to nominate a successor very soon. The Washington Post in an editorial entitled "Justice Marshall Resigns" said:

"Justice Thurgood Marshall, who announced his resignation from the Supreme Court yesterday, often joked that he was too stubborn to leave the court at any time when his successor might be appointed by a president from a different end of the political spectrum. Justice Marshall was an unabashed liberal, an unswerving defender of individual and civil rights. But at 83--his birthday is next week--and in ill health for many years, he was at a point where it was easy to understand why the strain of frequent dissent and the increasing loneliness of his position had become a burden.

Famous and even revered long before he was appointed to the high court, Thurgood Marshall was probably the foremost civil rights litigator of his day. And in his day, that was not an easy role. Those were years when people asserting their rights risked life and limb in some states. Long before the '60s, when the civil rights movement grew and became widely accepted, he was constantly in court on behalf of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund pressing cases and winning victories. His most far-reaching triumph was Brown v. Board

of Education, a case that went to the Supreme Court and forced the desegregation of the nation's schools. Young Americans may not recall the degree of racial injustice of those years or appreciate what it meant to resist violence in the belief that courts would right wrongs. As a lawyer, Justice Marshall survived physical danger, personal insults and an unsympathetic establishment, and he succeeded brilliantly.

His life did not become immediately easier when he moved to high public office in 1961. President John F. Kennedy appointed the civil rights champion to the U.S. Court of Appeals, but the Senate Judiciary Committee, led by Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi, refused to move on the nomination for almost a year. He was later named solicitor general and then justice of the Supreme Court by President Lyndon Johnson, and although these confirmations came more swiftly, his ascent to the court was opposed by 11 die-hard members of the Senate.

Born in Baltimore and an honored graduate of Howard Law School, Justice Marshall has strong ties to this community. He is a hero to African Americans but no less to other citizens who share his commitment

to civil liberties and equal justice. His stalwart dissents spoke not only for the accused, the impoverished and the victims of discrimination who were the focus of his life's work but for all who are anxious about the court's continuing drift away from these concerns. In his absence, the court will be more united next term; that is not a pleasing prospect."

Almost every month now we have bankers visiting with us not only from our home states, but from other states complaining about the inadequacy of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to take care of the banks that are going under. With commercial real estate loans from big east coast banks closing by the day, the projected losses to the Federal Deposit Insurance fund are now twice as high as they were six months ago. In a report to Congress, FDIC Chairman William Seidman yesterday said he expects the fund to get hit with bank failures that would wipe it out by mid 1992 and result in an \$11 billion deficit by the end of next year. As recently as January, Seidman had projected that losses would put the fund \$4.6 billion in the red by the end of 1992. The House Banking Committee is expected to complete work today or soon on a banking bill that authorizes the Treasury to lend the FDIC as much as \$70 billion to cover future bank failures. The loan is expected to be repaid by the banks, but many Members of the Committee on Banking sincerely believe that the banks will not be able to repay it and the taxpayers will have to pick up the tab--the same as the savings & loan association problem.

In Bethesda, Maryland today there are a dozen beautiful, large buildings built with bank loans from all over the Country and with the buildings not even half occupied. Tremendously large office buildings that have been under now for over one year, and still with the caretakers still in charge and with no offices occupied which would make the necessary income available to pay off tremendous bank loans. Of course, Bethesda as a small city, is jubilant with the large amount of taxes that these buildings are now paying and the same applies to the State of Maryland. Occupying some of the most valuable land in Bethesda and with a great many small shops that were in operation for years where the people traded, knowing each other, and with good merchandise being sold, this land is now occupied by a tremendous building or buildings and with bank loans that will probably never be repaid. Located as close as it is to the Nation's Capital, banks of course, believed all along that this would be a safe investment, but there is so much overdevelopment in this Country and the value of real estate is down and the banks are suffering.

July 9, 1991

We are back now from the Fourth of July recess period and the real work will begin. All of our 13 appropriations bills have passed in the House with the exception of transportation and this is right unusual for the early part of July of any year.

Since my bill passed in the House 353 to 74, a number of articles have been written as to what position the President will take on the Porter Amendment to my bill which provides that no part of the funds shall be withheld or not used to pay physicians or those in family planning clinics in advising

pregnant teenagers. The amendment was overwhelmingly adopted in the full Committee, much to my sorrow, because I believed at that time that the President would again veto my bill. The 353 to 74 margin in the House is enough to cause them to do a little thinking now in the White House. According to today's papers, the abortion advice ban is being carefully reviewed at the White House because the word is out that this is one the President had better be real careful about. There are so many people in this country that believe that information should be given to teenagers--not as to the fact that an abortion should be performed, but at least medical advice should be given to preserve the life of the mother and the expected child. This will be a right hard nut for the President to crack this time and I hope a veto somehow is avoided.

A number of articles have been written about my 17,000th vote and I have received letters from all around the country--some right unusual letters, and some that make you feel that maybe doing as I did was the right way. I still have a grandson or two who inquire as to why 17,000 and the world record is so great because they thought that is what we should be doing in Washington. The fact that I do not accept campaign contributions means more to them and especially two of them than the fact that I have never missed a day or a vote since I have been a Member.

Redistricting is a hot issue in Kentucky and according to the media, the first proposal submitted for the loss of a seat in Kentucky sets forth a plan whereby Perkins and Rogers will go together and have to run it out. I understand this week another plan will be submitted to the House of Representatives in Kentucky providing that Hopkins and Jim Bunning be put together and run it out

Owensboro, Daviess County, in my District is one of the key factors in the overall plan and my neighbor from the First District, Carroll Hubbard, continues to maintain that Daviess County should be placed in his District. His District is nothing to be proud of if you examine the census figures when you consider the fact that out of 24 counties, 15 of the total lost people. This means that the census of 1990 shows a loss in these counties since the 1980 census. This is nothing to be proud of and our District, the Second, with 18 counties showed an increase in every county from 1980 to 1990 with the exception of five counties. The Second District, Fourth District, and the Sixth District showed increases and if the other four Districts where most of the problems are now located had done better, we would not have lost a seat in Congress.

July 10, 1991

The President's recent nomination to the Supreme Court is now very much under discussion in the newspapers here in Washington. Clarence Thomas, the black Circuit Court of Appeals Judge is now visiting Senators on the Hill who will soon vote, after hearings, on his nomination. It now develops that he was married to a black woman and had a son who is in his custody and his second wife is a white woman. This lady is one of the attorneys in the Department of Labor. Of course, this should not be a controlling factor at all in this nomination, but is being discussed somewhat at the present time. Herblock, the cartoonist on the "Washington Post" still is the best. In today's paper there is a cartoon of the President holding a newspaper with the headline--The Thomas Nomination, and he is talking to one of his White House aides. The cartoon goes on to say that the President seems somewhat disturbed when he says to the aide, "Do you

mean to say that this Judge happens to be black? That's another thing I never asked him about." This man Herblock really follows the issues of the day.

July 11, 1991

I have just returned from the House Chamber where we held a secret ballot election for the Office of Majority Whip. Bill Gray, our present Whip and a black Member from Philadelphia has resigned the Office of Whip and also his Office as Representative of his Congressional District. He has been elected to be the President of the United Negro College Fund. While serving as Majority Whip, he traveled a lot and was not considered a very effective Whip from the standpoint of the Democrat Party. Dave Bonior of Michigan was defeated by Bill Gray for the Office of Majority Whip about four years ago and then was reappointed by the Speaker, Jim Wright and later by our present Speaker Tom Foley as Assistant Majority Whip. He has worked hard and notwithstanding his defeat by Bill Gray, carried out his assignment in an excellent manner.

Steny Hoyer of Maryland, who is now serving as Chairman of the Democrat Caucus, was the opponent of Bonior and in the secret ballot election today, Bonior received 160 votes and Hoyer received 109, with one blank. I, along with the majority of the Members on the Democrat side, believed that Bonior would win, but I believed it would be considerably closer than the final vote indicated.

Majority Whip, then Majority Leader, then Speaker--these are the steps on the ladder that have been taken many times since March 4, 1789, the first day of the first Congress. Bonior is in a very close District and in the last campaign as I recall, he only received 53% of the vote. He will have to

be considerably alert to stay alive and should change just a little bit from the standpoint of being more friendly and outgoing than he is generally. On a great many occasions I have wanted to be Speaker of the House of Representatives and time-wise and age-wise, my thoughts along this line never seemed to fit the pieces in the plan. I never had any desire to be Majority Whip but this is the route that you must take ordinarily in order to get to be Speaker. Regardless of likes or dislikes, the election today will produce a Majority Whip who will be more affective than his predecessor.

Yesterday in the Rotunda, the portrait of Jim Wright was unveiled by he and his wife. The Rotunda was filled and the ceremony was real nice. The portrait was of Jim standing, holding a book and with a very, very stern look on his face. I presume that a picture was taken just before he resigned and the portrait painter really placed in the face of the former Speaker concern and worry. Jim Wright was a man who could smile right easily and has a nice smile. Not in this portrait--but at least it is one that you would recognize and will now be in the Speaker's Lobby next to the portrait of our last Speaker, Tip O'Neill.

July 12, 1991

Bob Strauss of Texas served as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee for a number of years and he is really a professional publicity hound. Often referred to as the epitome of a Washington dealmaker, a super lawyer, a rainmaker and many other things, he was at the White House with the President when the announcement was made that he was to be our Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Strauss is 72 years of age and yesterday reported that he had made \$4.5 million from

his law firm over the past 18 months and about \$2 million more from investments, corporate directorships and winnings from race-horses he owns with Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady. He also reported that he will get an additional \$1.5 million in severance and other pay when he resigns from the firm he founded that operates in Texas and in Washington, D.C. Strauss has built up quite a reputation as the master of the deal, rather than a legal technician. Unlike the other 425 members of his firm, he said he does not keep time records. Most lawyers bill by the hour and he bills by the importance of the employment and the success he obtains. In other words, this man Strauss is quite a dealmaker. While serving as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee he spent all of his time building up his law firm in Texas and Washington and paid very little attention at that time to paying off the debt of the Democratic National Committee which only amounted to some \$8 million. A very abrupt and arrogant man, he apparently has been George Bush's friend all down through the years. He is considerably different than Armand Hammer who even was able to get along with Stalin. I hope the President is well-pleased with his decision because those in Washington who really know this man Strauss are anything but pleased.

Tomorrow we have the 75th Anniversary of the Abraham Lincoln memorial. Established in July of 1916, it is located in Larue County and the log cabin, which of course is the one he was born in, is encased in a beautiful white stone building and with appropriate guardrails all around, the cabin is shown to hundreds of thousands of people each year. I still recall the story of the marriage license of Abraham Lincoln's mother and father which could never be located in Hardin County. Finally, it was located in Washington County and is in the County Court Clerk's

Office at Springfield at this time.

July 15, 1991

The President's nominee to the Supreme court, U.S. Appeals Court Judge Clarence Thomas is really receiving attention now by the media. The Black Caucus in the House, after meeting and refusing unanimously to endorse Thomas, is now in the process of passing the word throughout the country to the Black people, urging that they be against this nomination. Early this morning I turned on C-Span and there was our newest Black Member, Craig Washington, really hammering away at Judge Thomas. He went on to say that Judge Thomas does not represent the views of the Black people in this country and is of 1890 vintage and should not be confirmed.

The War in Iraq is rapidly losing the glitter that it had by ending the war in 100 hours, so President Bush is traveling again. This past week in France, he and President Francois Mitterand indicated that they would be prepared to launch new allied military action against Iraq if Saddam Hussein persists in trying to acquire nuclear weapons or engages in further repression against the Kurds. The two Presidents met in France on the eve of the summit in London of seven leading industrial democracies to discuss a wide range of problems, including the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War. Maybe by now the President believes that General Schwarzkopf's suggestion that they be permitted to go in and get Saddam Hussein is a little easier to understand.

July 16, 1991

This Administration still has high hopes of bringing about a peace settlement in the Middle East. The President launched a new push for Middle East peace yesterday at the London meeting announcing that he will send Secretary of State James Baker back to the Middle East. This now follows a letter that the President received from Syrian President Assad which the President interprets as a good response and a breakthrough. Not that any promises are made or suggestions offered, but a letter which carries some hope that maybe a peace settlement can be reached at this time. Israel stands firm against any such attempt at this time for a settlement, but the President continues to make every move possible to settle the Middle East problem. Of course the Palestinians maintain that they must be present and represented and that once the West Bank problem and their problems are resolved, peace will prevail.

This week two of the large New York City banks, and both giants, Chemical Banking Corp. and Manufacturers Hanover Corp., announced that they were merging to form the nation's second largest bank in this country. The merger which is the largest in the history of American banking, would create a bank with assets of \$135 billion that would rank behind only New York rival Citibank with \$216 billion in assets. The new bank would carry the Chemical name, and Manufacturers Hanover will become history. The chief executives of the two banks would manage the merged bank under the power-sharing agreement worked out during two months of secret negotiations. Bank experts maintain that consolidation such as this one is long overdue and will improve the profitability of the battered

industry. Bad loans, slow payments, and in a great many instances, no payments, bring about situations such as this one. Both banks have been plagued by poor profits and bad loans for sometime.

Another piece of news which was quite disturbing to me is the takeover of the Mutual Life Insurance Company. The state officials in that state had to takeover the 16th largest life insurance company in the world and this was brought about by bad loans. Stock holders' money and the money from the policy holders has for many years been invested in first mortgage loans on large buildings and other real estate ventures which have proven to be bad loans. In fact, I have \$1,000 or \$2,000 in old life insurance policies that have been in existence for over 40 years with the Mutual Life Insurance Company.

The Secretary of Commerce, Robert A. Mosbacher, announced yesterday that he would not adjust the 1990 census figures to compensate for an estimated undercount of 5.3 million people, saying the original head count is a more accurate basis for redistributing political power and billions of dollars in federal aid. This means that in Kentucky we still lose one seat in the Congress, and further, it means that a lot of large cities will receive less federal money in federal programs and grants and loans. In fact, the City of Washington will file a suit against the federal government maintaining that as many as 100,000 people were not counted and will cost the District of Columbia government millions of dollars each year.

The Secretary of Health & Human Services, Louis W. Sullivan, yesterday recommended that physicians and dentists infected with

the AIDS virus cease performing certain kinds of surgical procedures where there is a greater than equal chance that an accident could expose patients to their blood. He also recommended that all of those performing such procedures be tested for the virus. This seems to me to be right and proper in every respect and long overdue.

July 18, 1991

Yesterday President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev announced that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have reached final agreement on the first treaty of the atomic age to actually reduce their arsenals of long-range nuclear weapons. They will sign an accord in two weeks in Moscow. This landmark agreement will require both sides to destroy hundreds of missiles carrying thousands of individual atomic warheads, and reduces the number of some of the most threatening Soviet missiles. The agreement will allow both superpowers to retain massive arsenals and to continue modernizing their weapons. This is a step in the right direction and will make the Moscow meeting quite an affair.

Gorbachev appeared in London yesterday with the nine men from the summit meeting, with hat in hand, but the summit leaders only agreed to provide the Soviet President with technical assistance and with no money. The leaders of the world's major industrialized democracies agreed only to give technical aid and this, of course, did not answer the plea of Gorbachev. His plea, if accepted, would have placed the Soviet Union in a position to join the free-market system and rescue his country from economic disaster. Earlier in the day he and President Bush announced the nuclear arms agree-

ment, but he failed to gain his main objective. It is right unusual in this, the good year of 1991 to see the Soviet Union begging and pleading for economic assistance to save their country after so many years of major spending in defense.

July 19, 199

The Public Works Committee in the House has marked up and will report out a highway bill within the next few days. This bill adds additional mileage to the interstate highway system and provides for additional construction of bridges and roads generally. We only get one of these bills every five years, and, of course, all 50 states must be satisfied from the standpoint of mileage in each state and also number of projects. The present federal gasoline tax is 14¢ per gallon, and the new bill will provide for an additional 5¢ tax, making the total then 19¢ per gallon. Some of the states have taxes higher, or almost as high, per gallon, and this then runs it up pretty high as far as tax on gasoline is concerned. President Bush has issued a statement concerning this legislation, and he has said that if the 5¢ additional tax remains in the bill he will veto the legislation when it comes to the White House for his signature. Those who travel to work every day, going from two to 30 miles back and forth, will, of course, consider the act of the President very much in order. The highway system throughout this country is breaking down and not only does the interstate highway system need repair, but the same applies to secondary roads and a great many bridges. This legislation with the tax would really help the economy of the country at this time. The veto of the legislation will end the Highway Act of 1991 because there are

not sufficient votes in the House or Senate to override such a veto. This bill should have passed several years ago and in order to keep the trust fund sound, the additional tax is necessary. The tax from gasoline and automobile and truck supplies generally, goes into the highway trust fund and is appropriated and withdrawn on a yearly basis with the transportation appropriation bill and other bills which require funding from the trust fund for highways.

Another savings and loan is going under and this is the Perpetual Savings Bank, the giant Virginia-based savings and loan that has seen its fortunes rise and fall with the boom and bust in the Washington area real estate generally. It is insolvent and has agreed to be sold under a plan that will leave the federal government holding bad loans worth hundreds of millions of dollars. This S&L will add to the overall amount necessary to bail out the savings and loan associations, with the amount now, according to our Committee, totaling a little over \$380 billion. The officials of this S&L said they had fought a valiant fight, but the Washington area's depressed real estate market is just too big to overcome. Bad judgment and too much overdevelopment of large buildings of every description, and here we have another S&L going under.

The summit that has been held in London now for several days did not establish too much, but at least Gorbachev maintains that the future economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the world's leading capitalist nations is a major breakthrough. But people who really know, will tell you that he is returning to the Soviet Union virtually empty-handed.

July 22, 1991

Here on Capitol Hill, the Roll Call newspaper that was passed around today carries a story entitled -- "The Smearing of Tom Foley." The headline goes on to state that at the moment of greatest political triumph, ascension to the Speakership of the House of Representatives, an unholy alliance of Democrats and Republicans orchestrated the rumors that were spreading that he was a homosexual. The story carried in Roll Call covers five or six pages and goes right much in detail into how the rumors started and those who were guilty of spreading the rumors, along with the facts that clearly state that the rumor was false. In the story we have a part that states that Jim Wright's more devious supporters were creating a backfire of doubt about Foley as a way of slowing the momentum to get rid of Wright. Last week we had the unveiling of the Jim Wright portrait and Tom Foley was most gracious in his remarks about Jim Wright.

The weather here in Washington, and throughout the country, has reached the serious stage. There have been nine days of temperatures over 90 degrees, with yesterday's temperature going up to 101 degrees. The farmers are now suffering, and in certain sections of our country corn, soy beans, tobacco and wheat are really suffering. According to the weather reports here in Washington, it will be five or six days before there is a break in the temperature, and people are being warned to stay inside if at all possible.

July 23, 1991

Herblock, the cartoonist for the Washington Post, and I believe the best in the country, really has an unusual one in today's paper. President and Mrs. Bush have returned from abroad where they were attending the London summit and made visits to Turkey, Greece, and France. It seems that when a problem in this country becomes more serious, the President always decides to hold a summit of some sort and starts traveling. Herblock's cartoon shows a number of buildings that seem to be toppling down and are marked as banks, schools, libraries, housing, cities, transit, insurance, S&L's and poverty. Standing in front of these buildings are a number of people holding a tremendous sign which carries the words -- Welcome to the U.S.A., George Bush -- Have a nice visit. At the top of the cartoon we find the words -- Remember he's not making the trip to our county to hear about our problems. Herblock is still the best.

Before returning, the President and Secretary of State Baker made every effort to bring Israel in line for peace talks. Prime Minister Shamir said last night that Arab attitudes may be changing significantly, but Israel will not agree to attend a Middle East peace conference until the United States clarifies which Palestinians would take part. Shamir, in a speech, said he was hopeful that the new American peace initiative would lead to direct talks with Israel's Arab neighbors. But at a press conference following his speech, he insisted that Israel would not give a final commitment until it got answers to several questions and one was the matter of who would attend representing the Palestinians. His speech and his

press conference post questions that may be too difficult to answer, but at least he did not simply give a negative answer concerning attendance at the peace conference. He simply placed the ball back in our court, and Secretary of State Baker still has his work cut out for him.

July 24, 1991

The media really goes after Members of Congress at this time, and I guess this can be expected since the newspapers have followed this procedure since almost the first day of the first Congress. On the front page of today's Washington Post, the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Les Aspin, is written about in much detail concerning a military plane that he used in August of last year to inspect Fort Hood and the Carswell Air Force Base in Texas. In addition, according to the article, he had a press conference in Texas and then on the second day of the trip he had a breakfast at a private club in Dallas to raise money for his reelection campaign. Apparently after his two-hour tour of Fort Hood, he had another fund-raiser and then was flown back to Dallas for two paid appearances, one involving a tour and remarks at a computer center and the other before a military exchange group. Here again we have criticism of a Member of Congress, and this makes it exceedingly difficult on Members who do not accept campaign contributions or honoraria.

Finally the Senate voted yesterday on the preferential trade status for China, but failed to obtain the two-thirds necessary to override an expected Presidential veto. On a vote of 55 to 44, trade was extended, but under stringent conditions which are not acceptable to the President.

Most of the Republican Members of the Senate joined the Democrats in denouncing China, but still maintain that placing conditions on the extension of most-favored-nation trade status was not the way to promote change, and especially as far as human rights are concerned. The people in this country are still concerned about the way the leaders treated the students when they were trying to obtain additional rights as citizens of that great country.

Jim Baker, the Secretary of State, is still traveling, and may be, before it is over, the most traveled of all the Secretaries of State in the history of this country. The President has made up his mind that now is the time for a peace treaty and solution to the Middle East situation, he really has the Secretary packing his overnight bags.

July 25, 1991

Last night we had our annual Gymnasium Supper. This is an annual affair that has been held now each year for 39 consecutive years. Those of us who use the gymnasium make a payment for annual dues of \$100 each, and former Members, who are serving as lobbyists and other assignments, and continue to use the gymnasium, pay \$250 a year. We accumulate from \$40,000 to \$50,000 and this, by the way, is the only solvent fund on Capitol Hill. We buy equipment for the gymnasium and pay for the annual supper. Last night President Bush attended, and he has never missed any of our annual suppers since serving as Vice President and as President. He arrived about quarter after six, and went directly to the gym and played two games of paddle ball, and then joined us in the Longworth Cafeteria, where we were ready to serve steak and everything else that goes

with it, including salmon, shrimp and apple studel. The President must have had his picture taken at least 500 times, and after shaking hands with all of the Members in attendance, he shook hands with the cooks, waiters, and Capitol Hill police officers who joined with the Secret Service in making sure the President was completely protected. I am still Chairman of the Gymnasium Committee, and this is an assignment that no one else, of course, wants because we are there to say "no" to almost every request. In order to keep the gymnasium for the Members, we have to say "no" to just about every request. I must have had my picture taken 10 times with the President because when he first arrived, I met him at the door and from then on, until we sat down to have dinner, a great many pictures were taken. Everyone enjoyed the dinner and the food was delicious.

The President has just returned from the summit meeting in London and was a little tired, but did not show this in having his picture taken time after time after time.

July 26, 1991

President Bush continues to have problems with Iraq. This administration and the International Atomic Energy Agency accused Iraq yesterday of failing to fully disclose its nuclear weapons materials by a July 25 deadline which was set by the United Nations Organization. Here in Washington, the White House announced that no military action was planned as a result of Iraq ignoring the July 25 deadline but that an inspection team would go to Iraq to determine if the United States should make any

military move to force Iraq to comply with the United Nations resolution. Saddam Hussein apparently feels safe with the action that he is now taking and, of course, after the 100-hour victory on the part of the United States and its allies, President Bush would like to be able to wash his hands now of this problem in Iraq. It seems to go on day by day and we go back to our old friend General Schwarzkopf's statement that we should have gone in and moved Saddam Hussein out.

Yesterday in the House we reauthorized the National Institutes of Health and on a vote of 274 to 144 passed the bill. The bill plus amendments that were offered overturns the government's ban on using tissue from aborted fetuses in federally funded research. An amendment was adopted that provided that aborted fetuses could not be legally sold. The President is expected to veto the bill and we will then go back to the question of whether or not in present day research doctors should be permitted to transplant certain fetal tissues into a patient's body. It has been performed in a great many instances where Parkinson's disease was involved and also with other diseases. The Catholic church is very much against use of fetal tissue because they maintain that this brings on abortions and use of the aborted fetuses. I have had to wrestle with this problem along with others for the last 17 years now in our bill and I voted yesterday for the reauthorization bill and for the amendment that provided for controlled use of fetal tissue and continuation of research at the National Institutes of Health whereby fetal tissue is used.

This time it looks like we may have to draft a candidate for 1992 for the office of President. A number of leaders on our side apparently believe that you can build around the anxieties of financially pinched middle-class income voters and build such a strong case that Bush can be knocked out of the box. One of the Democratic strategists who, by the way that I have never heard of, says that Bush will not become vulnerable until the leading Democrats start slapping him around. This to me would be silly and just enough to place the President in such a position that next time he would carry every state in the union including the District of Columbia. A middle ground position by the Democrats with less spending and more carefully thought out plans for the use of tax funds would go a long way in convincing a great many Democrats who have strayed over to the Republican side that it is now time to come back home.

July 29, 1991

President Bush is on his way to Moscow to attend a summit meeting with Gorbachev. The major question that will be discussed is the economic situation with the Soviet Union and just what it will take to keep the independent countries that compose the Soviet Union together. In addition, some sort of nuclear treaty will be signed that reduces nuclear weapons by at least one-third.

In this country the S&L's are folding all over the country with the last amount mentioned for federal obligation being the sum of \$384 billion. A great many banks are consolidating in this country to save a number that are about ready to go under. The banks all across the country are having problems, and some are more difficult than

others. The Gross National Product increased by 0.2% when it should be at least 3.5%. Medicaid is now up to \$47 billion and only some 10 years ago it was about \$17 billion. In other words, we have enough domestic problems in this country to keep the President busy full time, but for some reason or other, he still continues to travel.

July 30, 1991

Beginning on Wednesday of this week, we will take up in the House, H.R. 2950 which is designated as the Intermodal Surface Transportation Infrastructure Act. Following this bill, we will have the Dairy Price Support and Inventory Management bill. This one is H.R. 2837. Both bills are very controversial, and probably will take the balance of the week.

If the Surface Transportation bill passes, hundreds of thousands of people will be employed on roads and bridges throughout this country. The 5c additional gasoline tax is the obstacle that may defeat the bill. The President refuses to sign any bill, he says, that increases taxes and without the additional tax on gasoline, which will be paid by those who use the highways, we will only have billions of dollars of projects authorized, but an insufficient amount of trust fund money to do any good.

July 31, 1991

In the House of Representatives, we follow the rules, generally speaking, and seem to get along as well as possible. Sometimes one or two of the Members will get mad and cause all kinds of trouble. Last night was a good example, when one of our Members from Pennsylvania decided to object to everything that was taking place

during unanimous consent requests, and especially for a number of bills that were called up under the unanimous consent provision of the rules, which requires generally a voice vote of two-thirds in the affirmative. The bill is then passed and generally speaking most of these bills are not too controversial. We had one called up last night awarding a special commendation to our men and women who served in the Persian Gulf 100-day war. Here is where the trouble started. The Pennsylvania Member inquired as to whether or not the author of the bill would accept a unanimous consent request and include all of these who served in the Vietnam War. Vietnam was not a 100-day war, but 10½ years of terrific fighting and resulted in the loss of 58,000 of our boys. The author of the bill objected, maintaining that if you wanted to include Vietnam, Korea and World War II, separate bills should be introduced and hearings held. Unanimous consent requests can almost do anything, and the Member making the request to add Vietnam, simply exploded. Finally the last bill under the unanimous consent had passed and then the Pennsylvania Member called for a roll call vote on adjournment. Any Member who moves that the House adjourn can, under the rules of the House, expect an objection unless the request is in writing. Last night the Member moving that the House adjourn did not have the request written out, and the Republican side almost solidly objected. One of our Members from Massachusetts prepared a written motion in longhand, consisting of one short sentence and handed it up to the reading clerk. This then complied with the rule concerning the motion in writing, and the Member who asked for a roll call vote then made his request and a roll call vote was ordered. This took place after 8 p.m. and only 109 Members voted yea and 72 nay. 253 were

absent. A quorum is not required for adjournment and a majority voting in the affirmative can adjourn the House at any time. Several of our Members, and especially one who has been here for about seven years had perfect voting records until last night. One Member who is next to me as far as records are concerned since he has not missed a vote in six years, missed last night and, of course, I know he must be furious. I was present and had been following the general debate and the sudden disagreements that were taking place. This simply meant anything could happen so I stayed around.

President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev opened their two-day meeting yesterday in Moscow with public pledges celebrating an end to an era of superpower rivalry and private probings over how far and how fast each will go in building the new partnership. At the end of the first day of talks Gorbachev expressed impatience, calling on the United States to do more to help the Soviet Union economically. In addressing a Kremlin dinner in Bush's honor, he said there was an increasingly obvious discrepancy between the political dialogue of the two superpowers and the nature of their economic relations. President Bush, in an address during the day at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations, promised to support Soviet efforts to introduce a market economy and further said that the U.S. assistance will keep pace with the reform in the Soviet Union. To underscore this pledge, President Bush said he will submit to Congress the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement he and Gorbachev signed in Washington a year ago, paving the way for the most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Soviet products. Our President, however, did rule out massive financial aid, saying

that a shortage of foreign capital is not what plunged the Soviet economy into crisis and further, that the Soviet economic ills could not be cured by a simple infusion of cash. This, of course, startled Gorbachev and further, Boris Yeltsin, the President of the Russian Republic, refused to accept Gorbachev's offer to join his meeting with Bush and decided to attend only his own separate session with our President.

In other words, this summit appears to be one of no substance, with no style, and will end up as nothing but a televised, camera-taking picture session that will help neither one of the two major participants.

August 2, 1991

We are about ready to go out on the August recess. The last two bills of any importance before the Congress pertain to the Intermodal Surface Transportation Act and unemployment payment extension. The first bill contains some \$120 billion worth of repaired interstate and secondary roads, along with bridges, and with a great many new road and bridge projects. The second bill pertains to an increase to the 26-week payment for unemployment to some 36 or 38 weeks. Both bills are in trouble and I presume that the road and bridge bill will have to go over until after the August recess. The Democratic leaders in the House are faced with a rank-and-file revolt over a proposed gasoline tax increase of 5¢ which would make the federal tax then 19¢. A decision was made late last night to postpone action on the highway bill which is listed as containing \$153 billion worth of projects. Some say that the only way this bill can pass is to drop the 5¢ federal gasoline tax or simply make the tax apply for one year only. We had a 5¢ increase

in the federal gasoline tax last year and those who travel some distance to work each day are really jumping up and down over another 5¢ increase.

Finally Israeli Prime Minister Shamir decided yesterday to give a qualified acceptance to a U.S. proposal for a regional peace conference. After holding out for weeks now, Israel finally decided the President and Jim Baker, the Secretary of State, were in earnest and that a negative answer would not be accepted. When you are in the foreign aid bill every year for \$5 to \$9 billion, this, of course, means you have to go along sometimes with requests that maybe do not suit entirely.

August 5, 1991

Early this morning on C-Span, I listened to the little lady who was with Newsweek magazine for many years and is now in the foreign service section of The New York Times. She and her people are originally from Sicily and she is a beautiful lady and right smart. "The Outlaw State" is the title of her new book and it is about Iraq and mainly Saddam Hussein. I have often wondered how it was that Iraq could maintain and keep a war going for nearly six years with Iran and not be completely overrun. Before the ceasefire, Iraq was not only winning, but had territory under control that has belonged to Iran for hundreds of years.

Before the Shah of Iran left the country, we had turned over several billion dollars worth of military equipment to him, hoping that he would survive. This equipment then was taken over by those who ousted the Shah and no parts for planes, tanks, and other military equipment were available when parts wore out completely or were broken. This, of course, played a part as far as Iraq and

Iran are concerned because the spare parts and a lot of the additional equipment would not go back into Iran until some sort of a deal was made on the hostages at the time of the Reagan-Carter race for President. Iran then finally got the planes back into the air and other equipment under control with spare parts from our country.

During the C-Span program this morning, the lady, in describing some of the contents of her book, said that eight days before Saddam Hussein moved into Kuwait, he notified President Bush of the move that was to take place, giving his reasons for moving in and received no objection. This information was given to our Ambassador who was the lady that had been there representing us for some time. It seems that Saddam, in moving his troops in to take over Kuwait which he did in a matter of hours, moved some of his troops up on the Saudi Arabia line, and some of his troops moved over the line just a little as a matter of protection due to the condition of the terrain at that point. This then startled Bush and he entered into the picture when our well-known ally and trusted one Saudi Arabia was placed in a position of being drawn into Saddam Hussein's move to take over territory. After listening to her, a lot of these puzzle pieces fall into place and you understand a little better about Iraq and Iran, the hostage matter, the spare parts and the military equipment that became necessary for Iran to survive. It all fits together right well and one day someone who really can write will write that part of our history and a great many of our people will be really surprised.

During the past week our Speaker Tom Foley of the State of Washington named three Deputy Majority Whips and his selections were good. A black man who represents most of

Atlanta by the name of John Lewis is one; Barbara Kennelly who represents a part of Connecticut is another and Butler Derrick of South Carolina who serves as a Member of the Rules Committee is the third choice. Here we have a black Member, a Lady, and a man from the deep South that is on the Rules Committee. This should help and with Dave Bonior now as our new Majority Whip taking an active part in major legislation, we may be a little better off before we finish up the 102nd Congress.

Finally, Israel has agreed to meet at a peace conference without making demands as to who will represent the Palestinians. The PLO has signaled a willingness for the talks and we may now have a peace conference that will help us. Our President is spending considerable time in peace conference and summit meetings and the economy in this country is in serious condition. Unemployment is higher than at any time since 1980 and the S & L situation is still requiring hundreds of billions of dollars and the banks in this country are not in good condition. Last week the unemployment benefit extension legislation was passed with a provision which provides that the President, if the emergency demands, could extend the 26 weeks of benefits for an additional time. He said that he would veto the bill, but with this little tricky provision, you simply hold the implementation of the bill and not let the amount go off budget, or be in violation of the summit agreement that was entered into last year. The five-cent gasoline tax in the public works bill apparently has killed the legislation for the time-being. Roads and bridges are in worse condition than at any time in the last 40 years and over 4,070 of our roads and bridges are in dire need of repair. It is true that a lot of projects were authorized in the legislation with the total running up to \$152 billion when all are completed, but

at the same time this legislation is necessary and would put hundreds of thousands of people back to work.

August 6, 1991

I go down to Kentucky tonight to spend one month. During this time, I intend to travel into all 18 of our counties and fill a number of engagements. The weather is very warm, but after I get started within a few days I get adjusted to the weather and really enjoy traveling over my district. The recession has affected Kentucky considerably and we have our problems the same as all other sections of our country at the present time.

All of us in Kentucky look forward to the redistricting of our state since we lose one Member under the 1990 census. At the present time it looks like the legislature will be called into special session during the month of November for the redistricting of our state. This will be after the Governor's race and can be handled a little easier at that time.

August 22, 1991

Early this week a three-day coup occurred in the Soviet Union. It lasted only three days but for a period of 24 hours, it looked like it really might be serious. Eight of the hardliners proceeded to take over and Gorbachev was placed under "house arrest" up on the Crimean where he was vacationing. He refused to see any of the leaders and the military under the direction of the Soviet Defense Minister proceeded to bring in a number of tanks into Moscow and Leningrad. The media, including all of the newspapers, radio and television stations were completely surrounded and shut down. These hardliners consisted of the Vice President under Gorbachev a man by the name of Yanayev, age 53, who seemed to be somewhat confused, but at least

he joined the other hardliners and after it was all over, maintained that it was a misunderstanding because he said he believed that Gorbachev wanted the coup to take place. This man has heart problems and at the present time is supposed to be in the hospital. Others were Pavlov, age 53, Soviet Prime Minister; Hazov, age 68, the Soviet Defense Minister; Kryuchkov, age 67, Chairman of the KGB secret police since October of 1988, Pugo, the Controller of the Soviet Industrial Ministry; Baklanov, age 59, first Deputy Chairman of the Defense Council; Starodubtsev, age 60, Chairman of the Farmers Union; Tizyakov President of the Association of State Enterprise and Industrial Construction. These were the leaders and the hardliners who actually believed that the people would all run for cover and the coup would be successful. Instead, hundreds of thousands of people backed Yeltsin, the President of Russia, and faced the tanks in both large cities. Pyramids were built to keep the tanks from moving around too freely and Yeltsin, who is the hero of the whole episode, stood on one of the tanks and said to those in the army and those in charge of the coup that they were wrong and the Russian people would not permit it. He and Gorbachev have not been too close. Yeltsin is the President of the largest part of the Soviet Union which is Russia and Gorbachev is President of the Soviet Union consisting of Russia and fifteen other independent countries.

All during this three-day period Bush praised Yeltsin and said that our country would not deal with the regime and the hardliners in any way, shape, form, or fashion. Gorbachev continued under house arrest and conducted himself in the proper manner and when the people continued by the thousands in the streets, the Soviet soldiers would not shoot them and they then turned the tanks around and started out of the two cities.

A young Soviet Colonel was really the one who started the tanks out of the cities because he was sufficiently brave and had the necessary courage to say to all of the hundreds in the army units that he controlled that the coup was a mistake and that they must abandon the efforts of the hardliners who then were hard to find. The Vice President of the Soviet Union was selected by Gorbachev and he is in the hospital apparently. The rumor is now out that the Defense Minister committed suicide and one or more are under arrest and are to be severely prosecuted for crimes against the state and the whereabouts of the others is unknown. Some say that several left the country.

We are now back to square one as far as the Soviet Union is concerned because they still have severe economic problems and are unable to furnish the necessary food and clothing for their people. The ones who brought about this condition are the old hardliners and the military and any coup by them would have produced nothing for the Soviet Union. Gorbachev returned by plane from his vacation site and was welcomed by people in Moscow and is now back in charge. Apparently the coup leaders believed this week would be the best time for the coup. This is the week that Gorbachev was to sign the Union Treaty which removed certain powers from Moscow and gave the independent countries of the Soviet Union powers which they were demanding. Several of the independent countries have in their legislative bodies enacted legislation which places them outside of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev was having his problems keeping all of the chickens in the coop but the Union Treaty was well received and will now probably be signed within a matter of hours by Gorbachev.

President Bush conducted himself properly in every way in this event and Yeltsin and Gorbachev were the two in the Soviet Union

who were brave enough to refuse to recede. So, we start again with the Soviet Union--an economy in bad shape and with the military cut back to help with the finances of the country. In the Congress we have believed for months now that Gorbachev was just about to the precipice and could go over. This is the year, of course, that we expected to have more money for health and education because East and West Germany are now together, the Afghanistan war is over, the one million to one and one-half million military from the Soviet Union are no longer on the Chinese border; no longer is NATO an organization that will require billions of our dollars to stave off the threat to Europe by the Soviet Union and Cuba and other satellite communist countries have been cut away by the Soviet Union due to financial difficulty within the Union.

Louise is visiting with me here in Kentucky now and yesterday traveled with me to Larue County where she really enjoyed the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. I saw a lot of my friends in Larue County and this is another county where I have spent a day during the recess period. Before I leave, I hope to get into all of our 18 counties and spend at least one day and everything looks good.

August 28, 1991

The Soviet Union is still in turmoil and Gorbachev announced yesterday that he might resign unless the Unity Treaty is carried out and the independent countries stay with the Union during this, the most critical period in the history of Russia. He may survive for five months, but it certainly does not look like it now. A number of the major countries around the world have started recognizing those independent countries

that are seceding and in some instances, have sent in representatives to set up embassies and facilities. It seems that a number of world leaders are almost unanimous that these countries are right and should be independent. The three major independent countries that were forced into the Soviet Union are now being considered by President Bush and he, in turn, may follow the lead of a number of other major countries and now will recognize the ones that want to be independent.

September 5, 1991

The Soviet Union is still in serious trouble. Gorbachev has survived up to this time and may succeed in holding on for several months, but at the same time, could go at any time. Several emergency sessions of the Soviet Parliament have been called and a meeting is still in session at this time. With the help of Yeltsin, Gorbachev has, of course, come around about 180 degrees with his statement that the Communist Party is no longer in existence or to be recognized and that he is not a member of the party any longer. In addition, the proposal now before the meeting of the Parliament concerns a confederation proposal of the 15 independent states that along with the large state of Russia compose the Soviet Union. Gorbachev and Yeltsin propose that there be more independence as far as these states are concerned, but that a union be maintained and Yeltsin has promised that even though the independent state of Russia is much the larger, there will be no move made for Russia to control the other 15 independent states. The economic situation is serious and the people are still having trouble buying food and clothing. The meeting of the Parliament approved the independence of the three independent countries that are now being recog-

nized by the other countries around the world. On Friday of last week, President Bush indicated that our country would recognize these three independent countries in the Baltic region, and that embassies would be located there and the three countries would be on the same basis as other countries around the world who are free and independent. Attempting to keep the independent states together is a full-time job for Gorbachev at this time. We read from time to time that in the Ukraine and in one or two other of the independent states the crops are not being harvested because they do not have the labor to accomplish the task. Again, we go back to the idea in this country that the army should be placed in the fields and harvest the crops so that the people could have something to eat. On television, President Bush really shows wear and tear these days and of course, with the Soviet Union having a number of missile sites and the question of another coup that might take place, it is right serious. A proposal is being made in our country that all nuclear weapons be placed in one independent state and completely controlled from the standpoint of one central command and the procedure that has been used now for many years. This, of course, is a serious matter and during the three-day coup there were many people in this country that believed the hardliners who failed in the coup might set off a nuclear weapon or two hoping to place us in a position in other countries whereby their efforts might prevail. All in all, the situation is serious and from day to day we have surprises coming out of the Soviet Union that we never expected to take place.

September 6, 1991

Soviet lawmakers agreed to Gorbachev's proposal yesterday voting overwhelmingly to end seven decades of Kremlin rule and setting

up an interim government to be dominated by sovereign republics. All but five of the 15 Soviet republics have declared independence. The 1900-member Congress of People's Deputies overwhelmingly endorsed the plan to salvage some sort of union for the economically troubled country. In the process they turned to the matter of Lenin and agreed that Lenin's body should be removed from its stately mausoleum in Red Square and reburied in Leningrad beside his mother. This is really a change as far as the Soviet Union is concerned and in one of the Republics recently a tremendous statue of Lenin was pulled down, placed on a large tractor trailer and sent to storage. The vote on the plan submitted by Gorbachev yesterday was 1,682 to 43 and although it was almost unanimous, Gorbachev still has a long way to go to keep the fifteen republics in the Soviet Union.

September 10, 1991

The Soviet Union today faces widespread famine this winter unless it can import and distribute some 40 million tons of grain from the west. With winter just two months away a number of western governments are preparing grants and aid programs to help stave off disaster in the Soviet Union. The growing conditions this year were certainly very poor and this is one of the worst crops on record in the Soviet Union. The Russian people are desperate and want to buy more grain from the world and especially from the United States. Last year's grain harvest was 190 million tons which was the best ever. Up to this time, half of the harvest is reported to have rotted in the fields because of a shortage of transportation and marketing facilities. Moscow will have to import at least 26 million tons of grain. According to current estimates from the Soviet Union, this year's harvest will be as much as 30% below last year's crop.

For four long days the Soviet legislators and Gorbachev, along with Yeltsin, tried to sell a very suspicious audience throughout the country on the viability of their new proposals. These two leaders who now have formed a right strong partnership smiled and handled themselves very well before the television cameras. At the time of the interview of the two for American viewers, questions were not fully answered to the satisfaction of those propounding the questions. Yeltsin, of course, is proposing to take care of Russia, that part of the country he presides over as President, and Gorbachev is trying to satisfy Russia and 15 other republics which compose the Soviet Union. The overwhelming vote which followed acceptance of the new proposals did, of course, create an impression of showing the solidarity now prevalent in the country following the coup on August 19. This is not exactly the true picture because the transitional government now seeks to buy time as the Soviet Union continues to struggle to enact sweeping free market reforms that must be centrally coordinated if the republics hope to bring their bankrupt economies into the Twentieth Century. The struggle is still on and will continue now for months to come.

September 11, 1991

Our bill that appropriates the money for fiscal year 1992 for the Departments of Labor, Health & Human Services, and Education is now in the Senate. This bill passed in the House 353 to 74 and everyone helped me, and this is the reason why our bill just sailed through the House. Tom Harkin of Iowa is the Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Senate side that handles this bill and he is an announced candidate for President in 1992. He has been traveling throughout the United States and is insisting that he be the Democrat nominee.

When the bill started in the Senate yesterday he offered an amendment to take out of the Defense Appropriations Bill \$3.1 billion which would be used to expand health and education and low-income programs in our bill. The Chairman of the Budget Committee in the Senate, Jim Sasser of Tennessee, along with the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee in the Senate, Robert Byrd of West Virginia, vigorously fought the amendment and on a roll call vote, it went down 69 to 28. Such an amendment if adopted would have violated the budget summit meeting that was held last year along with the deficit figure agreed upon by the President and the Congress, and this is why it was so important that the amendment be defeated. Voting against this amendment was difficult for the Senators because if adopted it would have been used for programs that mean so much to the people and would have been very well accepted throughout the United States. Even though Harkin lost, he can still claim that he was right and that he wanted to help education and health, but the Senate refused to go along.

Harkin, in marking up my bill on the Senate side, reduced education \$1,242,000,000. This is in discretionary funds. In addition, the amount of \$791 million was removed from Chapter I of Elementary and Secondary Education, and the amount of the total reduction was scattered throughout the bill by Harkin, turning on Christmas tree lights on the big Christmas tree. An \$18 million increase for Aids and a little increase for cancer research at the National Cancer Institute. All soft touches, and a little increase here and there throughout the bill that would make him and his Committee look good, but the fact that they were finally exposed as to where the money was used to make the changes will, of course, not help the Senator too much in the end. This will be the most difficult conference we will hold since I have been Chairman on

our side and under the Rules of the House and the Senate, if we reach the point that a Continuing Resolution has to be approved, then under that Resolution the lower of the two figures in all of the items in the entire bill must be accepted. This would be a victory on his part as to the money that he takes out of education and certainly destroys all of our work on the House side which has consumed about seven months. Our bill takes care of health and education and all of the programs in the Labor Department which should be the bill that is enacted.

September 12, 1991

Yesterday was my birthday and I had an excellent day. At the breakfast club where some 15 or 20 of us gather each morning in the Longworth Cafeteria and tell big stories, we had a standing version of "Happy Birthday" loud, and clear, to such an extent that those in the cafeteria were right startled. Next, I was presented with a beautiful shirt and a brand new copy of "Playboy" magazine which carried a number of right unusual pictures of the lady who has accused Senator Chuck Robb, the former Governor of Virginia and the husband of Linda Johnson Robb of certain indiscreet acts. The presentation of this new magazine was really something and before I had a chance to turn to the proper pages, the magazine was jerked out of my hands and passed up and down the line to the others at the table with the admonition to me that I would just have to wait my turn to take a look. I am 82 years old and I feel real good and intend to stay awhile.

Early this morning upon arriving at my office I turned my television on and listened to the statement that Clark Clifford, the Washington, D.C. lawyer and former Chairman of the Board and one of the attorneys for one of our large banks here in Washington,

made before the banking and finance committee in the House. He detailed all of his past jobs and assignments in Washington and did so without a prepared manuscript or with any notes to speak of, and it was a brilliant statement. He has a wonderful vocabulary and is a smart man who apparently may be in right serious trouble by virtue of some of the transactions that took place while he was Chairman of the Board of the First American Bank here in Washington. He said he never suspected BCCI had any control of the bank. He went on to say that his judgment was questionable and he presumed that he should have learned in some way or other more than eight years ago of the connection BCCI had as far as the stock of the bank is concerned. He did say that BCCI never exerted any control of the operations of First American and "you have my word to that affect." Again, a brilliant statement, but I am not at all certain he will not be indicted and could be tried by virtue of what took place between BCCI and the First American.

Robert A. Altman who was the President of the bank and a law partner of Clark Clifford, also resigned his office with the bank at the time Clifford did, and also appeared before the banking and currency committee yesterday. He is the husband of Lynda Carter, "Wonder Woman" of television and movie fame.

Along with the banking committee, we have another committee receiving considerable publicity every day and that is the Judiciary Committee in the Senate where the Judge Clarence Thomas confirmation hearing is now being held. Yesterday Thomas in testifying before the committee refused to state his views on the abortion issue and a number of other issues, maintaining that it would not be proper for him to come to any conclusions at this time on any hypothetical situations that are submitted by the committee and cases

which might appear in the future. The American Bar Association said that he was qualified but not very qualified--or something to that affect. I still believe he will be confirmed by the committee and also by the United States Senate. The vote could go as high as 30 majority in his favor.

In Kentucky, our Governor Wallace Wilkinson, is really up in arms over a recent notice that was carried in the Federal Register this week from the Health Care Financing Administration of the Department of Health & Human Services. The article that appeared in the Louisville "Courier-Journal" is as follows:

"Congressional efforts were underway yesterday to derail a new Medicaid regulation that would cost Kentucky and other states hundreds of millions of dollars, but the outcome of the complex controversy remained uncertain.

Sen. Wendell Ford, D-KY, said that he is exploring legislation to block the new rule from taking effect January 1 as proposed by the Bush Administration, and that one possibility is an amendment to the \$204 billion health, education and labor appropriation bill now being debated on the Senate floor.

Such funding bills are commonly seized upon by lawmakers seeking to block action by a federal agency and presumably Ford and his allies could try to add a section forbidding the Department of HHS from implementing the proposed Medicaid regulation.

In an interview yesterday,

Ford said the large number of states potentially affected by the restriction would appear to give hope to those who seek to block it.

But such a move would involve a host of budget and jurisdictional issues. The congressional budget agreement, for instance, requires any additional cost -- and killing the regulation would be expensive -- to be offset by equivalent spending cuts.

'I don't want to be pessimistic,' Ford said. 'But I have to be realistic.' He said opponents of the regulation had not made a firm decision on how to proceed.

The Administration announced Tuesday that it would cut off what it characterized as a "scam" used by states to garner \$3 billion to \$5 billion a year in federal matching funds for Medicaid benefits. In essence, the states are imposing a fee or a tax on Medicaid providers and using that money to get more federal matching funds.

More than 30 states could be affected, and a chorus of governors immediately cried foul, including Gov. Wallace Wilkinson, who in a news conference yesterday set the cost to Kentucky at 'about a billion over the next three years.' That figure represents the amount of federal Medicaid money Kentucky would lose if it could no longer use its tax on providers to get

the federal funds and declined to replace it with state money acceptable to the federal government.

Wilkinson has said the regulation would force Kentucky and other states to raise taxes or slash services, including Medicaid, or both.

Wilkinson said he believes a strong coalition of governors and their lawmakers in Washington will force the federal government to withdraw the regulation.

'It simply cannot happen. It must not happen. It has to be prevented, and I believe it will be,' the Governor said. 'This probably presents the most clear and present danger of anything that happened in recent memory.'

Wilkinson talked to Ford Tuesday night about the problem and also sought help from Rep. William Natcher, D-2nd District, who heads the subcommittee that drafts the House's annual health and education appropriation bill.

The House has already passed its bill for the coming fiscal year, which starts October 1, and any amendment added in the Senate would have to be approved by Natcher's Subcommittee in a conference.

Natcher said in an interview that he is sympathetic to Wilkinson's plight, but would have to see the amendment before committing himself.

If it would not reduce funding for other health or education programs, he would go along with it, Natcher said. But if it would take \$3 billion to \$5 billion out of the bill, he would have to consult with his Subcommittee, he said.

The Department of HHS, which administers the Medicaid program, provided a 60-day public comment period on the regulation, but tentatively scheduled the regulation to take effect the first of next year.

Medicaid uses state and federal money to provide health coverage to about 450,000 poor, blind and disabled Kentuckians. Under the program, the federal government pays Kentucky \$2.50 for every dollar it collects from health care providers.

Even so, states Medicaid costs have soared over the past decade, in part because Washington has added required services.

To curb their costs, 34 states -- including Kentucky and Indiana -- have issued the fee on providers to get additional matching money. Providers have accepted this practice because they eventually get their fee back and then some.

The Kentucky general assembly started the practice in 1990 with a one percent tax on the operating cost of hospitals. In the 1991 special legislative session, the

the tax was increased to five percent and imposed on other providers, such as doctors, dentists and nursing homes.

Wilkinson said the regulation showed that the Bush Administration was insensitive to the needs of the poor. In Kentucky, he said, the rule will reverse gains in health care for the needy -- including a reduction in the state infant mortality rate to the lowest level ever.

Republican Senator Mitch McConnell in a statement relayed by an aid, noted 'serious disagreement' over the matching fund issue and suggested the Administration and the national governor's association come together and negotiate about what kinds of revenues are going to be considered acceptable.

The first step in such a process could come today. Federal officials, including Gail Wilensky, head of the HCFA, the agency that oversees Medicaid finances, are to discuss the controversy with Washington representatives of the governors.

The Southern Governors Association will meet in Louisville this weekend, and Wilkinson said the matter would be at the top of the group's agenda."

September 16, 1991

The Senate finally passed our bill that appropriates the money for the Departments of Labor, Health & Human Services, and Education. Some 210 amendments were offered to the bill and about 43 accepted on the floor. I have never heard of as many amendments to this bill since I have been a Member of Congress and the bill that the Senate passed is wholly unacceptable. A lot of smoke and mirrors and outright deception is in the bill that finally passed. The Senate is under us on education about \$910 million and then to heal this severe wound, adopts an amendment that provides that \$500 million is hereby appropriated for the bill to take affect the last day of the Fiscal Year of 1992. This would simply be scored by OMB as part of the 1993 Fiscal Year money and is a complete deception. \$300 million of the \$500 million would be for education and \$200 million would go almost entirely to additional funds for cancer research. This conference is one that I do not look forward to because the Conference Report will be exceedingly difficult to pass in the House. At least the abortion language will bring about a veto of the bill if the Senate insists upon their language and maybe something will happen before a new bill is passed that will place the overall bill in a position where it comes back to the House figures for education and other important programs.

September 17, 1991

After almost five years of investigation, congressional testimony, trial, conviction, appeal, and reconsideration, the government's case against Oliver North was finally dismissed yesterday. The former defendant has claimed total exoneration and his criminal conviction has been wiped out, his military pension has been restored, and he becomes once again eligible to run for public office although he

says he has no intention to do so. Lawrence E. Walsh dropped efforts to pursue criminal charges against North after a federal judge dismissed all remaining charges. This man North was quite a hero during the hearings before the House and Senate Committees and still at the same time, some of his stories that he told were real fishy. Especially that part of his testimony concerning the shredding of a number of documents while he was in the White House.

Secretary of State James Baker is still traveling all around the world and today is in Jerusalem talking again with Shamir, trying to close the gap between the differences of our country and Israel over the request for a \$10 billion guarantee to build housing on the West Bank for its Jewish refugees who have recently come out of the Soviet Union. President Bush and Baker maintain that if this guarantee is carried out at this time, it will affect the peace conferences between the Arab countries and Israel, thereby ending months and months of efforts to bring about peace in the Middle East.

The newspapers on all of the front pages now have carried stories about the President's nomination of Robert M. Gates for CIA Director and the committees are now re-hashing the Iran-contra matter which Gates maintains that while serving in the CIA he was not too diligent in following the matter. He said yesterday he should have asked more questions and should have been less satisfied with the answers he received, especially from former CIA Director William J. Casey who has now passed on. A great many matters have been before the Congress and our country generally over the events which took place during the administration of Casey as Director of the CIA and judging from a lot of the accusations, Casey really was a character.

Another hearing was concluded yesterday in the Senate over the nomination of Clarence Thomas, the black Circuit Court of Appeals Judge for the vacancy on the Supreme Court brought about as a result of the resignation of Thurgood Marshall. Thomas, at the conclusion of the hearing, embraced his wife, mother and sister who sat patiently behind him throughout the proceedings. Outside the hearing room, he smiled and told reporters he was honored to have been able to participate in the process. I believe he will be confirmed without too much trouble and in fact, there may be less than 12 votes against him.

Another event that is now carried on the front pages of the newspapers in this country is the trial of Manuel Noriega in federal court in Miami, Florida. This man, of course, is guilty and just about carried Panama under before he was captured and brought to this country. As an attorney, I have always had my doubts about the trial of this man in this country, but regardless of that, it is underway and I presume that he will be found guilty. A former spy for the CIA, and a paid one, the testimony that will develop during this trial could be right unusual.

September 19, 1991

We now have a few of our friends announcing for President on the Democrat side and this past week we had the Governor of Virginia Doug Wilder and the Democrat Senator from Iowa Tom Harkin. They will now join our former Member of the House Paul Tsongas. Before too many days we may have the Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey and the Governor of Arkansas. Regardless of who is selected by the Democrats in the Presidential Primary, we will have all kinds of trouble defeating this President. The money is on the other side and this means hundreds of millions of dollars and unless the economy is much worse

than it is today, our chances of winning are not good at this particular time.

The Persian Gulf war victory has just about faded out so now the President is threatening to send jets to back up Iraqi inspections that are being carried out by the United Nations Organization. Anything for excitement and Saddam Hussein issued a statement during the day that the allegations concerning no cooperation on the part of Iraq are not true. One of the mandates from the United Nations following the close of the Persian Gulf war was the inspection which would follow immediately to ascertain if Iraq no longer had any weapons along the nuclear line or otherwise that would cause trouble in the future. The President has placed several U.S.-based aircraft units on alert and also has ordered an unspecified number of Patriot missiles to be sent to Saudi Arabia at the request of King Fahd. Merely as a safeguard the President says, but there are still a lot of people in this country who are hoping that we will not re-enter Iraq, and that the mandate of the United Nations Organization is complied with.

For years George Bush was characterized as a "wimp" and certainly during the past two years has caused this designation to be set aside.

A Continuing Resolution will have to be passed soon since only two of the appropriation bills have been signed into law out of the 13 and our chances of being here on December 6 get better every day. Some still believe that along about Thanksgiving we can adjourn sine die, and I hope they prove to be correct.

September 20, 1991

The Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy has ruled out any concessions by Israel on its construction of settlements in the occupied territories and angrily accused the Bush Administration of putting its proposed Middle East peace conference as far as America's relations with Israel at risk by pressing the issue. He said yesterday that this was a "kafkaesque" situation. He went on to say that instead of going forward on the peace process and Soviet immigration, we are now making speeches and this does not get us too far, and certainly simply means that we are at a dead end. This makes the distance between Israel and the Arabs and the distance between the U.S. and Israel too far and certainly is a tragedy. The President has made up his mind that he wants 120 days and Israel with its tremendous lobby where millions of dollars a year are sent to those in the House and Senate who accept campaign contributions says the \$10 billion guarantee must be approved of now and not at any time following a 120-day period. Time will tell as to whether or not this is another Fulbright situation.

Last night in watching the President on one of his trips out west, I almost arrived at the conclusion that he will not be a candidate for President next year. He does not look like he is well or feels good and he has said on several occasions recently that if his health is not good he will not be a candidate for reelection. In addition at a dinner several nights ago, Barbara Bush informed one of my friends that she and the President were very much concerned over the abuse that their son Neil had received as a result of the savings and loan crisis. She emphatically stated that they did not appreciate what had happened.

September 23, 1991

Hearings are now being concluded on the Senate side concerning the new nominee for the Supreme Court, Clarence Thomas, and the new Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Robert M. Gates. It appears now that both will be confirmed and maybe then the Senate can move along to finishing up our appropriations bills which will all go under a Continuing Resolution within the next few days with the exception of two that the President has signed into law.

The Republicans are very much concerned about the type of campaign that will be conducted for President next year. The House Members running for re-election especially want the President to make a partisan fight out of the election and really go after the Democrats. They believe that with the Persian Gulf war and one or two other matters President Bush has now developed coattails to a certain extent that might carry new Members into the House and will protect sitting Members who are running for re-election.

September 24, 1991

President Bush addressed the United Nations yesterday and made an excellent speech. There are now 166 nations in the United Nations Organization with the number increasing, of course, with the three independent countries formerly with the Soviet Union, along with one or two others. His speech pertained mainly to the changing of conditions throughout the world as a result of the real changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union. He stressed to a certain extent the differences now in trade agreements and the relationship between the nations of the world since communism is a thing of the past, and with free trade and

concentration along this line producing results which would help in the future.

Iraq continues to harrass the United Nations Organization and President Bush, and the President vows that there will be no compromise for Saddam and that the United Nations Security Council decision must be carried out in full. The President has delayed ordering U.S. forces to help search for nuclear and chemical weapons in Iraq and will do so he says until the U.N. Security Council calls for assistance. We have offered air force escorts for U.N. inspection helicopters, and have suggested to the Security Council that Saddam should be given a 48-hour deadline to comply before sending the warplanes into Iraq. To cause more trouble, Iraq yesterday held a U.N. nuclear inspection team for five hours and forcibly took from it a blueprint of Iraq's nuclear program. Baghdad said it acted because the 45-member group refused to record and give a receipt for documents it received on a pre-dawn visit to a central Baghdad building which Iraq had not listed as part of its nuclear weapons program. Team Leader David Kay reported that they found a virtual treasure trove of papers relating to Iraq's nuclear capabilities, including methods of material production they had not previously discovered. This is the largest inspection mission so far to visit Iraq and it has been unable to read a great deal of documents, but had evaluated individual pages. According to the inspection group, there were certain surprises as to the extent of Iraq's nuclear program. Sometimes it appears that Iraq simply was boasting and had constructed a straw man, but at other times documents and information is to the effect that he was well along his way to developing nuclear weapons.

September 25, 1991

Finally, Iraq has decided to yield to President Bush's warning concerning permission for U.N. inspectors to use helicopters in their search for secret nuclear and chemical weapons facilities. Although they agreed to make this move to keep Bush from sending in planes and military equipment to enforce it, Iraq still last night had not released 44 U.N. inspectors detained on Monday after they uncovered new information about Iraq's nuclear weapons program. More than 40 of the U.N. inspectors who were branded as CIA spies by Iraq, camped out in a Baghdad parking lot last night and refused to hand over videotapes made in search of a secret nuclear weapons program. This confrontation continues somewhat and I, along with a great many other Members of the Congress, want to get this situation in Iraq over with once and for all. It is time now to get back to the domestic difficulties in our country and to do something about unemployment, the deficit, and a great many other matters.

September 27, 1991

Finally, Iraq and the investigative team from the United Nations organization have agreed and the papers seized will be inventoried and then apparently it will not be necessary for President Bush to continue rattling his saber and sending in fighter planes.

The poverty rate in this country is up and the rise is considerably more than at any time since 1983. The median household income dropped according to the Census Bureau. The figures released yesterday represent increased unemployment, low wages and more households with only one income. This, of course, will be very much in the campaign for President next year unless there is a change and the data released will be interpreted in many

different ways according to the party making the interpretation. For some reason or other, a great many people in this country do not believe that we are in a deep recession and if they would only stop by an automobile franchise dealer and inquire as to whether or not the new models are selling, maybe the information obtained would convince a whole lot of those who still say that conditions are just fine.

The Democratic hopefuls for President are traveling now some in the U.S., but so far none, to my knowledge, have made any impression with the people. In the Governor's race in Kentucky which has the Lieutenant Governor Brereton Jones for the Democrat nominee and Representative Larry Hopkins of the Sixth Congressional District as the Republican nominee, apparently is mucy closer than some people believe. President Bush will go to Kentucky on two occasions between now and the November election and could change some votes.

Alpine hikers this week discovered the mummified body of a man believed to have been born 4,000 years ago and archaeologists said today that the well-preserved find could add considerably to understanding human existance in the Bronze Age. A German couple stumbled upon the corpse in a glacier last weekend while hiking at an altitude of about 10,000 feet in the Oetataler section of Austria's Tyrol Province near the Italian border. The man's head and one shoulder were sticking out of the ice and he was surrounded by an array of weaponry. The corpse was entirely preserved complete with bones, internal organs, skin, fingernails and toenails. This is really an unusual find.

It now appears that the Judiciary Committee in the Senate may divide 7 to 7 on the confirmation of Clarence Thomas for

the assignment as Justice on the Supreme Court. Yesterday Senator Howell T. Heflin, (D-Ala.), a right influential member of the Senate Judiciary Committee announced his opposition to Thomas. Heflin's announcement, and the prospect of a divided Committee vote reinforced opposition, but I still believe that he will be confirmed without too much trouble when the Senate takes over.

September 30, 1991

President Bush's announcement concerning reduction in nuclear weapons and the constant plane watch which has been underway for many years just in case of a nuclear outbreak has been well received all around the world. The changes proposed by the President certainly would reduce pressure on leaders in South Korea and Japan, and France has announced, through its President, that it too will join in the destruction of nuclear weapons when French arsenals are inspected. The President's decision to withdraw or eliminate thousands of U.S. nuclear weapons unilaterally while challenging Moscow to do the same really renews an important break from Washington's previous approach to reducing U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. The decision to make this announcement followed a vigorous debate among various defense and military officials over whether the cuts should be taken unilaterally which really sidesteps the time-consuming and politically long process of negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. I think the Administration's determination to proceed with the small reductions now being made, with 20,000 missiles to be retained, is good and this should help the Soviet Union. I have said for a long time that President Reagan, in creating the largest national debt in the history of the world, with \$2.3 trillion used for defense during his time was simply a stepping process to leading the Soviet Union over the precipice.

October 1, 1991

President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti's first really elected President was ousted yesterday by the military and taken to the airport to be deported to France. A Brigadier General informed the country at 11 p.m. that the military had assumed control following a day of violence that claimed at least 26 lives and apparently ended the first democratically elected government in Haiti's nearly two centuries as a nation.

Another candidate for President on the Democrat side announced yesterday and he is Senator Bob Kerrey. He served as Governor in the State of Nebraska which is a Republican state and is now serving in the United States Senate. He is 48 years of age and a veteran of Vietnam, with his right leg off below the knee from an injury in Vietnam, and is the holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor. He is young and aggressive, and not too bad a speaker. Maybe he is what we need at this time to go up against President Bush who, according to all the polls, will win without too much trouble.

Each year we have our Continuing Legal Education courses which are required to keep our license to practice law alive. This morning in the Madison addition of the Library of Congress we had two excellent lectures. One concerning a recent decision of the Supreme Court with the American Airlines pilot case explained in detail. For a period of about 12 years this man refused to pay income tax based on his contention that the law is unconstitutional and wages are not income. He was fined and indicted, but the Supreme Court finally held that willful disobedience of the law was not proven so back it goes again to a district court. All on the interpretation of what was willful and not ignorance of the law.

October 2, 1991

At our Continuing Legal Education lecture this morning, our first hour pertained to redistricting of states. It was really interesting since we are in the process now in Kentucky of redistricting with one House seat to be deleted. We go from seven down to six which, of course, does not speak well for Kentucky.

On March 4, 1789, we had 65 Members of Congress on the first day, and this was the number allocated for the population figure of 2.8 million. In the year 1790 the number in the Congress increased to 106 with the population figure that year being 3 million. Today, we have 248 million people in our country and in 1911, the 435-seat House figure was approved, and notwithstanding many attempts to increase the number it has remained 435 down to the present time. We heard this morning, of course, that California will end up with 52 seats under the 1990 census which brings them almost up to the figure of the first day of the first Congress.

The Pentagon, of course, as usual during the last day of the fiscal year really spends a lot of money. U.S. military bases generally went on a spending spree with the unused Desert Storm funds before the Fiscal Year ended at midnight the night before last. Huge quantities of barracks furniture and other commodities were purchased in order to keep from losing the money for the fiscal year. The Justice Department, with all of its pious gestures, even jumped in to stop the purchases over the past few months, not because of illegalities or concern about wasteful spending, but to force the military to buy from the government's prison-run industries instead of private companies. At least \$1.6 billion earmarked for "Operation Desert Storm" was used for the buying binge in the last

quarter of Fiscal Year 1991 which ended at midnight the night before last. Base officials throughout the country dipped into the Desert Storm funds which include about \$50 billion, the contribution of our allies, and also a \$15 billion congressional appropriation. Of course, we needed bullets, missiles and certain weapons used in the Desert Storm short war replaced, but this idea of all kinds of furniture and miscellaneous items is just another example of wasteful spending.

October 4, 1991

Our little bank that has been operating now for well over 50 years was closed yesterday when a House Resolution passed on a roll call vote of 390 to 8. The eight who voted against it were probably the only ones that were right about it, but since the operation of the bank and the check bouncing has been publicized now for some three weeks, the Members simply were afraid to vote to keep the bank open. The headlines in one of the papers was--"House Leaders On Rubber-gate list." Some 26 Members admitted that they had bounced checks and in a survey of all 433 House Members with the two vacant seats considered, 324 denied writing rubber checks on accounts in the private bank operated by the House Sergeant at Arms. Some 22, in answering the question, said they were not sure as to whether or not they had ever bounced any checks. Some of the House Members who have been right pious about everything else admitted they had bounced checks and some in real large amounts--Newt Gingrich of Georgia; John Dingell of Michigan; Chet Atkins of Massachusetts; and, Edolphus Towns of New York. House Members that refused to respond to the survey included the Majority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri, Ways & Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, Steny Hoyer of Maryland and Mickey Edwards of Oklahoma.

The Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley denied bouncing any checks, but according to the headlines in the papers this week, the General Accounting Office has found that the Speaker is, along with a great many others, on the check bouncing list. Peter Kostmayer of Pennsylvania bounced checks totaling thousands and thousands of dollars and a General Accounting Office audit several months ago showed that the Sergeant at Arms Jack Russ had checks outstanding in the bank that he supervises in the neighborhood of about \$10,000. The media has really had a field day on this check-bouncing matter and the leadership on both sides, including the Speaker Tom Foley and the Minority Leader, Bob Michel of Illinois, really headed for the tall timber. Scared to death and when the bank resolution was brought out late yesterday afternoon, the leadership, including the Majority Leader, shouted and carried on stating that the bank had to close. After the Resolution was adopted almost unanimously on the roll call vote, the Speaker then announced that the ethics committee would investigate the bank operation. Immediately, the media informed everyone that would listen that Lou Stokes from Cleveland, Ohio, the Chairman of the Ethics Committee was also on the rubbergate check bouncing list and had refused to return calls for several days. A little unusual for this committee to make any investigation under the circumstances where the Chairman of the committee apparently is involved.

A great many of us in the House who have been here for a long time thought that the Speaker and the Leadership on both sides would announce there would be no further bouncing of checks and a new rigid program concerning penalties if checks were bounced in the future would be implemented. At least quietly try to stop the practice from taking place, but not run like a bunch of rabbits. This

will go on now for several days and stories will start out with sentences such as--"Bowling to an outpouring of public outrage, the House yesterday voted overwhelmingly to shut down its private bank and ordered the banks audit records sent to the ethics committee for an investigation into possible abuses by Members of Congress who have bounced thousands of checks on their personal accounts." The Majority Leader, in his statement to the House said that this "issue for the last two weeks has pummeled us and I hope made us wiser." He went on to say that the "House would now take appropriate action by closing the bank, reforming the system, and demanding accountability. The Resolution introduced by Gephardt and Michel provides that the bank will cease all bank and check-cashing operations as soon as possible, but no later than December 31, 1991, and that audit records will be sent by the GAO to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, more commonly known as the ethics committee for review. The Resolution further provides that if the committee investigating the check-bouncing scandal determines that a Member routinely and repeatedly write bad checks, it should consider an inquiry.

Along with the check-bouncing episode, the media now is carrying the stories that the company, whose contract was canceled effective August 1 that operated all of our cafeterias, restaurants and carry-out facilities on the House side, is contending that some \$300,000 is due from House Members who have charged lunches and all kinds of entertainment where food and drinks were served. This company is Service America and I presume they really need this money because one branch of the company is in bankruptcy.

I have never charged any lunches or meals as a Member of Congress and as Chairman of the Gym Committee have made sure every year that

our bill was paid immediately when it was presented. Our bill for the past Gym supper was in the neighborhood of \$7700 and it was paid immediately. Now, the bank is closing and a lot of Members are receiving adverse publicity about owing debts to the cafeterias and dining rooms, and it may be that the media will now turn its attention to the gymnasium. For several years, a number of investigative reporters have endeavored to find out what it costs to operate the gym and on a great many occasions since I have been on the committee have insisted that the members of the committee and especially me, the Chairman, be interviewed to determine how much it costs the taxpayers to operate the gymnasium. Each time I say to them that the gymnasium is being operated in an excellent manner and to my certain knowledge, it is the only solvent fund on Capitol Hill. We have some \$40,000 in the little bank that will now close, and this year have purchased a number of new pieces of equipment for the gymnasium. We have six jobs assigned to the gym and they are under the supervision of the Architect of the Capitol. Since our Leadership has now decided to hang all of the dirty linen out on the line, I would not be at all surprised to read one of the morning newspapers that the Leadership was now of the opinion that the gym might have to close because the salaries of the six men, which includes our cleaning force, amounted to so much that the gym could no longer be justified.

I remember back in the old days under Sam Rayburn and John McCormack when matters that compare at all to the bank closing episode would come up, it would be settled immediately and the media would grumble that none of the Members could be crucified. In those days we had strong leadership and this is something that certainly we do not have today.

October 7, 1991

We are still reading articles in the papers today concerning the closing of our little bank, and this slight uproar has certainly scattered across the U.S. When it was first disclosed here on Capitol Hill that some action might be taken concerning the bank, the Speaker very frankly stated that he had never given a cold check and was somewhat incensed that he might be accused of having done so. Before the vote was taken to close the bank, the Speaker admitted that he had had one cold check involving some \$500 more or less that was used to make a purchase of some sort of stereo equipment. Later, it developed according to "The Washington Times" that instead of one check floated by the Speaker, the actual number was some 30 checks. All told according to the General Accounting Office, 8,331 bad checks were written by Members of Congress and former Members between July 1989 and June 1990. Not only the Speaker, but our Majority Leader, Richard Gephardt of Missouri had to admit that cold checks had been issued with Gephardt stating finally that three of his checks totaling \$218.28 were submitted to the bank when he had insufficient funds. Along with the Speaker, Gephardt made a very profound speech as to how scandalous it was to issue cold checks and why it was necessary to close the bank. Along with Gephardt, we have a Member in the House by the name of Newt Gingrich of Georgia who has, ever since he has been a Member, been very pious about ethics and so forth, and it now appears that he also was guilty of issuing cold checks.

Why the bank had to be closed is still being discussed by the Members of the House of Representatives and just judging from a little information that comes out of the Speaker's Office from time to time, the Republicans in the House were just about

ready, under a point of personal privilege, or some other method, to make the move that would embarrass the Democrats and force the closing of the House bank. Word had suddenly circulated after the Speaker held his first press conference that such a move would be made and this, I presume, caused the Speaker and the Minority Leader, Bob Michel of Illinois to meet and decide to suddenly bring up the Resolution and ask for a roll call vote which resulted in the closing of the bank.

Several articles have appeared in the newspapers concerning the bouncing of checks and in the October 4 Washington Post, 38 Members admitted they had bounced checks. These Members are:

"Chester G. Atkins (D-Mass.)
Les AuCoin (D-Ore.)
George E. Brown Jr. (D-Calif.)
Albert G. Bustamante (D-Tex.)
Dave Camp (R-Mich.)
Robert E. "Bud" Cramer Jr. (D-Ala.)
John D. Dingell (D-Mich.)
Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.)
Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.)
Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.)
Charles Hatcher (D-Ga.)
David L. Hobson (R-Ohio)
Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D-Ind.)
Barbara B. Kennelly (D-Conn.)
Dale E. Kildee (D-Mich.)
Scott L. Klug (R-Wis.)
Peter H. Kostmayer (D-Pa.)
Greg Laughlin (D-Tex.)
Richard H. Lehman (D-Calif.)
Raymond J. McGrath (R-N.Y.)
James L. Oberstar (D-Minn.)
David R. Obey (D-Wis.)
Wayne Owens (D-Utah)
Thomas E. Petri (R-Wis.)
John J. Rhodes III (R-Ariz.)

Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.)
Marge Roukema (R-N.J.)
Philip R. Sharp (D-Ind.)
David E. Skaggs (D-Colo.)
Jim Slattery (D-Kan.)
Lamar S. Smith (R-Tex.)
John M. Spratt Jr. (D-S.C.)
Richard H. Stallings (D-Idaho)
Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tex.)
Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.)
Vin Weber (R-Minn.)"

The article entitled "House Votes to Shut, Audit Bank" in the Post on October 4 is as follows:

"Bowling to an outpouring of public outrage, the House yesterday voted overwhelmingly to shut down its private bank and ordered the bank's audit records sent to the ethics committee for an investigation into possible abuses by members of Congress who have bounced thousands of checks on their personal accounts.

"This issue for the last two weeks has pummeled us and, I hope, made us wiser," said Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.). "We are going to take appropriate action: close the bank, reform the system and demand accountability."

In a resolution introduced jointly by Gephardt and Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), the House voted 390 to 8 to order the sergeant-at-arms to "cease all bank and check-cashing operations" at the House Bank as soon as possible, but no later than Dec. 31.

Audit records will be sent by the General Accounting Office to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, more commonly known as the ethics committee, for review.

Finally, the resolution said, if the committee determined that a member "routinely and repeatedly" wrote bad checks, it should "consider an inquiry." The resolution did not stipulate what action would be taken.

The resolution appeared to answer some critics of the House leadership's response to disclosures of the bank's practices, but did not address a second controversy involving about \$300,000 in unpaid debts at the House restaurants.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) told reporters members of Congress should "see those bills paid," but opposed a suggestion made by two members of the House Administration Committee that the offenders' names be posted in the Members Dining Room: "That is an extraordinary thing I'm not ready to endorse."

Yesterday's resolution attempted to accomplish two goals that have eluded House leaders for two weeks: separating the big sinners from the petty transgressors; and doing something to quell persistent and often venomous public demands for a full accounting.

"I wish it was not necessary to be offering this resolution today," Michel said, but he recognized that "it is understandable that the American people look at this [the bank] as an intolerable exercise in arrogance or worse."

Michel admitted that the bank, a tiny facility located on the first floor of the Capitol, had been condoned for decades "as a kind of balancing mechanism for members who got caught short," but "I guess that it has lived its life."

In response to a suggestion by Rep. Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.) that the bank be given "new guidelines" to ensure it ran properly, Michel replied simply that the bank had had guidelines in the past, but "embers have not been able to abide by those rules."

While there had been questions about the bank's practices in the past, the controversy began Sept. 18, when the General Accounting Office, the bank's auditor of record, issued a report saying that House members had bounced 8,331 checks between July 1989 and June 1990 and the bank had covered them.

The GAO said the overdrafts included 581 checks written by 134 members for \$1,000 or more and that 24 members bounced at least \$1,000 in checks for each of the first six months of 1990. In all cases, big or small, the

bank covered the overdrafts without penalty.

Public outcry over what was seen as a special privilege sent House members scrambling to clear their names, or in some case, admit their transgressions. House Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ has issued more than 100 "letters of exoneration" for the innocent, but in many cases has told members they were, in fact, guilty, even though they may not have known it.

The bank's apparently slipshod accounting practices, which included not informing House members of their overdrafts, or fixing a problem without telling them, has prompted a collective and sustained bellow of rage on the House floor.

It has also proved embarrassing to members of both parties, including Foley, who after maintaining earlier that he had never bounced a check, was forced to admit yesterday that a check for \$540 he wrote for a stereo receiver and a CD player Dec. 27 had been held by the sergeant-at-arms for 24 hours for insufficient funds.

Also attempting to clear the air was Rep. Peter H. Kostmayer (D-Pa.), bludgeoned by

Republicans for two days for allegedly having bounced a check for \$23,000. Kostmayer, speaking before the vote on the resolution, said these contentions were "totally untrue," and that he had covered the check with a \$29,000 deposit.

Still, by the time the resolution reached the floor, the bank's reputation had deteriorated to the point where Gephardt referred to it as the "quote unquote bank," while Michel called it "the bank which was never really a bank" and Rep. William M. Thomas (R-Calif.) described it as "a convenience."

"This 'convenience,' which is causing all the uproar, is no longer worth it, frankly," Thomas said, summing up. "We are going to join the rest of the world."

Voting against the resolution were Reps. John A. Boehner (R-Ohio), Ben Jones (D-Ga.), Gus Savage (D-Ill.), Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.), Craig A. Washington (D-Tex.), Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.), and Tom DeLay (R-Tex.).

Left unresolved, however, were two issues raised frequently by the more zealous among the House reformers, particularly a group of freshmen Republicans led first by Rep. Scott Klug (Wis.), who has admitted bouncing two checks, and now by Boehner.

Boehner insisted that his group was not trying to provoke "a witch hunt," and he praised the leadership resolution as "a first step." But he continued to insist on full disclosure of all the check-bouncers, not just the major offenders.

"I'm fearful that [the resolution] is not enough," Boehner said later. "I hope it fixes the problem, but I have my doubts."

He also questioned the ability of the ethics committee to mount a satisfactory investigation. Earlier Klug expressed similar reservations, noting that questions have been raised about members of the committee itself.

The ethic committee, with six Democrats and six Republicans, is the only committee in Congress whose membership is not skewed in favor of the Democratic majority. Under terms of the resolution, it will examine the GAO records from two six-month audits covering the period of the 8,331 bounced checks. It will not go farther back in time, but it will investigate bank operations "to the present."

Another story that appeared in "The Washington Times" on October 4 entitled "Foley admits 1 float, orders ethics probe" is as follows:

"House Speaker Thomas S. Foley announced yesterday that the exclusive House bank would be closed by year's end and admitted that he had floated at least one check himself at the bank last December.

Mr. Foley, Washington Democrat, also said he had agreed to a proposal by House Minority Leader Robert Michel and ordered an investigation by the House ethics committee into abuses - including penalty-free check bouncing - of the bank by lawmakers and employees of Congress.

The speaker's announcement followed a report in the Washington Times yesterday disclosing that Mr. Foley had bounced or "floated" not just one check, but more than 30 over a number of years.

Shortly after Mr. Foley made his announcements, the House approved 390-8 a resolution that would abolish the check-cashing privileges of lawmakers and congressional employees and order the ethics panel - the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct - to begin an investigation of possible wrongdoing.

Representatives opposed to closing the House bank were Democrats Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas, Ben Jones of Georgia, Edward R. Roybal of California, Gus Savage of Illinois, Edolphus

Towns of New York and Craig Washington of Texas. Republicans Tom DeLay of Texas and John A. Boehner of Ohio also voted against it.

During floor debate before the vote, Mr. Michel, Illinois Republican, said that though the bank was a service to members, it had "lived its life."

"Obviously, members have not been abiding by the rules," he said.

Majority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri said the bank's closing was necessary to assure the American people that whatever banking practices are carried out in the House are done as they "would be in any hamlet, any village, and city in the United States for any of our constituents."

Mr. Gephardt also admitted that three of his checks, totaling \$216.28, were submitted to the bank when he had insufficient funds. He blamed the problem on a payee who waited two months before presenting a Gephardt check for payment.

In meeting with reporters before the vote, Mr. Foley said the House also will be "referring to the ethics committee the records of the last two [General Accounting Office] audits of the bank and all of its working papers and requesting the committee to determine if there

were any violations."

The criteria Mr. Foley laid down for the ethics committee to determine whether violations may have occurred should be "significant, substantial and repeated abuses" of the check-cashing privileges that were offered by the House bank, the speaker said.

The GAO, the investigative arm of Congress, released a report last week that said 8,331 bad checks had been written by current and former members of Congress between July 1989 and June 1990.

Members of both the House and the Senate maintain interest-free accounts at the House-operated bank and are not charged for overdrafts. Commercial banks normally charge a fee in such cases.

Mr. Foley, despite repeated calls by House Republicans and a number of rank-and-file Democrats, has refused to release a list of names of lawmakers who were identified by the GAO as having written bad checks during its audit.

Of the 300 or so current and former lawmakers who wrote the 8,331 bad checks, 581 checks were written by 134 members in amounts of \$1,000 or more. Of this total, 24 unnamed members repeatedly had written bad checks

in excess of \$1,000 per month, the GAO reported.

Initially, Mr. Foley sought to brush aside the check-cashing controversy by announcing last week that he would implement new rules barring such practices and procedures at the bank.

The speaker also said that he would not release the names of the offending lawmakers, whether current or past, or any other House employee or member of the news media who had access to the private bank.

Mr. Foley also had told reporters that he had not bounced or floated any checks at the House bank: "No, I do my banking at United States Bank in Spokane, Wash." He said he did have an account at the House bank, "but it's not active."

Yesterday, however, Mr. Foley confirmed that he had bounced a check Dec. 27 in the amount of \$540 for the purchase of a compact disc player and an audio receiver. He said the check was one issued by the House bank, not one from his own bank in Spokane.

"I didn't know the check presented for payment was delayed for 24 hours," Mr. Foley told reporters yesterday.

Among the internal documents reviewed with the GAO in its audit of the bank were computerized

records and other entries showing that Mr. Foley had bounced more than one check.

In fact, according to congressional sources, over a 10-year period Mr. Foley has bounced or floated more than 30 checks - some from the House bank and some from his home-state bank - in amounts ranging from a few dollars to several hundred dollars.

"I'm not going to get involved with that," Mr. Foley told the Times when asked about the bad checks that preceded the GAO audit period of July 1989 to June 1990. "Those were before the audit."

Mr. Foley also had to deal with another legislative fiasco yesterday - the continuing controversy over unpaid tabs of about \$300,000 for food services in the House restaurant.

Mr. Foley said that a suggestion to post the names of an estimated 200-plus members owing food tabs - some going back eight years - is "an extraordinary thing that I'm not ready to endorse."

Still another story that appears in the "Times" entitled 'Why all the fuss?' echoes across the Hill" is as follows:

"The House check-kiting scandal is easy enough for ordinary people to understand, but some

congressmen don't see why anyone should be interested.

In fact, after fielding queries from as many as 14 news organizations, including The Washington Times, USA Today, Roll Call, Scripps Howard News Service and NBC News, some House members and their spokesmen were getting downright huffy.

"Congressman Smith files his personal financial disclosures each year as is required by law," said a statement issued yesterday by Rep. Larry Smith, Florida Democrat. "The press is not entitled to his private banking records, and he is not releasing them."

Peggy Patterson, spokeswoman for Rep. Michael Oxley, Ohio Republican, said the congressman "won't get caught up in the feeding frenzy" by answering questions about his House banking account.

"We don't respond to surveys," said Bruce Cuthbertson, spokesman for Rep. John R. Kasich, Ohio Republican.

One aid tried to wring a little sympathy out of the inquisitors. "Everybody's been calling; it's kind of getting on my nerves," said Nicholette Steube, personal secretary to Rep. Don Young, Alaska Republican.

Some House members condemned the media's priorities.

"No one called about President Bush's nuclear disarmament decision, but everybody is calling about this," complained Rep. Claude Harris, Alabama Democrat. He said the press hoopla had prompted him to close his House bank account.

Dan DuBray, spokesman for Rep. Ron Marlenee, Montana Republican, echoed the thought: "With all the trouble around the country and world, it's unusual every major news organization in Washington is calling about this check business. It's seemingly being blown way out of proportion."

Rep. Kweisi Mfume, Maryland Democrat, told USA today: "I've got 14 press calls today on bounced checks and not one on the situation in Haiti."

One congressman opted for the old counterattack defense. Rob Hartwell, spokesman for Rep. Dick Schulze, Pennsylvania Republican, asked reporters where they banked and if they had ever bounced checks. The flaw in this strategy, of course, is that reporters, like everyone else but House members, pay penalties of as much as \$35 for every check they bounce.

"As a former journalist, I can understand the interest in it [the check-bouncing story]," said Mr. DuBray in Mr. Marlenee's

office. But he said he finds it unfortunate that the abuses of a few have also "cast a light" on non-offenders, so that all House members feel they "have to get a letter proving" they didn't bounce checks at the House bank.

"It's like getting a letter from the principal saying you haven't misbehaved this week," he said.

As bombardment from the press, constituents and talk-show opinion volunteers showed no signs of letting up, at least some House members seemed to be waking up to the possibility that their personal banking practices have become a touchy issue with voters.

Rep. Charles Bennett, Florida Democrat, faxed out an urgent press release yesterday proclaiming that the House bank had certified he was not "among the check bouncers." While thus clearing himself of complicity in "Rubbergate," Mr. Bennett also took the opportunity to plead innocent in the even-later scandal of on-the-cuff dining in the House restaurant (The Tuna Surprise?).

"With regard to the debt accrued by some members in the House restaurant," Mr. Bennett said, "I do not charge meals at the House restaurant and always pay cash, so I have no unpaid balance there."

October 8, 1991

Following the adoption of the resolution which closes our little bank, we now have all kinds of complaints from the media concerning the fixing of parking tickets, haircuts where the proper amount is not charged, parking facilities inside the buildings that are not paid for by the Members, and all down the list with some 25 or 30 other perks that they should be stopped. We have just about reached the point now where we are being driven and acquiescing to the complaints of some that are really enjoying stirring up trouble to the extent that we are not only hurting ourselves, but we are placing Congressional assignments in the House and the Senate in a position where good people do not want to come to Washington. In the District that I represent, I can today name 20 men and women that would come up here and do a good job who under no circumstances are interested and do not intend to come to the District of Columbia with their families and be constantly harrassed and embarrassed.

If my information is correct, the one who really started the stories about the little bank and the cold checks is a member of a family that has considerable authority in the operation of the House, and is one who has been accused now during the past several years of instituting certain changes that have not proven beneficial to the Legislative Branch of the government. Unless there is some change, conditions will be considerably worse than they are now and instead of correcting mistakes and making changes that should be made properly, we are simply running down the road agreeing to everything that is being said and done just hoping that this will stop future criticism and actions to make changes in the operation of our Legislative Branch of the government. The Executive Branch, of

course, is enjoying all of this and the old maxim that we hear from time to time that this is not unusual because it has been going on since the days of Abraham Lincoln is simply not sufficient or acceptable.

October 10, 1991

President Bush yesterday reconfirmed his support of Clarence Thomas, the present nominee for the Supreme Court. He was just a little cautious in his statement since the lady who presently is on the faculty at the University of Oklahoma has made certain accusations against Thomas. Anita Hill, the Oklahoma law professor now says that Thomas harassed her when she worked for him at the Department of Education and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission between the years of 1981 and 1983. Instead of voting on Thomas on Tuesday as planned, the vote was postponed for a week and additional hearings will not be held starting this morning at 10 a.m. on the charges by the black lady from Oklahoma. In addition to Hill, the witnesses before the Judiciary Committee will probably be Susan Hoerchner, a former law schoolmate of Hills at Yale University; American University law professor Joel Paul who said that Hill told him in 1987 that she left the EEOC because she was being harassed by an unnamed supervisor. Regardless of the calls of harassment, this man probably should not be confirmed for the Supreme Court.

A number of candidates for the Supreme Court during the past ten years have had problems and this one is really no exception. Senator Danforth of Missouri is really sponsoring and making every effort to see that Clarence Thomas is confirmed. On television he is right adamant about the qualifications of this man and the fact that now they will try to bring up charges to interrupt the confirmation.

The Riggs National Corporation which is the parent of Riggs National Bank, announced yesterday that it will try to sell more than \$200 million in distressed real estate for the best price it can get--a sort of fire sale--and the bank admits that there will be a record \$61.2 million loss for the three months which ended in September. This bank, along with a great many others now hold mortgages where the property will not bring the mortgage amount. A number of half-filled office buildings must now be sold by Riggs and terrific losses will result. Among the assets to be sold will be a Hilton Hotel in Richmond, Virginia, a shopping center in Gaithersburg, office buildings in the Dulles Airport corridor, and a number of residential holdings in Northern Virginia. The properties will be sold for whatever they can get, and not as a matter of trying to secure the total amount of the mortgage. The economic situation in this country is anything but good and the recession is much deeper than it was a year ago.

October 11, 1991

Hearings will continue today and tomorrow on the Clarence Thomas nomination to the Supreme Court. Ms. Hill from Oklahoma will appear as the witness along with others where we now have sexual harrassment charges. I sincerely believe that if this man Thomas was described on paper with no name used, color or state and only with the description being his background, education, philosophy and general personal habits, he would not be selected by any outstanding lawyer for an assignment to the Supreme Court.

Early this morning, when I arrived in my office, I turned on the television and on CNN there were three women who were making statements concerning their emoloyment with CLarence Thomas at different times and how under no circumstances was there any sexual

harrassment. After looking at these three, I can clearly understand why it didn't take place.

October 15, 1991

Today is judgment day in the United States Senate. After several weeks of hearings, and considerable disturbance and the hearings finally turning into a cheap carnival-style operation, the Senate will now vote on the confirmation of Clarence Thomas for the position of Justice of the Supreme Court. If confirmed, Thomas will take the seat vacated by Thurgood Marshall, the black man who served for many years on the Court. Clarence Thomas is a black man and is presently a Judge on the Circuit Court of Appeals here in Washington. An attorney who is now on the staff of the University of Oklahoma Law School appeared and testified against Thomas maintaining that he sexually harrassed her some 9½ years ago while she was working under his supervision and in the same section of the government with him, and that it was just horrible what he said and tried to do. The language he used according to her is as vulgar as any you have ever heard in your life and all during the hearings, he maintained that not a word of her testimony was true. After making her final statement before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate she voluntarily took a lie detector test and it was given by a gentleman who performed this service for many years for the FBI. After the test was given, this gentleman announced on television and to the media that she had passed without any question. He said she answered every question propounded and her answers, according to the lie detector set-up clearly indicated that she was telling the truth.

I believe that Clarence Thomas will be confirmed on a roll call vote which will

take place at 6 p.m. tonight and that he will receive from 3 to 6 majority. If he wanted to really serve his Country, after all of this filth is poured out and has been seen by at least 100 million on television, he would after being confirmed, turn down the assignment and stay on the Circuit Court of Appeals. As a former prosecutor with some 16 years of experience, I watched both of them carefully when they testified on television and I decided that both were telling part of the truth and both were lying just a little. Later in this Journal, I hope to be able to detail just what I believe took place. After some 9½ years when all of these events were supposed to have happened, she comes forward and says that she was sexually harrassed. Even after the sexual harrassment took place he was in her apartment at one time and she later took him to the airport, and some 10 or 11 telephone calls took place according to the log introduced at the hearings and these were considerably after the period of time when all of the main portion of the sexual harrassment was supposed to have happened.

In walking along the corridor in the Capitol Building this morning on my way back from a breakfast meeting, I met one of my old friends in the Senate and refreshed his memory about a Prayer Room located on the first floor of the Capitol Building. This is a small room with a seating arrangement for about 10 people and a small podium. From time to time on the House side when we have a difficult vote such as the one that will come up in the Senate where regardless of how you vote you do not win, some of us say that we, before voting, go down to the Prayer Room and stay a minute or two. We do this in a jocular manner but I said to the Senator that he should keep in mind that it is open at all times and if he wanted a

little assistance, maybe he could get it there. The speech prepared for Judge Thomas, after all of his testimony before the Committee and with this being the one when he absolutely criticized the Committee because the hearings had turned into a circus and in which he said his rights were not protected and he was treated as an uppity black man who was not entitled to this treatment, was to me a serious mistake. I heard at the time that this speech was cleared through the White House, but not too long after, I heard it was actually prepared in the White House. It went on at great length to show that the Senate and the legislative branch of the government had reached the lowest point in the history of the legislative branch of the government and that the people were absolutely horrified and disgusted. It was one of the most bitter speeches I have ever heard delivered on Capitol Hill.

I go to conference on my bill tomorrow and I hope that during the day or at least before Thursday comes to an end we reach an agreement that will be acceptable by both Houses.

October 16, 1991

Last night the Senate voted 52 to 48 to confirm Clarence Thomas as the 106th Justice of the Supreme Court in a very tense and emotionally charged conclusion to sexual harrassment charges against him. Thomas, 43, who at the present time is a member of the United States Court of Appeals here in Washington will succeed retired Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall and become the second black after Marshall to sit on the nation's highest court. He is a conservative and is expected to reinforce the conservative majority on the court. The margin of victory was much closer than the Republicans had predicted but all of

the tension and disturbance resulting from the sexual harrassment charges by Anita F. Hill, a former aid to Thomas, caused a national uproar. Hill's charges that Thomas harrassed her while she worked for him at the Education Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the early 1980's delayed the confirmation vote by one week and prompted an unprecedented weekend of hearings that held the country spellbound for three long days. The question still remains as to whether or not this man is really qualified to go on the Supreme Court.

We can now turn our attention to the highway and bridge bill, the crime bill, and the conference reports on the balance of our 13 appropriations bills.

October 18, 1991

Clarence Thomas was confirmed on a roll call vote in the Senate to go on the Supreme Court with the vote being 52 to 48. You would assume that it is now over, but it is a long way from being over. In today's Washington papers we have a number of stories about the women in this country who have sounded the alarm for the Judiciary Committee "hit man." The "hit man" at this time, according to the stories is Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, the Republican Senator who carried the White House burden, endeavoring regardless of cost, to get enough votes to confirm Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court appointment. In Pennsylvania, Specter is now considered as "public enemy #2" and is really being criticized for his surgical questioning of Professor Anita Hill during the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings. According to the stories, he is an afront to women and he, along with Orrin Hatch, the Senator from Utah, may be the two now that the women in this country are never going to forget. Both, of course, are lawyers and both have served at times as

prosecutors. Neither, apparently, have learned that you can be an outstanding prosecutor and still be fair and reasonable. The manner in which Hatch questioned Hill was simply outrageous and Specter was not much better.

In the barbershop this morning, I heard, and I believe the story now being circulated on Capitol Hill concerning the Thomas case. A highly respected Member of the House of Representatives learned from one of his reporter friends on "The Washington Post" that evidence had been secured that absolutely confirmed Hill's story in regard to Thomas' videos that Thomas, according to Hill, had described in detail. These videos were of animals having intercourse with women. Apparently the source of the videos was from the standpoint of purchase location and is one of the facts secured that would have tied Thomas into this portion of the testimony, but those in the front office at the Post decided this story should not be published. I believe this story because I know that Thomas lied some and at the same time, told the truth, some. Again, I say that Hill also lied some and told the truth some, but that the main contention in her story, which absolutely shows Thomas unqualified to be on the Supreme Court, is fully sustained.

October 22, 1991

During the hearings on the Iran-Contra matter in the Senate and then later on in the trial of Colonel Oliver North, the question arose many times as to whether or not President Reagan knew what was going on and had agreed to the actions taken. Now that Ollie North is free, with the appeal reversing a guilty decision and with the Special Prosecutor no longer desiring to go back again on a trial, North now says that President Reagan knew all about the Iran-Contra affair. This

must have come as quite a shock to our former President, but it again simply goes back to the fact that Oliver North, as I have said on several occasions, really stretches the truth.

During the past few days another tremendous fire has occurred in the Oakland area of California and as a result of the fire, 14 people have died and the fire destroyed more than 1,000 expensive homes along with four apartment buildings. Some of these homes were a century old and really were beautiful mansions.

October 24, 1991

The Federal Reserve yesterday reported that the American economy is weak and just barely growing in nearly every region of the country. This was quite a gloomy report, but was compiled by the Federal Reserve's twelve regional banks and is the latest in a series raising doubts about the course of the Nation's economy. This is another echo that points to recent statistics showing weakness even in industries that had been moving up earlier such as housing and manufacturing. Retail sales, auto sales and bank lending, all of which have been performing poorly in recent months remained in the doldrums almost all the way across the country. With the polls now showing the economy to be a major concern among voters, prominent figures in both political parties have been urging action to spur on more growth. The Budget Committee Chairman on the Senate side, Jim Sasser of Tennessee, now proposes scrapping key sections of last year's budget agreement to shift funds targeted for defense to cover a one-year tax cut. Tax reduction bills are being introduced in the House and in the Senate and will be brought up before we adjourn this session, which by the way will probably be during the first ten days of December. I have believed December now for sometime, and

according to the whip meeting yesterday, the Speaker notified all of the Deputy Whips that they could plan on being here at least during the first week in December.

October 25, 1991

The President has finally agreed to a civil rights bill. The White House and Senate leaders reached an agreement on the civil rights legislation last night after all kinds of negotiations that were underway for days. The agreement was endorsed by Senator John C. Danforth (R-MO), sponsor of a moderate Republican compromise that had been targeted for a veto as late as Wednesday of this week and by White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu who said it resolved earlier administration concerns that the bill would finally lead to quotas. This breakthrough in agreement followed nearly two years of recriminations, denunciations, unsuccessful negotiations, and veto threats dominated by White House characterization of proposals drafted first by Kennedy and then by Danforth as "quota legislation." The bill would make it easier for workers to win discrimination suits and also would give victims of sex discrimination the right to sue for limited damages. Legislation, according to my understanding today, will include language to resolve the key dispute over how employers may defend themselves against legal challenges when hiring or promotion practices result in disproportionately few women or minorities even if intentional discrimination is involved.

Also this week, the President has come out fighting and who do you suppose he is fighting? It is the Congress of the United States of America. A great many Presidents prior to Bush tried the same tactics and all have failed up to this time. Yesterday, the President cited the "circus and travesty" of

the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings as evidence that Congress is a privileged class of rulers that answers to no one and is so ensnarled in bureaucracy and beholden to special interests that it has lost the nation's confidence. The President's popularity poll really dropped in the last ten days with unemployment throughout the country and in addition, charges of being more interested in foreign affairs than domestic affairs.

October 29, 1991

In Kentucky this past weekend we had a political rally in Owensboro in the Governor's race. There were about 3,000 people in a large tobacco warehouse with barbecue chicken, baked beans, and slaw. All of the candidates for the state ticket were present and it certainly appears without any question that the Lieutenant Governor, Brereton Jones, will be elected Governor and the others on the ticket will go in with him. Larry Hopkins, the Congressman from the Sixth Congressional district, is the Republican candidate and he has had all kinds of difficulty in his campaign. On one occasion he said that he was in the Marine Corps during the Korean War and it turned out that he was not in the Marine Corps until after the war was over. Next, he said he was a graduate of Murray State and upon checking it was ascertained that he was at Murray State long enough to graduate, but did not receive a diploma. His Republican opponent and the campaign manager on the other side in the primary offered him a contribution of \$2,000 if he would release his grades while he was at Murray State. Next, Hopkins said when the little bank here in Washington had to close, that he might have had one cold check. It turns out that the number is more likely 31. All in all, his campaign has slowed down and has come to an almost complete stop. The election is

November 5 and I hope that just for a change, we start moving Kentucky on.

In 1970 we lost a seat in the House of Representatives here in Washington and again under the 1990 census we lose a seat. This brings us down to six Members of Congress in the House and certainly this does not speak well for Kentucky. Unless we improve and go back and gain one or more seats, we could lose another one in the census of 2000, and that then would put us with Arkansas and Mississippi which both have five seats in the House of Representatives. The Democratic candidate, Brereton Jones has ducked and dodged considerably on his income tax reports but still will be the winner, I think and I hope he makes a better Governor than the impression he leaves during his speeches and his campaign tour over Kentucky. For some reason or other this man does not come across as a sincere man.

The Arabs and the Israelis are now plotting by the hour to begin their jockeying which will take place during the Middle East peace conference which convenes on Wednesday of this week in Madrid, Spain. It seems that all sides are genuinely anxious to begin the first face-to-face peace talks among the Jewish state, its Arab neighbors and the Palestinians. They may continue for months, or like the Paris talks on peace in Vietnam which took place two decades ago, for several years. Secretary of State James A. Baker, III has almost performed a miracle in succeeding in bringing all of the different parties together and in arranging such a peace conference.

This man Alan Simpson from Wyoming is really something. He's a Senator who knows everyone and is as affable as they come and a son of a former Governor of Wyoming. It seems now that he has become a little wilder

than usual and considerably more reflective. Apparently he has somewhat turned remorseful over his pious attacks on Anita Hill during the confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. He said himself the other day that he was riding high, a little bit too cocky, arrogant and even too smart at times. This is what he said to 300 men and women Saturday at a Republican fundraiser in Cheyenne, Wyoming. The evening apparently started out as a humorous roast and toast of the Senator, but it took a more somber turn when Mr. Simpson who really angered feminist groups when he suggested that Anita Hill had a crush on Judge Thomas, got up and told the crowd that the last several weeks had been very painful. He said further that he saw some of his previous life's behavior held up to a prism that he had never noticed before through very different eyes--in other words, my old friend Alan Simpson has not only seen the light, but clearly has been affected by the electricity.

October 30, 1991

The question now is when we will adjourn this, the First Session of the 102nd Congress. All of the appropriations bills have passed in the House and the Senate with the exception of foreign aid and defense. We now have our third Continuing Resolution in operation so the Speaker, Tom Foley of the State of Washington, announced that it is time to go home. On Thursday of last week he said at the whip meeting that unless Congress finally adjourns and gets out of town, it will almost destroy itself. The President and Congress are trading all kinds of insults these days and the media is really enjoying it. The little bank is closed and they are complaining about the Members having parking spaces in the buildings and not paying for the spaces and using

the gymnasium and only making a contribution of \$100 each for those who take advantage of the gymnasium. All minor matters when you consider the deficit, the national debt, and the deep recession we are in. Foley, of course, really has nothing to complain about because he is one of the Members who had more than one cold check outstanding at different times in the little bank, and has been accused of a number of things. No leadership on either the House or Senate side and a great many as nervous as possible over the elections which will take place next year. In fact, I have never seen the House or the Senate in the condition they are in at the present time.

The peace conference is underway in Madrid, Spain now and Bush's picture is in all the papers laughing and carrying on with Gorbachev, and neither one of them seem to understand that they and their countries both are in trouble. Here, the economic reports, even though mixed, are not good, and in the Soviet Union Gorbachev has just survived the coup and the people are lined up in the streets trying to buy food with an inadequate supply on hand. The independent states of the Soviet Union are all unhappy and demanding changes that are absolutely impossible at the present time in Russia. Our President seems to be really enjoying himself with his traveling and not being here in Washington having to face the cold facts of life concerning unemployment, the recession generally and our inability to bring the deficit down. We hear about nuclear weapons that are being discussed by Gorbachev and Bush when it is generally understood and known that any money invested now in nuclear weapons should go into health and education.

November 1, 1991

Early this morning I turned on the television and there was our old friend George Bush, shouting and beating the podium at a fund-raising dinner in Houston, Texas. He was really going after the Democrats. A great many Members on the Republican side in the House are really worried over the economic situation in our country, and are telling the President on every opportunity available that he must do something to get this country back on course. The President has just returned from Madrid, Spain, where he received considerable television coverage, and upon returning, was confronted again at the White House by a number of Republican leaders in the House and the Senate, demanding that something be done about the economy. Several Republican Senators have strongly contested races coming up next year, and one is underway at this time in Pennsylvania. Senator Gramm attended the meeting at the White House when demands were made to the President, and in citing the conditions, Gramm said to the President that he had just returned from Pennsylvania where he had made several speeches for the former Attorney General, Thornburgh, who is the Republican candidate to succeed John Heinz, who was killed in a helicopter accident. When Thornburgh first announced, polls showed he would win three to one over a comparatively unknown Democrat by the name of Wofford, a Populist candidate who was just about all the Democrats could offer. None in the House or in the state government with statewide name recognition wanted to take Thornburgh on. Gramm reported to Bush that the race now in Pennsylvania is 50-50 and Thornburgh has a real chance of being defeated, all over the economic situation, with Bush traveling

all around the world cutting ribbons and ignoring the domestic program in this country.

This economic slump is really driving a wedge between the White House and Congressional Republicans. The President's advisors are preaching caution and the House Republicans are pleading for him to enter the political debate over how to spur economic growth. The threat of losing the Pennsylvania seat in the Senate stands out like a sore thumb. The polls do show that Thornburgh has slipped, and as the former Governor of Pennsylvania, is offering no program that would help at this time because the President says everything is very much in order.

At the Madrid peace conference with the Middle East countries, the speeches up to this point have dealt mainly with Arab and Israeli leaders in a face to face confrontation, stressing their deep and historical grievances over territory. The location of the peace conference in Spain has not met with the approval of Israel, and now Syria wants all the bilateral sessions held in Madrid, while Israel is demanding that they be moved to the Middle East, including the Jewish state. Israel's Prime Minister Shamir said that there is no better way to make peace than to talk in each other's home. My guess is that it will be months and months before anything comes out of a peace conference such as this one.

One thing I noticed about the President on television this morning was the color of his hair. They must start shaking the bottle up at the White House. The color of his hair is just a little different than it generally is, and with the Presi-

dent being just 67 years of age, why he is afraid of a few grey hairs, the Lord only knows.

On Monday of next week, the Ronald Reagan Library will be dedicated and attending this ceremony will be five Presidents -- President Bush, former Presidents Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, Jerry Ford and Jimmy Carter. This will probably be the first time in the history of this country that five Presidents ever attended any ceremony. In my office, I have a picture of four Presidents together, and I am in a picture taken in the Oval Office of the White House when John F. Kennedy was President and there are three Presidents in the picture. Mr. Truman just happened to walk into the White House when John F. Kennedy was signing a bill and Lyndon B. Johnson, who was the Vice President and later became President, was standing near me in the picture.

Jerry Ford is there too.
November 4, 1991

On the front page of "The Washington Post" today there is an article entitled "Checkbouncer Stumbles." This article pertains to the gubernatorial campaign of Larry Hopkins (R-Ky.) who is serving in the House of Representatives with us at this time and Brereton Jones, the Democrat candidate who at the present time is Lieutenant Governor. The article goes on to state that finally Hopkins admitted to bouncing some 32 checks with overdrafts totaling \$4,035 at the House bank here in Washington which as a result of the cold checks will close down completely by January 1. The last check on the list of 32 according to the newspaper article that Hopkins gave was an overdraft for payment of his mother's funeral expenses. The article further stated that Hal Rogers, another Republican serving in the House with us from Kentucky had written a column for his weekly

newspapers in which he stated that a few deadbeats had tarnished the reputation of all House Members and that offending lawmakers should not be merely disciplined, they should be fired. Any chance that Hopkins had of defeating Jones really went down the drain the week of the Rogers statement, but this along with overstating his war record and his college graduation when there was no graduation, simply means to me that he cannot win. This apparently is the first check-bouncing casualty and there may be others next year.

Here in Washington at the present time a Louisville Courier-Journal reporter has made up his mind that all of those from Kentucky who have not admitted to having cold checks should obtain a letter from the Sergeant at Arms which indicates that they had never bounced any checks. I have never given a cold check in my lifetime, and none ever with our little bank here in Washington. This reporter has made up his mind that I am going to secure a letter from the Sergeant at Arms which states the fact that I have given no cold checks since Rogers, Bunning, and Mazzoli all ran for cover and secured letters from the Sergeant at Arms. I have received no complaints or inquiries from the people that I represent and I sincerely believe that this is because they know that I would not mislead or lie about any matter, and especially at this time concerning the issuance of cold checks. This weekend in the newspapers here in Washington there were a number of articles criticizing Congress not only from the standpoint of cold checks and the little bank, but criticizing Congress generally due to the fact that some ten or twelve laws had been enacted recently in which Congress had exempted itself. The newspapers point out that Congress is not included in some of these bills that have passed when the bills had nothing whatsoever to do with Congress or the Legislative Branch

of the Government. Generally, the media is really beating up on Congress and it has been this way now for several months. Sununu, the President's Chief of Staff, says the President will run against the Democratic Congress and that this is his best campaign strategy and will be successfully and skillfully used.

Israel and the Arabs held bilateral talks this weekend and it may be that something will come out of this peace conference that will be best for the Middle East. The talks not only include Israel and Syria, but also separate talks were held by Israel and Lebanon. Sunday was really a day of some significance and the Israelis and the Jordan Palestinian groups agreed on a statement saying that their five hours of talks were held in a good and businesslike atmosphere. A peace settlement in this part of the world will save our country billions of dollars every year.

November 5, 1991

I have never seen a vote like the one we had yesterday on the Deposit Insurance and Regulatory Reform Act of 1991. This was the banking bill where the main provision concerned increasing the amount in the FDIC account. On final passage, before two minutes had expired on the electronic voting device we now use in the House, 200 votes had been recorded against the bill. The Chairman of the Banking Committee, Henry Gonzalez of San Antonio, Texas, was on his way up the aisle to one of the doors to work the door when the Members entered, asking for their vote, and he had not reached his station when there were 200 votes against his bill. Before final passage, Gephardt, the Majority Leader spoke in favor of the bill and before he concluded said that unless the bill passed, we would have to stay in Washington until a bill was enacted. The Leadership indicated all

last week that it had very little interest in this bill and at that time all of us in the House that have been here for awhile could see what was happening to the bill. Gonzalez should have moved that the Committee rise and the bill should have gone back to Committee rather than to go down 89 to 324. This bill originally was introduced by the Bush Administration as the cure for the banking industry's problems. After spending nearly five days and over two dozen roll call votes refining the bill, the great majority deserted on final passage. Only six Republican Members in the House voted for the bill and 83 Democrats supported the measure. To a great many Members in the House, the difficult part of the bill was the controversial \$70 billion taxpayer loan to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. All kinds of lobbyists were walking up and down the halls together with hundreds of smalltown bankers who believed that the big banks were out to take them over. Two or three of the controversial provisions of the bill pertained to interstate banking and as to whether or not banks should be permitted to sell insurance and stock.

If another bill is to be brought out before we leave here, this simply means that we will not adjourn this Session of Congress until after Thanksgiving.

The elections are being held all around the country today and in Kentucky, Hopkins, the Republican from the Sixth Congressional District, will almost certainly go down in defeat. All of the tales that he enumerated during the campaign which proved to be anything but true, along with lack of support from his own people, means that even with a light vote, he will really suffer a tremendous defeat.

Yesterday, five Presidents really established a record when they met in Simi Valley, California to assist Ronald Reagan in dedicating the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. Jimmy Carter in his short speech said that under President Ronald Reagan the Nation stayed strong and resolute, and made possible the beginning of the end to the cold war. A band played Hail to the Chief as the Presidents took the stage 11 years to the day after Reagan's election as President. Besides President Bush and and former Presidents Richard Nixon, Jerry Ford, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, participants in the ceremony included a great many Presidential family members such as Lady Bird Johnson and her daughter, Lucy Johnson Turpin; John Kennedy, Jr. and Caroline Kennedy, and a number of relatives of Franklin Roosevelt. A great many motion picture actors and actresses were in attendance and these include Jimmy Stewart, Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Charlton Heston. This Library cost nearly \$57 million and is by far the most expensive of any of the nine Presidential Libraries. It will be operated by the Federal Government and will contain 55 million documents; 1.5 million photographs; 87,000 feet of motion picture film; 20,000 videotapes; 22,000 audio tapes and 75,000 museum objects. Some of the papers will be opened immediately to scholars and others will be released within five years, with the most sensitive documents to be kept secret for as long as three decades. This is a 153,000-square-foot library, two-thirds of which is underground and is built in a Spanish mission style with a red tile roof. It occupies a space that was used for many years as a backdrop for Hollywood westerns in the days when Reagan was a movie star. The 80-year-old Ronald Reagan who always has believed in happy endings, along with his wife Nancy, really succeeded with this project since this particular library had opposition from

faculty members of Stanford University, thereby forcing the Library Foundation to abandon its original site. Simi Valley is 40 miles west of Los Angeles and is more appropriately Reagan country than Stanford. Not far from the gravesites which will be used at the Library for the burial location of Ronald and Nancy Reagan, there is a 6,000-pound segment of the Berlin Wall that Reagan called at one time "a hated symbol of an evil empire that spied on and lied to its citizens, denying them their freedom, their bread, and even their faith." This is quite a Library and may never be surpassed since a number of decisions have been made recently concerning libraries and especially those of former Presidents.

November 6, 1991

In the elections yesterday we had a number of major upsets. The Democratic candidate for the Senate in Pennsylvania won and defeated the former Governor Dick Thornburgh who resigned as Attorney General of the United States to make the race. Mr. Wofford was appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania to take the seat vacated as a result of the death of John Heinz in the helicopter accident and he is the first Democrat elected to the United States Senate in nearly 30 years from the State of Pennsylvania. With 72% of the states' precincts reporting, Wofford had 1,332,950,000 votes or 58% and Thornburgh had 1,022,612, or 42%. This was not only a defeat for the Republican party in Pennsylvania, but was a severe blow to President Bush who had backed and urged Thornburgh to resign as Attorney General and make the race.

In Kentucky Lieutenant Governor Brereton Jones won with about 66% of the vote over Republican Congressman Larry Hopkins of Lexington. Hopkins made all kinds of mistakes

during the campaign and his 32 cold checks at the little bank here in Washington was just enough to destroy him completely.

Today, we put on our conference report for the Departments of Labor, Health & Human Services and Education, and we really have a fight going on the "Gag" rule. The First Amendment rights of doctors and others are very much involved and if we can put 290 votes on the board for the Conference Report, we will have enough to override an expected veto by President Bush.

On the front pages of all the papers now we read about the trial of William Kennedy Smith, the nephew of Ted Kennedy who is charged with sexual assault. Ted Kennedy is very much involved since it took place at the West Palm Beach, Florida Kennedy estate and Kennedy was present the night of the big party. Under the question of the defense attorney for Smith, for some reason or other Ted Kennedy is very much in the picture and has been repeatedly described as a drunk and a womanizer.

A real mystery has developed with the discovery of the body of Robert Maxwell, the billionaire who built a global newspaper and communications empire. He was found dead yesterday in waters off the Canary Islands. Officials say that he apparently fell from his luxury yacht. The 68-year-old publisher disappeared from the yacht while taking a week-long rest after being accused by an investigative journalist of having close links with the Israeli secret service. Members of his family identified his body and the mystery continues on.

November 7, 1991

After several hours of general debate yesterday, we finally passed the Conference

Report on our bill. On a roll call vote on approval, the vote was 272 to 156. This is short the number required to override a veto and as we have known for days now, the President will veto this bill because it contains the "Gag" rule provision which he construes as a straight up and down abortion vote. The pro-life people in the House have come down in the last five years from 204 roll call votes to 156. I hoped that we would bring this down and finally override the President's veto on the matter of abortion in our bill. It should not be in this bill and it would really be appreciated if they would bring up a separate bill and vote it up or down in the House and in the Senate.

The Senate voted on our bill this morning and the vote was 72 to 25. This is a sufficient number to override the President's veto and now we shall wait and see what the leaders decide upon.

The President is in Rome today and during the one-minute speeches, a great many Members called attention to another foreign trip abroad and begged him to come home and face the problems confronting our people. Unemployment, loss of jobs and the economy generally are the issues we hear the most about in Washington and when the President returns, I presume he will again start bashing the Congress. In the Presidential election this year, I guess this will be what we will hear the most about.

November 12 , 1991

So far, the President has not vetoed our bill, but we expect a veto any day now. Regardless of the outcome, this is one the President will have to live with and certainly can gain nothing politically by vetoing the bill.

This past week, we read about "Magic" Johnson, the outstanding professional basketball player who at a press conference, admitted that an examination for an insurance policy developed the fact that he has tested positive for the HIV virus and he has resigned as one of the players for the Los Angeles Lakers. He was making millions of dollars a year, and with some \$11 million to \$12 million in addition for television commercials, this announcement really caused consternation all over the country. He has only been married a short time and his wife is pregnant, but he says that tests are negative as far as his wife is concerned. This man is one of the best basketball players we have ever seen in this country and after making his announcement shortly thereafter said that it was a matter of heterosexual sex and that he is not a homosexual. This is some revelation, but still clearly shows why it is that thousands are infected in this country every month. The next stage of this is Aids and so far, we have no cure or drug that prevents the second stage from taking place.

The President, in the poll released last week, dropped down 5 percentage points and it may be that the domestic problems with constant cries for the President to stay at home are taking affect.

November 13, 1991

The President is really mad and in his fundraising speeches now across the country, he continues to blast the Democrats. While making his trips abroad and many of those since he has been President, the Democrats in the House and in the state organizations around the country have been calling on him to come home and take care of domestic affairs. He said last night in a fundraising speech in New York that he did have a domestic policy and this morning the Democrats are asking him

what it is. For the first time in months now, I believe that they can make a real run at Bush and defeat him unless the economy and unemployment changes rapidly for the better.

In his speech in New York last night, he attacked bitterly Congressional critics of his foreign travels and also appeared to attack Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of personally triggering the recession. He went on to say in his speech that each time America answered the call, America advanced the cause of freedom and by virtue of this, America stands today as the world's preeminent power. He then enumerated policy victories in the Soviet Union, eastern Europe, Panama and the Persian Gulf. He took more shots at the Democrats last night than in any of his speeches since he has been President and clearly shows that he is really mad. He continues to maintain that he does have a domestic policy and that this is the way it should be with the leader of our country. He said that maybe he should stop traveling quite so much because he did not feel comfortable in leaving Congress "home alone."

An unusual race will take place in Louisiana on Saturday with the Duke and Edwards runoff. Duke is a Republican who is a former KKK member and a member of the Louisiana Legislature and Edwards is a former Governor who was indicted in Federal Court and after a long, bitter trial, finally was acquitted. It is really tit for tat here, but according to the media, Duke has a chance to win. It seems that the white people in Louisiana have just had enough and they might put this man Duke right into office.

I do believe that Congress should adjourn next week if at all possible. The appropriations bills should all be taken care of and any emergency matters and just go home. I don't recall this much bitterness at any time

since I have been a Member of Congress.

November 14, 1991

President Bush has vetoed 23 bills since he has been in office and it would be right nice if the first override would come on my bill. The vote for the Conference Report was 272 to 156 which, of course, is short as far as an override is concerned, but a great many people are now working to muster the two-thirds necessary to override when he vetoes the bill on Tuesday of next week. The White House has been dragging its feet on this bill for days now, hoping to place it in the week when the House is supposed to adjourn for this session, thereby gaining something that I do not know about. The health organizations, education organizations, the women in this country and a whole lot of people are very much concerned over the fact that all of the health money, education money and money for job training partnership, summer youth employment and job corps facilities would go down the drain just because the words are in the bill, placed there in full Committee on a roll call vote, that provides for setting aside the Supreme Court's "gag" rule. The Supreme Court's decision sustained a state court that held that no federal funds could be used to pay doctors or counselors who advise teenagers or women concerning their pregnancy or conditions generally providing for pregnancy assistance. This is really a First Amendment violation as far as the doctors are concerned and for the first time of the 23 vetoes, I think we have a chance to override.

We have finally agreed upon an extension of the unemployment benefits legislation and benefits could be extended an additional 20 weeks. The present limit is 26 weeks for unemployment benefits and some states will

receive 13 additional weeks, others 20 weeks and still others only six weeks. Kentucky is one of the six-weeks states and this is based entirely upon the number of weeks approved by the state in its unemployment provisions of the law. California would get 20 weeks because their law provides for this period of time and Kentucky, Louisiana and a number of other states would only get six additional weeks.

Yesterday we passed the Family and Medical Leave Act which provides for 12 weeks for women who are off work to have children with no pay involved, but at least protection for their job at the end of 12 weeks. The part of the bill that is objectionable to the President provides that members of a family who have to be off for twelve weeks to assist in cases of severe illness or where a wife has recently had a baby and the husband's services are necessary. This is the part that really sets off the President and another veto may take place. This bill was vetoed last year.

The election in Louisiana is really something. The former Ku Klux Klan member David Duke and the former Governor Edwin Edwards are really in a dead heat and Duke may win.

November 18, 1991

Full-page ads are appearing in the newspapers over the country calling upon the House of Representatives to override President Bush's proposed veto of the Labor, Health & Human Services, and Education Appropriations Bill. The vote appears to be very close and can go either way.

The "Business" section of The New York Times and other newspapers this past weekend called attention to the advice now being given for investors who buy, among

other things, some gold. In 1980 the price of gold was \$671.50 per ounce and today it is \$359.50 per ounce. Either price is tremendous and considerably more than when some of my friends were buying gold coins and collections back in the 1950's and 1960's. A gold coin collection put together back in the 1960's that cost \$75,000 is today worth between \$750,000 and \$850,000.

While in Kentucky this past weekend, I met a number of people who inquired as to where Bush was traveling now. It seems that he travels all around the world when the going gets rough and especially when matters concerning the domestic program in this country are before the Congress. The election next year may be really something because the people apparently are following this administration much more closely than we here in Washington have thought was taking place.

Now, the Poindexter conviction has been reversed in the courts. The U.S. Court of Appeals on Friday of last week reversed the conviction of retired Rear Admiral John Poindexter, the only official sentenced to prison in the Iran-Contra probe. Lt. Col. Oliver North's conviction was overturned on the grounds that testimony used to convict him had been covered by a Congressional grant of immunity. The ruling in the Circuit Court of Appeals in the Poindexter case was a two to one vote. Overturning North placed Poindexter in line where his conviction had to be overturned and at the same time Oliver North will go down in history as being one of the biggest liars that has testified before a Congressional committee. This investigation has cost the Federal Government over \$25 million and the Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh has reached the point where he is at a dead end as far as going forward in any way concerning this Iran-Contra probe.

November 20, 1991

The House yesterday affirmed the ban on abortion advice and President George Bush wins again. This was his 24th veto since he has been President and none have ever been overridden. Our effort to override failed by 12 votes. The President had all of the Republican members that would come down to lunch at the White House yesterday just before we started the override vote and those on Sununu's staff were really passing the word that anyone of them that left the President was dead in the water. The Republicans did better than the Democrats as far as the final outcome is concerned. The roll call vote was 276 to 156. We picked up only two votes over the number that we secured at the time the Conference Report was adopted and if the ten or eleven, including the four full Committee Chairmen had voted as indicated, we would have won. The four Committee Chairmen who voted against the Democrat party and against the leadership in the House were Sonny Montgomery, Chairman of Veterans' Affairs; Bob Roe, Chairman of Public Works; Kika de la Garza, Chairman of the Agriculture Committee and John LaFalce, Chairman of the Small Business Committee. These are the four according to the leaders in the House who had better walk carefully from now on.

Every so often "The Washington Post" comes out with an editorial that really says it all. In this morning's paper, the top editorial was entitled "The Pro-Gag Rule President." This editorial is as follows:

"Yesterday the House failed to override the president's wrongheaded veto of the Labor, Education and HHS appropriations bill. The massive spending bill, which contained funds for such important and

popular programs as medical research, aid to education and assistance to the elderly and unemployed, was killed because of a single provision involving abortion counseling in federally funded family planning clinics.

The president rejected the arguments of those who maintained that poor women who use these clinics must be given full medical advice about their conditions, including advice about the abortion option. The House vote means that enforcement of the infamous 'gag rule' prohibiting such discussions between women and health workers, which had been suspended during extensive litigation and congressional consideration, will now begin. This policy reverses two decades of understandings: No federal money would be used to perform abortions except to save the life of a mother, but advice and referrals would be available in family planning clinics.

The White House may rejoice in this victory today, but the issue of the government's role in the reproductive rights area will not go away. President Bush has overridden large majorities in both houses that voted to allow the District of Columbia to use its own money to pay for abortions for the poor and to allow U.S. service-women and dependents serving abroad to obtain abortions at

their own expense in military hospitals. He refused to sign legislation to restore full U.S. participation in international family planning efforts and also vetoed a bill that would have provided abortion funding for poor women who were the victims of rape or incest. That's a terrible record to have to defend at the polls.

Before the vote yesterday, New York Rep. Bill Green reminded his fellow Republicans that abortion rights will be a powerful election issue. 'I can think of no greater favor to George Bush,' he said, 'than to vote to override and get this sorry business behind us.' This week's veto was coldhearted and unnecessary, since signing the bill could easily have been justified on free speech grounds alone. Mr. Green offered good advice. Next year, the president may regret that his supporters in the House did not take it."

November 21, 1991

Finally, the Senate Ethics Committee decided to reprimand Senator Alan Cranston (D-Ca.) Senator Cranston immediately addressed the Senate and said he had done nothing worse than many of his colleagues have done and this really stirred up some considerable trouble. The investigation of the "Keating Five" case finally resulted in reprimand of only one and that was Cranston of California. The others were Dennis Deconcini of Arizona, John Glenn of Ohio, John McCain of Arizona, and Don Riegle of Michigan.

Cranston was treated awfully nice and should have been well-pleased. Senator Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H) said he could not leave unchallenged the statement that Cranston made that others had done as much or more and then said that it is just not true that all of the Senate or any number of them had committed the same type of offense as Cranston.

Today, I called my bill back up again since we failed to override the veto and I received unanimous consent approval to bring it the first thing in the morning. No amendments, no points of order and the "gag rule" to come out, and the bill will then be sent back to the Senate. From there it will go to the President and this time he should sign it without any trouble.

November 26, 1991

We are now winding up the First Session of the 102nd Congress and if everything works well we should adjourn sometime early Wednesday morning. There are a number of major bills that are in conference where it appears that the conferees are deadlocked, so several of these bills will pass over until the Second Session of this Congress. The President is traveling again and yesterday he was in Columbus, Ohio speaking to a school audience on "America 2000." This is a program he and his new Secretary of Education have devised that will help education, he says. Shortly after he spoke to a number of teachers, Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts answered the President here in Washington on television and started out by saying that what the President said was not true and he knew it was not true--right strong language this late in the session, but anyway there is a lot of bitterness on Capitol Hill.

The economy is no better and the election for President is next year.

Yesterday, the President said he would veto the crime bill unless it was presented to him in the form that he approves of, and this may not take place. There was a foul up at the White House this week as to quotas in the crime bill and since the President maintains he is against a quota system, the memo issued from the White House placed him on the other side and then it appeared that Sununu, the Chief of Staff would be fired. The President corrected this within a matter of hours and said that Sununu remains as his Chief of Staff.

The highway and bridge bill is deadlocked in conference and it may not come out before we leave. In the Supplemental that we now have in conference, it developed last night while sitting around the conference table in the Mansfield Room that the Soviet Union is in the defense appropriation section of the bill for \$500 million. This is a \$500 million program whereby the Soviet Union will purchase food and grain in this country. The Soviet Union is having all kinds of trouble obtaining enough food for their people and with the many changes in the government, the leaders, Gorbachev and Yeltsin may be out before the winter is over. Seven of the Soviet republics are still balking at a union pact which would keep the republic together.

The President announced on Friday of last week that he would submit in his State of the Union message in January or February to Congress a proposal which would assist our people during this recession period. This is a promise in the future and the situation becomes more serious each day. The latest poll shows that 25% of the people in this country believe the President's eco-

conomic policies are good. The test of the matter is the gross national product and the fact that here we are almost to Christmas and the large stores in this city and throughout the United State are not selling much merchandise.

December 2, 1991

We finally adjourned the First Session of the 102nd Congress on Wednesday, November 27 at 7:03 p.m. Before adjournment we started on Tuesday at 10 a.m. and ran until adjournment with no sleep in the meantime. It seems that we always do this just before we adjourn a Session of Congress.

During this Session we passed the Civil Rights Act of 1991. This Act overturned several Supreme Court decisions which have severely weakened our civil rights laws and in addition, expands civil rights protections for women, the disabled, and religious minorities. We also passed the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act, with this bill providing additional weeks of benefits of at least 13 weeks in all states and 20 weeks in states with higher unemployment rates. The present number of weeks that unemployed can draw is 26 weeks. Today, we have about 8.6 million Americans, or 6.8% of the labor force unemployed. About 1.1 million others have given up looking for work because they believe no jobs are available and about 5.5 million others are working part-time. We also passed the Family and Medical Leave Act with this bill providing up to 12 weeks of unpaid job protection leave per year for the birth or adoption of a child or the serious illness of an immediate family member. It exempts small businesses with less than 50 employees and permits employers to exempt their highest paid employees from coverage. We also passed the Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1992. This Act fully funds a 4.2% pay raise for mili-

tary personnel and authorizes expenditures of about \$291 billion. A number of veterans' benefits bills were passed during this past year.

President Bush dropped 12 percentage points in the last national poll and this is really down from the 80% that he achieved following the Persian Gulf 100-hour war. He is below 50% now and may go still lower. Economic growth under the Bush Administration has been the slowest of any administration since World War II. The Bush Administration has run up budget deficits at the fastest rate in history.

In addition to the bills mentioned above we finally passed the highway and bridge bill which authorizes \$151 billion in projects and at a minimum will place a little over two million people working again. This may be the best bill that we passed during the entire session.

On Saturday, December 7 we will have the 50th Anniversary of Pearl Harbor and a number of Members of Congress are leaving tomorrow to attend the ceremonies. In fact, only four of us really qualify in the House from the standpoint of service beginning in 1941 and extending through the war, and they are Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi; Bob Stump of Arizona; Bernie Dwyer of New Jersey, and me. Our new Governor is inaugurated on Tuesday, December 10 and for this reason it will be impossible for me to attend the Pearl Harbor ceremony in Hawaii.

In the Defense Appropriation Subcommittee portion of the last Supplemental for Fiscal Year 1991 we have the sum of \$500 million. \$400 million is to be used to bring about the destruction of nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union and \$100 million which is for administration and expenses generally. It

seems that there are 30,000 nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union and 12,000 of them are pointed at the United States. Of course, it is in our Nation's interests to see that these weapons are destroyed and the Soviet Union has agreed to dismantle 15,000 tactical nuclear weapons. This is a slimmed down version of the \$1 billion aid package demanded by the Soviet Union which failed in Congress two weeks ago. The excuse is good and so far, very little reaction has resulted in the expenditure of this \$500 million in the Soviet Union.

December 4, 1991

I go down to Kentucky tonight and will remain in my district until January 3. On the third we meet in the House and then unless there is some legislative proposal which will be of assistance with the deep recession we are in, we will then recess until January 23 when the Second Session of the 102nd Congress convenes. The recession is no better and President Bush is traveling all around this country trying to establish the fact that he is interested in the 50 States in our Union after traveling all around the world on many occasions.

The former Governor of New Hampshire John H. Sununu resigned yesterday as Chief of Staff at the White House. He ends a stormy three-year tenure as President Bush's most powerful advisor on domestic policy and politics. In a handwritten letter of resignation abruptly given to reporters after Bush had finished making a speech in Meridian, Mississippi, Sununu, who had accompanied him, said he did not want to become a political negative for the President and a drag on his chances for re-election. It was only two weeks ago that Sununu said he expected to remain as Chief of Staff through Bush's entire term and run the

re-election campaign from the White House. To let Sununu down easily, the President has named him to the post of Counsellor to the President until March to help in the transition period and then will leave the government. The President says that he will soon have a new Chief of Staff and the word is out here in Washington now that the Secretary of Transportation, Samuel K. Skinner, will be named to that post.

Several days ago Bush's son had a heart-to-heart talk with Sununu and according to the media explained to Sununu that he should go.

The new Governor in Kentucky, Brereton Jones, will be inaugurated on Tuesday of next week and I plan on attending the ceremony. A special session of the legislature will be called shortly after the inauguration and we will then have a redistricting of Kentucky's Congressional seats, along with the House and State Senate seats. One district in Kentucky will be lost and all of us will have a number of new communities. We have to go up to about 612,000 from 520,000 by virtue of losing the Congressional seat.

December 23, 1991

We adjourned the First Session of the 102nd Congress on November 27. During the year we passed a number of bills that should be of assistance to us at this time. Some of the major bills we passed were the Surface Transportation Bill which provides for \$151 billion in authorizations for highways, bridges, and rapid transportation. According to our figures, some 41% of the roads in this country are in dire need of repairs and in addition, we should complete the interstate highway system. Another bill that we passed that of course, is absolutely necessary at this time is the unemployment benefits payment bill. At the present time unemployment

benefits is for 26 weeks with Trust Fund money used and with 8% unemployed, a great many people have drawn their 26 weeks and are still unemployed. This bill provides that all states shall have at least 13 weeks additional unemployment benefit payments in addition to the 26 weeks and in the larger states where there is more unemployment the number of weeks may go as high as 20.

We passed a crime bill which provides for over 50 new federal crimes where the death penalty may be imposed. As I have said before this pertains mainly to drug violations. We also passed a campaign finance reform bill which is only fair. It does not go far enough to really do any good. The Civil Rights Bill of 1991 provides for additional remedies for women and those disabled. The Family and Medical Leave act provides for 12 weeks of unpaid job protection leave per year for those who give birth to a child or who are in the process of adopting children. In addition, the legislation provides for illness in the family for the 12-week period.

The defense authorization bill required months and months, but was finally enacted with the total amount being \$291 billion. In addition, we passed 12 of our appropriations bills with only foreign aid remaining under the Continuing Resolution and going over into the new year. My bill passed after a veto which was handed down by the President when the "gag" rule provision was incorporated.

During the year we have seen the Soviet Union completely collapse and now Gorbachev is on his way out. This man brought about a change in the Soviet Union which would place the 13 independent states and Russia in a position to join the free nations of the world. He has lost control now and Yeltsin, the President of Russia, seems to have taken

over. Eleven of the 13 independent states have joined a loose federation with Russia, the lead state, and with the army and the nuclear weapons still undecided. Some 27,000 nuclear weapons scattered throughout five of the independent states and with us and all of the rest of the world watching to see what takes place.

The Russian flag will fly alone over the Kremlin and the Soviet Union will come to a complete halt by the end of this year. Yeltsin is now requesting admission of Russia to the United Nations Organization.

During the recess period while I have been in Kentucky, the Kentucky Legislature has redistricted the state, not only the State House and State Senate, but the congressional districts. The census of 1990 provided that we lost a seat in the Congress and of course, this is not good. The legislature, in a special session with the Senate acting first, brought out a bill placing Chris Perkins of the 7th District and Hal Rogers of the 5th District into the same Congressional District. Here, we would have the reduction of one seat. Chris Perkins is the son of Carl D. Perkins and has had his problems since he has been a Member for the past six years. The Senate bill provides for one mountain district instead of two, and with Perkins receiving 55% of the district by registration of democrats and Rogers 45% Republicans. Rogers hoped that this plan adopted in the Senate almost unanimously, would then receive the same treatment in the House. In the House, a move was made to make two districts out of the mountains and to place Rogers' home county of Pulaski in my District--a move which would have immediately brought on a federal suit in federal court and with the plan set aside. I decided that it was time for me to take some action and for a matter of about two days I did and

finally the House adopted the Senate plan. Perkins, of course, is unhappy because he wanted Rogers scratched up as much as possible by removing his home county and now with a race between these two men a certainty.

The district approved under the Special Session and signed into law by the Governor gives us a number of new counties. We lose Simpson and Allen Counties and we pick up Metcalfe, Green, Taylor, Casey, 50,000 plus in southwestern Jefferson County, a small slice of Lincoln and a smaller slice in Adair. This brings the total up to about 614,000, the number of people necessary in each of the new Congressional districts under the national census.

We start out in our District with a number of problems that we inherit, but I believe we will be alright. One is the pollution of Lake Cumberland according to some, resulting from surplus material pumped into Lake Cumberland from the Union Underwear plant in Taylor County. This is a dye water situation and has been going on now for two years. The outgoing state administration did not decide the problem and simply left it up in the air. This is one that we will inherit and it is not a good one. Many problems will be presented from Jefferson County but those in Jefferson County who are concerned about their county and joined with me in my request that Pulaski County remain in the new mountain district and that the 50,000 in Jefferson come over to our side will join with me. Along with Ron Mazzoli who represents the City of Louisville and the balance of Jefferson County, we should accomplish some things for the county that will help Kentucky with the next census in the Year 2000. A number of Jefferson County officials, including the Mayor of Louisville were on the telephone for hours with the legislature when it appeared that the plan

to place Pulaski County which has 49,000 people in our District, in exchange for the 50,000 in Jefferson County, was before the Legislature.

We return to Washington for one day on January 3, 1992 and then unless some plan is before the Congress that will help with the recession we will then recess until January 22. The situation in this country is not good today and compares favorably I think with what we had during the years 1928-1933. The President has stopped traveling around the world a little and finally has admitted that the recession in this country is really serious. The Presidential race will be fought on the basis of the recession and the situation we are in now from the standpoint of the rest of the world. Instead of trying to resolve all of the problems in the Soviet Union and other places around the world, we better start at home. This is all the people in Kentucky are talking about today and they are just waiting to see if something takes place before the Presidential election. If the situation remains as it is today, our old friend George Bush has it cut out for him. Governor Cuomo of New York stated last week that he would not be a candidate and this now gives us on the Democratic side the Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton; the Governor of Virginia, Doug Wilder; the Senator from Nebraska, Bob Kerrey; the Senator from Iowa, Tom Harkin; the former Senator from Massachusetts, Paul Tsongas, and the former Governor of California, Jerry Brown... more fun and I do hope that the New Year brings the best of everything to everyone in this country.

January 3, 1992

Today we meet and finally adjourn, sine die, the First Session of the 102nd Congress. We then go into session on the Second Session

of the 102nd Congress and after the usual procedural orders are adopted providing for the operation of the House during another recess period, we will recess and go into pro forma sessions until the President's State of the Union message which has now been designated to take place on January 28. The budget is supposed to arrive about that time but I understand today that it will be some 10 days late. The President has promised to outline certain proposals which will be of assistance to us with the deep recession we are going through when he delivers his State of the Union message. I presume that he will continue with his requests concerning capital gains, investment credit, and excise tax extension.

As I have said before, very few major bills were enacted during the First Session of the 102nd Congress, but at least we passed all of the appropriations bills with the exception of foreign aid which is now being carried in a Continuing Resolution and will go over into the month of February, 1992.

The Soviet Union is still in turmoil and Yeltsin has finally corralled some eleven of the independent states and a loose confederation has been formed. He has the trigger and the code for the 27,000 nuclear weapons that are scattered throughout four of the independent states with most of them directed toward the United States. This is a right serious matter at this time and one that our State Department and Department of Defense are working on around the clock.

Competition all around the world is right severe at this time and we continue with a tremendously large deficit in balance of payments. Japan is not as plush as they would like for you to believe and West Germany, along with east Germany, making a full Germany, is having to spend all of its time

to compete with other countries around the world. Unemployment in this country is about 8.9% today and we are in need of thousands of jobs. We are not fighting over food supplies as they are every minute in the Soviet Union at the present time, but the American farmer is not receiving a fair share of the national income.

During the recess period, the Kentucky Legislature redistricted Kentucky since we lost a seat under the 1990 census. I have to give up Simpson and Allen Counties and keep all of the rest of the counties in the present Second Congressional District. The new redistricting plan which has been signed into law by our new Governor Brereton Jones gives us 50,722 in Jefferson County, either 2,000 or 4,000 (the figure is right unsettled at this time) in Lincoln County, 39 people in Adair County--a right unusual method of obtaining the correct number for each Congressional District. In addition, we pick up Metcalfe, Green, Taylor, and Casey Counties. Casey County is the home of the outgoing Governor of Kentucky, Wallace Wilkinson, and he is delighted that this mountain county is now in our Second Congressional District. All in all, we were fortunate with our District and should be able to manage without too much trouble. Chris Perkins who is serving in the seat of his father who died in 1985 was placed in the District with Hal Rogers. Rogers had the Fifth District and Perkins the Seventh District, with both being mountain districts. Here is where most of our loss was with the population figures so the votes in the Kentucky Legislature were so grouped that these were the two Members that were placed together. Each of them wanted the Lexington District chopped up into several pieces and placed into the District of the 4th District of Kentucky.

This past weekend Larry Hopkins, the Representative of the Lexington District,

which was designated as the Sixth District announced that he would not run for re-election. This was expected since he lost every county in Kentucky in the Governor's race in November, including every county in his own Congressional District. A Republican Member of the House of Representatives, while serving here he served on the Armed Services Committee and the Agriculture Committee. Armed Services is the authorizing Committee and we have Fort Knox and Fort Campbell under the jurisdiction of this Committee. A great many more military reservations will come under closure orders within the next five years and we had all better watch Fort Knox carefully. In addition, Hopkins, in serving on the Agriculture Committee was the Ranking Minority Member on the Subcommittee on Tobacco. Every county in Kentucky with the exception of one produces tobacco so Hopkins' two committee assignments are right important as far as our state is concerned. I do hope that the new Member from Lexington will at least stay on the Agriculture Committee and if possible, win both seats held by his predecessor.

President Bush is still traveling. For the past 10 days he has been in Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, along with some 20 outstanding business and labor leaders in this country, making every effort to help us with our trade relations in that part of the world, hoping for the sale of more of our goods which would bring about more jobs for our people. According to the media, he has been anything but successful, but at least he has made the attempt.

I look forward to serving in the Second Session of the 102nd Congress and I am looking forward to serving more years in the Congress. I am now number 4 in seniority in

the House and number 2 on the Appropriations Committee. In the Congress I am number four since only one Senator outranks me and he is Robert Byrd of West Virginia. It takes a long time to travel the road that I have traveled, but I have been fortunate as I have traveled this road.

January 8, 1992

President Bush has just about completed his tour of a number of countries where he made a strong plea for better trading relations. For instance in Japan, the balance of payment deficit as far as our country is concerned is \$43 billion a year. Starting out with New Zealand, Australia, and South Korea, he and Mrs. Bush, along with some 20 businessmen and the media landed in Japan. Last night at a state dinner given by the Prime Minister, with all of the important Japanese officials present (with the exception of the King), President Bush at the banquet table suddenly became violently ill to his stomach and then slumped out of his chair to the floor. When he finally sat up, he was very much in a disheveled condition. His doctor traveling with him ran around the table to examine him to determine if it was a heart attack, and announced that it was a severe stomach upset. He was taken to one of the hospitals in Japan and only remained a short time and then was returned to the American Embassy where he spent the night. Mrs. Bush, when an inquiry was made as to what caused the illness said that she knew the answer to that question. That afternoon, she said, the President and the American Ambassador played a very vigorous game of tennis and the President lost. Mrs. Bush said that the fact he lost upset his stomach. I do hope the President has accomplished something but judging from the news following his visits, apparently not too much is being accomplished. Japan, for instance,

through the Prime Minister said that they were praying for America, that we would finally overcome the severe recession we are in and that their prayers are with us. This is a little unusual--Japan praying for our country, and unless the President has something to show for his 15 days of traveling I think we should take a hard look at what these countries are doing to us from the standpoint of keeping out our exported goods.

Our Democratic candidates are making a run around the U.S. and are all in New Hampshire this week. Tom Harkin, a real populist of the first order has been saying what a lot of people once said in regard to taking care of the rich at the expense of the poor and with more jobs needed along with too much foreign aid spent abroad. Statements that meet with the approval of a lot of people, but not the kind that win elections. The labor leaders now within the last four or five days, have decided that that kind of populist explanations are not enough and that the best thing for the Democrats to do is to get behind Governor Clinton of Arkansas. This really got to Harkin when it was told to him yesterday. He said he had always worked hard for the working men and women in this country and he was really shocked that the leaders of the labor unions would take this position. Not enough power still on our side and so at the Democratic National Convention in New York City, the leaders had better take another good hard look.

January 15, 1992

Gorbachev is out and an agreement has been reached whereby he will be given some sort of an assignment as one of the advisors to the loosely constructed union of independent countries and Russia. His compensation in rubles is not high, but at least it will

be sufficient for he and Mrs. Gorbachev to utilize at this time. Quite a fall, but at least a brave attempt to bring the Soviet Union into the Twentieth Century. It now appears that the Soviet Union for many years has really been a "Third World" country, but a major power as far as the military is concerned. Keeping up with us in nuclear weapons and modern military equipment was just too much for the Soviet Union.

People are marching in the streets in Moscow at this time calling for the resignation of Yeltsin because his plan for the sale of commodities is not working. The raising of the cost of food products has brought about the cost for necessities which are considerably out of line at this time. The division of the Army and the Navy among the countries where most of the military was stationed is not complete at this time and is a serious problem along with control and protection of the 27,000 nuclear weapons scattered throughout four of the countries.

The new Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander is having all kinds of problems in his attempt to make George Bush the "Education President." America 2000 is not working and is a 180 degree turn from the position that Bush and Reagan have assumed all down through the years in regard to the Department of Education and education in general. For over five years, President Reagan attempted to do away with the Department of Education and if Bush was in any other position other than that of President we never hear about it on Capitol Hill. This is a good election-day issue and we will hear more about it as we go along in the Presidential election of 1992.

Every so often I receive a letter that contains a paragraph or two that really is beautiful. In today's mail I received a letter from a former employee of the Office of Management and Budget who now has a consulting firm in the State of Florida and in his letter one portion reads as follows:

"May you be happy (and your enemies know it), may the most you wish for be the least you get, and may the clouds in your life form only the background for a lovely sunset."

Letters like this make you believe that after all, it is worthwhile.

January 21, 1992

Tomorrow, we begin the Second Session of the 102nd Congress and this will be an unusual year.

Long-term health care, campaign financing reform, unemployment benefits, education re-authorization bills and a number of bills pertaining to stricter investigation of drugs by the Food and Drug Administration, along with many other bills will be considered.

The President, in his snow-trudging campaign through New Hampshire shortly after his sick spell in Japan brought about a number of unusual statements. In one, he lashed out at "mournful pundits, egghead academicians smart-aleck columnists, jacklegs jumping up demanding equal time with some screwy scheme" and "tired subcommittee chairmen in Washington who haven't had a new thought in the last 50 years they've been sitting there." Further, he went on to say that he is sick and tired of every night hearing "one of these carping little liberal Democrats jumping all over my you-know-what." During his quick tour in

New Hampshire inquiries were made of him concerning the Spotted Owl and Bush gave one of his usual statements that it was important to keep 40,000 workers at work, but he also wants to see to it that our little furry-feathery guy is protected. When he was asked about a possible extension of unemployment benefits the President replied that "If a flag had wings he wouldn't hit his tail on the ground." Further, Bush said to a few New Hampshire men and women who were listening that "this is not the easiest job in the world" but at the same time he wanted them to listen to his final word which was "vote for me and don't vote for them." Slightly confused, but at least he is still ahead of each of the Democratic hopefuls when compared one on one. The latest poll shows him down to about 46% approval which is the lowest of any President in recent years. Even Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter were higher after the same number of years in their assignments.

The new motion picture "JFK" has really stirred up a lot of people in this country. Demands are now made that all of the records of the Warren Commission and the congressional investigation of the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King be released in full. The motion picture "JFK" depicts exclusively a sinister conspiracy to kill the President. Such a conclusion has caused more than a few headaches in the National Archives during the past several days. The movie has generated a surge in public requests to inspect evidence relating especially to the JFK assassination. As official custodian of the nation's records, the Archives contains hundreds of thousands of pages of the Warren Commission records and in fact, more than 360 cubic feet of material including the rifle used by Lee Harvey Oswald to the pictures of the strip-teasers who worked at Jack Ruby's Dallas

nightclub "The Carousel." A lot of people walk into the Archives and just simply ask if they can see the rifle Lee Harvey Oswald used.

The Kennedy family is in favor of releasing the records at this time and not holding to the date of 2036.

As I have said on many occasions when Lyndon Johnson was asked the question as to whether or not there was a conspiracy, he always said that everyone with any sense at all knew that it was a conspiracy.

Another famous case that still haunts a great many Americans is the Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr. kidnaping case. This child was kidnaped from his home in Hopewell, New Jersey between 8 pm and 10 pm on March 1, 1932. He was 20 months old and weighed 20 pounds. Bruno Richard Hauptmann, the convicted kidnaper and the one who received the death penalty denied to the bitter end that he was guilty. Some \$14,000 of the ransom money was found in Hauptmann's home and he said it was left with him by an unknown friend for safekeeping. The ransom note, the location of the money, the broken rung in the ladder and the fact that Bruno Hauptmann was a carpenter all fit the picture, but still in this country there are a great many people who now want to reopen this case. Hauptmann who maintained that he was an excellent carpenter and would never have constructed such a crude ladder to be used up against the wall near the window of Lindbergh's home was hard-pressed to explain why a piece of this ladder fit exactly a part of the floor board in Hauptmann's attic.

January 22, 1992

Within the next few days, an announcement will be made in Kentucky concerning the

Congressional races that will really surprise a great many people. One that really would come as a surprise to my old friend Carl D. Perkins if he was still around.

It now appears that Jim Bunning will have right serious opposition along with one or two others and before it is over, with conditions so unsettled and topsy turvy you might say, we probably all will draw a little opposition.

January 23, 1992

Today it is announced in the Kentucky papers and also in the newspapers here in our Nation's Capital that Chris Perkins has decided not to run for re-election. This makes two now in the House of Representatives from Kentucky who have announced their retirement. Larry Hopkins, of course, was expected to make this type of announcement after his race for Governor, but there were a great many people who believed that Perkins could hang on for at least one more term. In the "Roll Call" newspaper here in Washington, there is an article today entitled "Rep. Perkins Won't Run." This article is as follows:

"Democratic Rep. Carl 'Chris' Perkins (Ky) announced Wednesday that he will not seek a fifth term in the fall, saying that he had 'witnessed a changed in the kind of service that goes on in the House of Representatives.'

He complained that 'many Members of the Congress have to spend a majority of their time fundraising and campaigning rather than dealing with constituent needs or working on legislation that helps the country.'

The announcement ends a 44-year Perkins dynasty in eastern Kentucky. The Congressman's father, Rep. Carl Dewey Perkins, served in from 1949 until his death in 1984 and was chairman of the Education and Labor Committee for 17 years.

Perkins, 37, becomes the 14th House Member to announce he will leave Congress at the close of the second session, and the 12th Democrat. He is also the second Member from the Bluegrass State to call it quits, joining Rep. Larry Hopkins (R), who announced on New Year's Eve he would not run.

'Serving in Congress takes a great toll on one's life and in turn on the family,' Perkins said in a release provided by his office. 'I have witnessed this cost personally and have decided, with the full support of my wife and family, to forego this career and move on to other pursuits.'

His departure also increases the likelihood that Congress will see its first ever husband-and-wife team from a single state, as Carol Brown Hubbard, the wife of 1st district Rep. Carroll Hubbard (D) becomes the Democratic frontrunner for the seat.

Tuesday and Wednesday saw rumors fly in Kentucky about Perkins and his political future. The Congressman had apparently planned to make the announcement today, but released a statement

late yesterday after word of his decision filtered out.

In 1990, Perkins won less than 51 percent of the vote against Republican challenger Will T. Scott in an overwhelmingly Democratic district that gave 56 percent of its vote to Michael Dukakis in 1988 and was giving Harvey Sloane, the Democrat challenging Sen. Mitch McConnell (R), 53 percent.

Perkins also lost 32 percent of the primary vote in 1990 against Democrat Jerry Cecil. Both Cecil and Carol Brown Hubbard were hoping to take the Democratic nomination away from the incumbent this year.

With help from her husband, Mrs. Hubbard turned in one of the nation's strongest non-incumbent fundraising performances in the first half of the year, outraising Perkins. She officially joined the race Tuesday.

GOP Rep. Harold Rogers, who was drawn into the same district with Perkins as the state lost a seat in redistricting, filed Tuesday to run in the new combined district, which will be the 5th. Incumbency makes Rogers the favorite in this race, but both Cecil and the Hubbards are already campaigning hard.

Perkins began his political career with two terms in the state legislature and then succeeded his

father, a legend in the area, in a 1984 special election. His detractors often attribute his ability to win re-election to the family name rather than to his own political ability.

His departure will leave vacancies on the Education and Labor and Science, Space, and Technology Committees."

I have always maintained that when a poll is taken of the Members of the Congress, the best place to go is to the staff on Capitol Hill. These people are able, frank, and give you their honest opinion. I have believed this ever since I have been a Member of Congress and in one or two polls previously taken, I have come right high on the list. In the "Roll Call" newspaper today there is another article entitled "Leaders' Ratings Plummet." A portion of this article is as follows:

"For the fifth year in a row, Speaker Tom Foley (D-Wash) was named the most respected Member of the House, but his ratings fell sharply from past years, as did those of the most respected Senator, Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine).

In its annual poll of senior staffers, the public relations firm of Fleishman-Hillard, Inc., found that 36 percent of aides considered Foley the most respected Member, compared with 54 percent in last year's survey.

Foley also dropped dramatically in legislative effectiveness. This year, only 34 percent of top

staffers rated his performance as 'excellent' or 'very good,' compared with 67 percent in 1991.

Mitchell received the backing of 25 percent of aides as the most respected Senator; in 1991, his percentage was 32. And he tied Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan) as the Senator who is most effective legislatively; both received 'excellent' or 'very good' ratings from 42 percent of respondents.

But Mitchell and Dole also fell in effectiveness when compared with last year's survey. In 1991, Mitchell received top ratings from 69 percent of aides; Dole from 57 percent.

The survey, Fleishman-Hillard's seventh, polled senior staffers in 383 Congressional offices between Jan. 3 and Jan. 15.

In second place as most respected Senator was Dole, who received 18 percent, followed by Robert Byrd (D-WVa) and Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas), both with 7 percent.

In the House, Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo) placed second after Foley with 7 percent, followed by Minority Leader Bob Michel (R-Ill) and Bill Natcher (D-Ky), who tied with 6 percent."

January 24, 1992

The Super Bowl will be held on Sunday of this week and the Washington Redskins will play the Buffalo Bills. Our Nation's Capital is all excited about this Super Bowl and I hope our team wins.

We are now in the process of airlifting surplus military food and medicine to the former Soviet Republics which indicates that they have not been forgotten and that their plea for assistance is valid. Secretary of State Baker said the Air Force would make 54 flights to the former Republics beginning February 10 carrying 38.4 million pounds of food left over from the Persian Gulf War and Defense Department medical supplies. It is a little unusual for us to be supplying the independent countries of the Soviet Union when for many years now the "Cold War" between the two Super Powers was going full blast, costing us trillions of dollars.

We are looking forward to the President's State of the Union message on January 28. Along with proposals concerning the economy, I understand the President will announce a plan to eliminate our entire force of 50 nuclear-tipped MX anti-ballistic missiles as well as other substantial weapons and changes in the strategic arsenal. This is brought about as a result of the lack of a nuclear threat to our Country at this time from the former Soviet Union and should save billions of dollars in defense spending.

The Senate is now in a running battle with President Bush's proposals on education and they are making every effort in their reauthorization legislation to keep the President out of the category as an "education President." Certainly, this is brand new for him since neither he nor former President Reagan really ever did anything for education.

Long-term health care will be one of the major problems before this Session of Congress and our Speaker Tom Foley of the State of Washington predicted yesterday that Congress would require employers to either provide health insurance to workers or pay a percentage of their payrolls into a government fund. He went on to say that he and a great many of the Democrats in the House favor the "play or pay" approach to improving the nation's health care instead of a national system like Canadas or a universal federal program similar to medicare for the elderly and disabled. A great many small businessmen will not be in favor of "play or pay" so we will see as we go along just how far we can go with a national health system that will take care of the needs of millions of people.

January 28, 1992

The Washington Redskins won the 26th Super Bowl with the score being 37 to 24. The Buffalo Bills were just unable to hold the Redskins and their quarterback was sacked so many times it was almost impossible to count the number.

Tonight President Bush will give us his State of the Union message and a number of proposals will be made which will be listened to by millions of people. For the first time since I have been a Member of Congress, the White House issued an extraordinary "stop the presses" order yesterday for President Bush's Fiscal Year 1993 Budget documents to permit rewriting of the section detailing his health care proposal after Congressional Republicans strenuously objected to the plan that he had first proposed. According to the new Chief of Staff at the White House, Samuel K. Skinner, the objections emerged in the normal consultative processes with Congressional Republicans that was under-

taken by Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman. The budget will be delayed a day or two now, but the change in the printed form is really unusual and by the way, will cost an extra few dollars.

Business and the economy are about the same in our country and this week, the giant retailer R.H. Macy & Company Department Store filed for bankruptcy protection under Chapter 11. Millions of dollars are due retailers and suppliers, and it was impossible for Macy to pay its bills, so it will now go under Chapter 11.

I hope that this year we can turn the economy around because we are really near the depression stage that we went through in the late 1920's.

January 29, 1992

The President in his State of the Union message last night called for a reduction in capital gains tax rates from a high of 28% to 15.6%; an increase in personal tax exemptions by \$500 for each child; a freeze in government hiring and domestic discretionary spending in the 1993 budget; a reduction in defense spending by \$50 billion over the next five-year period; elimination of all land-based multiple warhead ballistic missiles if former Soviet Union republics do the same; end the B-2 bomber program after finishing 20 planes instead of the planned 75; give a \$5,000 tax credit for first-time homebuyers, and allow penalty-free withdrawal from IRA's for the downpayment.

In other words the President, in a long-winded speech last night really began the campaign for re-election to the Office of President. He really stressed the Persian Gulf War victory and took several right sharp cracks at the Congress. In his speech, he cited one or more times conservative views

of Goldwater and he even had to mention Kennedy and Roosevelt. He outlines his plans to get the economy out of recession with a mix of incentives for investments and tax changes that would put cash into the pockets of Americans, in this the election year.

Yesterday at 4 p.m. was the deadline for filing for election to Congress. No one had filed against me up until just a few minutes before the deadline. We all had high hopes here in our office. It just so happens that I ended up with three opponents--two I have never heard of and one who has previously made two races against me. So, everything looks good even though we were a little disappointed at not going all the way without opposition.

January 30, 1992

We now have the President's budget for fiscal year 1993 and the total requested is \$1.516.7 trillion. The budget for fiscal year 1992 was \$1.45 trillion. The domestic programs in the budget for 1993 under the President's request are increased 1½%. In the new budget, education is increased 7.2%. This is the largest increase in the budget, and the President's requests generally for health and education are good. These two Departments, along with the Department of Labor are in the appropriations bill that I am Chairman of and we have a good foundation to start from this year. This is a little unusual because generally we have to add so much to programs like Chapter I of Elementary and Secondary Education, Head Start, cancer research, breast cancer screening and other matters that this places us in the big spending category. The Office of Management and Budget that prepares the President's budget, of course, knows that we will restore at least to last year's level in a number of instances and thereby placing

us in the position of being known as "big spenders." The budget as presented is much better than any previous budgets since I have been Chairman of our Subcommittee.

Yeltsin is on his way to Washington to pay his respects to President Bush and yesterday in going over some of the matters that will be discussed said that in his debut on the international stage as a world leader he would call for sweeping cuts in nuclear arsenals and announced that he has halted production of several long-range nuclear weapon systems. This is a good place to start and I do hope that this man is able to keep the thirteen independent states that originally composed the Soviet Union in line to the extent that their economic situation improves, bread lines are no longer in existence and the threat of a revolution within the countries is completely eliminated.

January 31, 1992

The Democratic candidates for President are all out beating the bushes at this time and no one of them seems to be doing much good. The Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton, is now being questioned at every stop concerning a romantic affair a beautiful little lady maintains she has carried on with him for a period of 12 years. Up until last week, she had been an employee on the payroll of the Arkansas government and apparently she is no longer there. All of the polls taken up to this time show the Governor leading in the Democratic primary with Kerry and Harkin coming up second and third. Senator Kerry from Nebraska, a Vietnam war hero who is a Congressional Medal of Honor recipient started out real good, but he too is not doing as well as some expected in the beginning. A beautiful movie actress I have seen in one or two nice pictures fell in love with the Senator and visited with him in Nebraska, spending

considerable time there while he was serving as Governor. Harkin is a populist and with all the unemployment we have today, is saying about what the people are thinking, but a great many of them now say he is too liberal and it is simply a tax and spend program that he is sponsoring. The former Governor of California, Jerry Brown, is not doing too much good and is simply pointing his finger at his opponent. He is not even doing very well in his home state of California. Tsongas of Massachusetts was a good House Member and we all liked him, but he is not doing very well and Wilder, the Governor of Virginia, finally dropped out about two weeks ago.

President Bush is considerably weaker than he was a year ago, but with the Democratic candidates failing to really attract support in this country, Bush is still very much in the lead. After his State of the Union message and his budget of \$1.512 trillion he is now traveling, attempting to justify major portions of his budget. A recent poll by "The Washington Post" and ABC News, shows that seven out of ten people polled agree that Bush's economic plan does not go far enough to help the economy and half of those questioned believe that Bush simply does not understand the economic problems the people in this country are now having. The poll further shows that 46% of those questioned said they approved of the job Bush was doing as President. This is the third consecutive time since mid-December that Bush's approval rating has been below 50%. Now would be the time for a strong Democrat to take over and succeed in November, but the candidates that are out campaigning for the Office are not making too much impression on the people.

The President's proposal concerning the overall budget and the decreases in certain taxes will, without any question drive up the deficit in the current fiscal

year. The budget as presented, without any question, is abandoning all pretenses of wiping out the government's budget deficit.

When you compare our industries and those in Japan, you find out why it is the Japanese are so much more successful than we are in producing and selling. You have to keep in mind that in Japan they do not have a clean air act and clean water act that vitally affect every industry; they do not have OSHA that protects employees; a health insurance plan by each large company or by some smaller since they have an international health plan in their country, along with some 130 requirements that prevail in this country that are not in Japan. These are some of the reasons why the Japanese are so much more successful in producing and selling at lower prices. In addition, they have a much better tax plan from the standpoint of their products that are sold abroad than we do. The economists in this country say that notwithstanding all of the advantages Japan has along the lines indicated, we still can compete and be successful.

February 3, 1992

The Republican Party, and especially the members of this party in the House of Representatives are very much concerned over the President's strategy that he is using following his State of the Union message. Although public opinion polls immediately after the speech showed some approval for certain parts of the President's proposed program, overall confidence in the President as far as the economy is concerned remains very low. Polls taken following the message and especially one show that 78% of 1,000 adults questioned on Wednesday and Thursday thought the country was on the wrong track while only 15% said it was headed in the right direction.

Senior administration officials in the White House are really relieved that the speech is over and that to a certain extent it produced an economic recovery plan. The President, to generate support for this plan, has started traveling and he will go from Florida to California, Ohio and New Hampshire during the next ten days. The Vice President is out serving as his surrogate and also the President has the Treasury Secretary, Nicholas F. Brady, the U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills, and the Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp engaged in similar salesmanship around the country. The President may have to talk with Jack Kemp because he, in one of his speeches during his travels, said that some of the President's speech was simply a little on the gimmickry side.

The President, in his trip to the United Nations on Thursday and Friday at which time he met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, to a certain extent stopped his traveling around the country in his attempt to sell his economic recovery plan. Some of the Republican strategists are saying that the President's trip to the U.N. and his meeting with Yeltsin at Camp David on Saturday placed the Democrats in a position to kick the very life out of the Republicans since the President's meeting with the Chinese and the Russians seems to be uppermost in his mind and it carries him back to his position of being considerably more interested in foreign affairs than in the domestic affairs of our own country. In his message to the Congress, the President fixed a deadline of March 20 to see final action on his plan. Some in the House today say that unless there is a guarantee that action will be taken by this time, the Lincoln-Washington Day Recess should be cancelled. At the retreat meeting in Maryland last week, the Speaker of the House, Tom Foley, said that a plan would be presented and acted upon by the deadline of March 20.

but he clearly indicated that this plan would be anything but the President's plan.

Living as we are in a troubled period, we have all kinds of little events that take place and cause you to wonder as to where we are in this country from the standpoint of law enforcement. George Mitchell, the Majority Leader in the Senate has received a death threat which is being taken seriously by the FBI and a guard has been posted to protect him and in fact, since receiving the threat, additional members of the guard will be posted. I recall about five or six years ago when we all were warned to be careful when we went to our cars at night, and especially around Capitol Hill. The FBI had received a number of threats to the affect that a Member of Congress would be kidnapped and the word was passed around that everyone should be careful. Some of my friends kidded me considerably when they said that I probably would go along willingly if they just would agree not to take my automobile. My automobile is 25 years old and it is a beautiful four-door, eight cylinder Chevrolet Impala.

February 4, 1992

The Governors are meeting here in Washington this week and when the President appeared he and several of them really tangled on certain portions of the President's budget. The Democratic Governor from Colorado Roy Roemer took the President on and emphatically said that his budget was insufficient and ignored the states and the cities in this country. The President apparently received a right rude awakening from the Democratic Governors attending the conference. The President was clearly annoyed and those at the White House say that the reaction by letters and telephone calls to the President's State of the Union Address and his budget are somewhat mixed.

The danger that a new ozone hole could open over densely settled areas of the northern hemisphere exposing the population to increased amounts of harmful radiation apparently is greater than previously suspected scientists reported yesterday. New indications of ozone depletion by NASA satellite and multi-agency airborne instruments are so alarming the scientists said that they decided to release them before completion of the data analysis in late March.

The Post Office here on Capitol Hill is now under investigation and according to the media, Robert H. Michel, the House Minority Leader, has called for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate allegations of cocaine sales, embezzlement and check kiting at the House Post Office. The leadership on our side answered this request by stating that it wants to hold off making such a decision until they have an opportunity to meet with the House Members who oversee the Post Office operation. A statement was issued to the effect that if the allegations of criminal activity and other wrongdoing at the House Post Office are true, it is clear that sufficient and decisive action to clean up the whole operation may be necessary. "The Washington Times" is really making a great event out of this Post Office matter which has now been under investigation for a period of about ten months by the FBI and a number have been fired and some are under investigation for indictment.

February 5, 1992

Today, at 5 p.m. we will have a Democratic Caucus and the matter to be discussed pertains to the "October Surprise" and the President's revenue proposals relating to economic growth and tax fairness. In his State of the Union message and in several

political speeches since that time, President Bush has stressed the fact that if in 24 days the Persian Gulf war could start and finish, at least Congress could between now and March 20 bring out a revenue resolution which would help us during the present recession. He continues stressing this matter so yesterday, the leadership, along with the Chairman of the Ways & Means Committee issued a statement that a bill would be presented by March 15 and instead of accepting the President's proposals, would stress the importance of a tax reduction for the middle income taxpayer and an increase for those in the top bracket.

There are a number of us who still believe that instead of tinkering with the Internal Revenue code, we should bring out a jobs bill. The money should come from the Department of Defense and weapons systems that will never be perfected, with this producing about \$7,200,000,000 at the present time and not be chargeable as an increase to the present deficit for Fiscal Year 1992. Here we would have bidding and contracts speedily moved along and this money spent entirely on federal property. It would produce millions of jobs and along with the Surface Transportation Bill of 1991, we possibly would see a change in the economy of this country.

Each morning I turn on television and when I can, watch newscasts from Moscow. The present situation in the 13 independent countries along with Russia really gives you the idea that they are a long way from being in agreement and that turmoil will continue for many, many months. To think about all of the natural resources involved in that section of the world and what they have been able to do during the Cold War years, and now food lines and fighting over the purchase of a loaf of bread...

February 6, 1992

From time to time I attend breakfast meetings where matters that are in my bill are discussed right much in detail. This morning the National Breast Cancer Research organization had a breakfast and since all of this money is in the bill that I am Chairman of, they invited me and I attended. When I tell them that when I was first elected a Member of the Appropriations Committee we had \$75 million for all of the National Institutes of Health and now we are up to \$9.376 billion. The budget as submitted this time calls for a \$442 million increase for the National Institutes of Health which is a 4.9% increase. This is good because we always have to scramble for money and breast cancer is a serious disease at this time. According to our information, a new case is detected in this country every 12 minutes and just about at the same time, one or more die of this disease. Out of the health research money now available, we have about \$225 million that's being used for breast cancer research and screening. At a great many of the breakfast meetings that I attend, the deficit, of course, is never mentioned and they simply cannot understand why it is that hundreds of millions of dollars cannot be added immediately for this program or that program. All of these programs are of course important and maybe since the Cold War is over, we will do better in the future insofar as adequate funding is concerned and especially for breast cancer.

February 12, 1992

The election in New Hampshire was really something. An angry New Hampshire electorate certainly issued a powerful cry of protest against President Bush. Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator who invited voters to use him to send a message of discontent to George Bush received 41% of the

vote to the President's 57%. I understand this morning the President is really mad, and in a statement issued late last night conceded that his victory was also a setback. He went on to say that the election was closer than any had predicted and he understood the message of dissatisfaction. Buchanan was just simply overjoyed and said to a crowd of his supporters that he sincerely believed that the election would make history and that what began as a little rebellion has now emerged into a full-fledged middle-America revolution.

Former Massachusetts Senator Paul E. Tsongas led on the Democrat side and this, of course, did not help the Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton who only a month ago appeared in a position to win the contest outright and to seize control of the Democratic race. His recovery from the initial damage done to his candidacy by character questions involving a woman and his war record were just too much for the people of New Hampshire to take. Trailing behind the two leaders were Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey and Iowa Senator Tom Harkin. These two at one time were believed to be strong candidates in New Hampshire in the presidential primary, but simply failed to carry out early predictions. With 92% of the vote counted, Tsongas had 34%, Clinton 26% Kerrey 11%, Harkin 11%, and Brown 9%. On a write-in campaign, Governor Mario Cuomo received just 3% of the vote.

Under the present Democratic campaign presidential rules, it is very doubtful that we can have a brokered convention in New York City if they stay by the rules. Delegates committed all the way, unless there is a change, cannot cast their votes if Cuomo, Bentsen, or someone else is placed up front by a lot of political leaders in this country.

This past week I traveled into the new Counties in the Second Congressional District and received a real nice welcome. My only

mountain county, Casey County, with Liberty being the County Seat, was exceedingly nice to me and I think in one or two November elections we will be able to carry this County. It is about three to one Republican, but it has a lot of nice mountain people living in it

In coming up on the plane from Nashville on Sunday, I read an article in "The Tennessean" which really surprised me and that pertained to the amount of gold which was produced in the Amazon River last year. Over 900 tons of gold was removed from the creek beds and various streams up and down the Amazon. A mercury process is used to gather the gold and it is then burned and the affects of the burning have made hundreds of miners deathly ill. I did not know that there was that much gold in all of South America.

I start my hearings today on the budget for fiscal year 1993 and we have before the committee this morning at 10 a.m. Secretary of Health & Human Services, Dr. Louis Sullivan.

February 20, 1992

The President has decided, following the New Hampshire primary, that he had better get down to right serious politics and take Patrick J. Buchanan on as a real adversary instead of just a fly-by-night candidate. He said yesterday that he was going to take this guy on in every single state. This statement was made prior to his tour of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee, the state that holds its presidential primary in about three weeks. Now, it's a new ball-game he says and it may be much more serious than he believes it is. The Republicans down my way are just really put out with Bush because he did not agree to increased taxes when he made his "read my lips" speech in his last campaign and apparently has just let the

condition of the economy slip by him.

When Buchanan heard the President's statement he said that he was just terrified. There are thirteen primaries in the next three weeks and in order for Bush to really make any headway, those Republicans still sitting on the fence are going to have to make a move.

February 24, 1992

The Presidential primary is still all over the front pages of the newspapers in this country and on both sides of the political fence there is severe criticism concerning the deficit, increase in taxes, and lack of a long-term health care proposal. On the Democrat side they are now campaigning strong in the State of Maine and Tsongas holds a thin lead with Brown of California apparently in second place. The President has turned on Buchanan and is now more than critical about Buchanan's statements.

Vice President Quayle has been traveling now for several weeks and his speeches, of course, are either prepared or carefully examined in the White House. This past week he said that the President was moving into the Persian Gulf conflict and we had a crisis here at home and this is the reason why the President agreed to go along with a tax increase in 1990--a justification for the President's violation of his campaign promise of no increase in taxes and all you have to do is watch my lips. Quayle is now defending the President's position in regard to the budget agreement that was reached last year and maintains that if an agreement had not been reached further crisis would have resulted, and the President would never have been able to place Saddam Hussein in a position where he no longer was a serious threat to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. He said the President made a choice and the choice was

a budget or no budget and to get a budget he had to give the Democrats in the Congress the tax increase. This tax increase is really being used by Buchanan because the conservatives are simply bitter over the fact that he changed his position on this matter.

February 25, 1992

We are back to the demand by Israel for a \$10 billion guarantee over a five-year period with the money to be used to erect homes on the West Bank and in one or two other sections of the territory that Israel is holding and the Palestinians are demanding. Yesterday Secretary of State Baker announced publicly for the first time that the loan guarantee cannot be consummated and will not go forward unless steps are immediately taken to stop building Jewish settlements in unoccupied territory. The Secretary of State said to a Committee in the Congress that it is up to Israel and it is their choice as to whether or not they comply with the demands to stop the building and construction. This Administration, the Secretary said is ready to support loan guarantees for absorption assistance to Israel up to \$2 billion a year for five years provided that there is a halt or an end to settlement activities. This announcement comes as quite a surprise because it is a firm announcement by the Administration.

The recession is a little deeper today than it was six months ago and General Motors in its announcement yesterday stated that it lost a record \$4.5 billion in 1991 and it identified 12 of the 21 plants that will close as it downsizes its operations during the next few years. All three of our large auto companies lost billions of dollars last year with the total being about \$7.7 billion.

Along with the President's worries concerning the economy he is faced with an announcement that he may lose California in the Presidential primary with Buchanan. This would really be something and may clearly show the attitude of the Republicans in California as a result of the economic depression that is rampant in that section of our country. California has gone Republican in nine of the past ten Presidential elections, but this time regardless of candidates there may be a change.

February 26, 1992

We started today in the House with the tax bill that the Ways & Means Committee reported out which in substance, if adopted, lifts some of the burden from the middle-income taxpayer and places it on the higher-income tax bracket people. In other words, it is a bill that would take care of those with salaries of from \$18,000 to \$75,000 and those above would pay the additional tax that the Ways & Means Committee believes will help with the recession that is now underway in this country. I think this is a mistake and the editorial which recently appeared in one of the Washington newspapers stating that we are simply spinning our wheels is correct. The President will not accept the bill we started in the House today and he says he will not accept the Senate version of their tax reduction bill. This means a veto and under no circumstances could this veto be overridden in this, a Presidential election year and the year when all of us in the House are running for reelection.

We now have five vacancies on our Appropriations Committee on the Democrat side which will take affect on January 1, 1993. Yesterday Bill Lehman of Miami, Florida who has recently suffered a stroke, announced his retirement and he, along with

Les AuCoin of Oregon who is running for the Senate, Mrazek of New York who is running for the Senate in New York, Ed Roybal of California who is retiring and the same for Lindsey Thomas of Georgia, makes the five vacancies that will come up in January. It has been years since we have had that many vacancies on the Democrat side on our Committee and the push is on by a number of Members in the House to come on the Appropriations Committee.

President Bush and Mrs. Bush are now in the State of California and met yesterday with former President Reagan and Mrs. Reagan. He had hoped to receive a real nice embrace from the former President which would help him with the ultra-conservatives, but it did not take place. The small group of reporters who accompanied the President and Mrs. Bush on their hastily arranged visit with the Reagans at their Bel Air home were kept at the gate which was wrapped in plain brown paper that blocked any public view. Other than a photograph that the White House released, the two men were never seen together and neither one of them spoke to reporters. The twenty-minute meeting which administration officials said Bush had eagerly sought but had difficulty scheduling with the Reagans came the same day that sources close to Reagan were quoted in one of the Washington newspapers as saying that the former President was concerned Bush could lose a state that had voted Republican in nine of the past ten Presidential elections. Reagan did not attend a Bush-Quayle fundraising dinner that night in Los Angeles, citing a previous commitment. This was a complete breakdown from the plans President Bush had in regard to pulling the Reagans along with him in his Presidential primary.

February 27, 1992

We always have to have some sort of an investigation underway in the House and now the investigation is of the House Post Office. One of the papers today here in Washington starts out by saying that behind the House Post Office scandal is a pattern of patronage and nepotism that raises serious questions about whether some House Democratic Leaders hushed up criminal activity by Post Office employees. It goes on to say that one employee admitted embezzlement nine months ago and a House grievance officer who helped negotiate personnel actions after thefts were discovered at the Post Office is an immediate relative of top aides to two powerful members of the House Administration Committee. The U.S. Attorney here in Washington, Jay Stephens has obtained indictments against four House clerks in the Post Office and is now looking at possible conspiracy and obstruction of justice in a hush up of the scandal according to this one newspaper by top House officials. One employee of the Post Office was a patronage appointment of a Philadelphia Congressman and when interviewed about this matter according to the newspaper, the Pennsylvania Congressman said that he knew nothing and was going to say nothing. One of our lady Members of the House is referred to as the "Mayor of the House" and the authors of the article go on at great length about one House Member having placed several patronage employees over the years in the Post Office and this Member is now one of the Members of the investigating House Administration Committee.

Each week I write a letter to my grandchildren and after writing well over 1,000 letters, I at times, have difficulty in thinking of subjects that would be of interest. This morning I happened to see one of William Shakespeare's famous statements and it is the one where he said--"The disease of not listen-

ing is what I am troubled with." This made a good subject for my letter this week and I certainly believe that not only back in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries did this statement really apply, but it certainly applies in the good year of 1992.

George Bush is really fumbling around now and decided he had better take his wife and go to California and see President and Mrs. Reagan to get a little political assistance for the Presidential primary in California. Before meeting with the former President and his wife, one of the newspapers in California said that President Reagan had recently said that George Bush really stood for nothing. This really set off an uproar in the White House here in Washington and finally yesterday they prevailed upon former President Reagan to issue a statement to the affect that he had been misquoted. Misquoted, but actually making the statement I think, and with the statement really being true.

February 28, 1992

Dr. Bernadine Healy, the Director of the National Institutes of Health, together with several of her associates, including the architect, stopped by to visit with me today. They brought along two beautiful pictures of "The William H. Natcher Building" which will be built at the National Institutes of Health and will be the complex office building. The total cost of the structure will be \$178 million and it will be built in two phases. Phase I construction will be completed in August, 1994 and Phase II construction will be completed in January, 1997. The Environmental Assessment and Environmental Impact Statement were initiated in November, 1991 and the building design initiated the same month. The Environmental Assessment will be completed in March, 1992 and the groundbreaking and beginning of Phase I construction

will start on September 11, 1992. September 11 is the date of my birth and this is really a magnificent building.

March 2, 1992

Brock Adams, one of the State of Washington's two Senators announced his retirement this past weekend. He served in the House with us for about ten years and then ran for the Senate and was defeated. When Jimmy Carter was elected President, he named Brock Adams as Secretary of Transportation. While in the House and as Secretary of Transportation, he seemed to do real well but after he went out as Transportation Secretary, he then ran again for the Senate and was elected. He has had a few problems since that time and one was the accusation by a young lady from a family that was well known to him and his family in the State of Washington who was serving in his office as an intern one summer and the accusation pertained to the use of some drug and she accused him of sexually molesting her. Notwithstanding this problem he announced for reelection this past year and now some eight women have accused him of sexually molesting them in one way or another. I presume that Brock Adams in announcing his retirement, is proceeding correctly.

An editorial appeared in The Washington Post on Sunday, March 1 pertaining to the rapid transit system here in the City of Washington. The title of the editorial is "Running In The Red On the Rails". This editorial is as follows:

"Metro continues to stretch its rail lines from station to new station but can't come close to making ends meet. Ridership has taken a disturbing dive, agency managers report, creating

a large budget shortfall with no clear solution. The reasons have little to do with the quality of service offered or the efforts of Metro's management to cut costs: Both are good. The system still ranks at the top nationally, and Metro General Manager David L. Gunn has been both effective and firm in cutting the number of jobs by more than 400 since last year, instituting furloughs and generally tightening operations throughout the agency. But the riders simply aren't on board in the same numbers these days.

It doesn't take a team of academics to figure out that one huge cause of the ridership plunge is the downturn in the economy. Fewer jobs, fewer tourists, fewer cars per train and fewer runs per day. The only increase of note is in the fares--necessary but risky in that every attempt to close a revenue gap with higher fares can also close the gap between the costs of riding Metro and of riding a car. And if the gap between the time it takes to get there by transit and by car keeps widening, so will Metro's hopes of keeping and attracting customers.

To their credit, Metro officials are looking at ways to alter the picture, including simplification of the fare structure. Fares are scheduled to go up 6 percent in June, but any more increases--and consequent losses in riders--could be

seriously damaging, officials acknowledge. Their focus now is on getting rid of Metro's confusing charges for rides, based on distance traveled and transfers. Agency managers favor a monthly pass that could be used to ride trains and buses anywhere in the area--aimed at frequent riders and sold at a steep discount. There could be more attractive new passes for tourists and business visitors too, though this wouldn't make that much of a difference on the revenue shortfall.

It would be grand, of course, if Metro could go to a one-card--does--all system that would automatically deliver not only the rider but also a boom in business. While we're waiting, the local governments could do their part by raising their revenues through higher taxes on gasoline and parking. The worst course these governments could take would be to shortchange public transit in a fit of misguided penny-pinching."

We knew this way back yonder, years ago and during the time when we were telling the City fathers that the rapid transit system would cost considerably more than \$2½ billion with the overall amount invested up to this time being \$13 billion, that a subsidy would be necessary.

One of the largest settlements ever made in a criminal action in this country, I presume, is the Milken settlement. Milken

is serving in a Federal penitentiary and Federal officials apparently agreed to accept a \$500 million settlement of the government's civil action case against Michael Milken and his associates. It seems that after the payment of this amount, Milken would have \$125 million remaining for himself and his family would have some \$300-odd million. Yesterday, Federal officials help up the matter of the settlement when it appeared that \$800 million would be in line, the amount that should be paid over. If the \$800 million were paid over by Milken, then the total settlement in the civil suit that the government had would result in the collection of \$1.3 billion. The FDIC had sued Milken and his former associates, at Drexel, Burnham and Lambert, Inc. to recover taxpayer losses in the Savings & Loan crisis attributed to Milken's alleged manipulation of the junk bond market.

All kinds of serious crimes take place up around the Capitol building these days. The Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives was shot and wounded a few blocks from the Capitol Sunday night during an apparent robbery attempt. Jack Russ was taken to D.C. General where he was reported in stable condition with a gunshot wound in the mouth area. Capitol police said that Russ was accosted about 10:10 p.m. by two men and a woman while walking his dog in Garfield Park near First and F Streets, S.E. After being shot, Russ went to a Capital police station about a block away in the 500 Block of First Street. Additional police were summoned and the search began. So far, no arrests have been made. This is another case of where a horrible crime is committed up in the vicinity of the Capitol Building and now if you live in that section, it is absolutely dangerous to get out at night to go to a restaurant or to see a motion picture.

March 4, 1992

The headlines in the Washington newspapers today set forth the fact that Tsongas beats Clinton in Maryland and Clinton beats Tsongas in Georgia---Buchanan on the Republican side again receives a large protest vote in Georgia. The article goes on to state that President Bush, at long last, recognizes there is discontent among the voters on the Republican side and that something must be done about it. In Georgia, Buchanan was near his 37% share in last month's New Hampshire primary. Also, in Maryland, Buchanan received about the same percentage and this was a state where he barely campaigned and where there is a strong moderate Republican group. Buchanan got a smaller vote in Colorado which he also bypassed to concentrate in Georgia.

Last night the President said on television that breaking his tax pledge of "watch my lips, no new taxes" was a mistake. He said that this was the only way he could make any sort of a deal with the Democratic Congressional leaders and in breaking his 1988 pledge not to raise taxes, it was a serious mistake. In Georgia President Bush complained to an Atlanta newspaper that the limits on domestic spending that were part of the pact in which he agreed to increase taxes he had been just overwhelmed by the fact that the agreement produced no benefits for the people and should never have been entered into.

We have had our first defeat in a primary this year of a Democrat Member of the House. Beverly Byron was defeated yesterday in the Maryland primary receiving just about 40% of the vote and a State Representative who campaigned vigorously against her for weeks knocked her out of the box. She has been a great traveler since she has been a Member of the Armed Services Committee and has been

into some 90-odd countries according to my information. This was used by her opponent along with her vote to increase her salary and to bring about tremendous expenditures in the military that were not necessary.

When I was first sworn in as a Member of Congress, old Mr. Byron was in the House from Maryland and when he died, his wife took his place. When she died her son took her place and he was the husband of Beverly Byron. Still a young man and out jogging one morning, he dropped dead and his wife took his place. Then, several years after being elected to Congress, she married a Catholic priest who had resigned from the church and all in all she was quite a target but apparently never recognized the fact.

March 5, 1992

My Chairman, Jamie Whitten, who has been in Walter Reed Hospital for several weeks was moved to his home yesterday here in Washington. He has been right sick and although the newspapers say he will be back in a week or two, my guess is it will be five or six weeks.

In today's newspapers here in Washington, we find stories to the affect that the Sergeant at Arms, Jack Russ, who has been under considerable pressure for many months now, may have shot himself. According to the police, his story of exactly what happened is just a little beyond the imagination. The police classify this event as a right unusual shooting. After removing Russ's wallet and watch, the police said it would be very uncommon and very unusual for robbers to then harm their victim in such a way. There are no suspects so far and very little to go on. No gun or bullet has been recovered and

police are still searching for Russ's wallet and Rolex watch. After the shooting, Russ was able to walk, he said, two blocks to House Annex 3 at First and E Streets where a Capitol police officer was stationed.

Senator Kerrey is on his way out of the Presidential primary. It is rumored that he owes \$1 million and this will have to be paid over the next few years, making it very difficult for him to raise the money to campaign for reelection. I guess that Harkin of Iowa will be the next one out.

March 6, 1992

We are now up to the point where some action must be taken concerning the checks that bounced prior to the closing of the little bank. The ethics and conduct committee acting under the Chairmanship of Matt McHugh of New York will, next week, report out a resolution. The Chairman of the ethics and conduct committee Louis Stokes of Cleveland had to step aside because he admitted that he had one or more checks that bounced and this is the reason Matt McHugh was placed in the position of acting Chairman for this particular investigation. Yesterday, several of the Members were selected by the Speaker to do a whip check of the Democrats to see just how they would vote if the Committee reported out a Resolution calling for the listing of the 19 sitting Members and the five former Members who gave the largest number of bounced checks and especially as to the amounts. There are supposed to be some 300 Members who, at one time, were guilty of having insufficient funds to cover checks when issued and one of them is our Speaker, Tom Foley. He said that his pertained to the purchase of some sort of stereo equipment.

Butler Derrick of South Carolina had my name on his list to find out as to how

I would vote if the method used was the release of only 24 names. In talking with this Member, I said to him that I thought the people generally in this country would be very unhappy with only 24 names released and that if I had the responsibility of making a final decision, I would recommend that the ethics and conduct committee report their resolution back to the House indicating the number of Members who had violated the rules of the little bank by bouncing checks and the amounts involved of all of the checks with a recommendation that all of the names be released or that none of the names be released and then let the House act upon the Resolution. This is probably the only system that will meet with the approval of the people in this country since this issue has really been publicized from one end of our country to the other. At least, unless there is a change, some action will be taken on this matter next week.

Kerrey is out of the running for President now and before too long, Harkin will drop out and then we will be down to Brown, Tsongas and Clinton. I still do not believe that any one of these three can beat Bush, notwithstanding the fact that former President Ronald Reagan said that Bush stands for nothing and later said he had been misquoted.

In going back again to the overdraft case, the Washington newspapers today carry articles that state that the ethics and conduct committee recommended that the House disclose names of 19 current and five former Members who the panel found had overdrawn their House bank accounts by more than a month's salary. Some Republicans on the panel criticized the fact that a relatively small number of Representatives were found to have abused check cashing privileges. Four Republicans dissented in the Committee's

ten to pour vote saying that they would submit at least one proposal for broader disclosure as an alternative to the Committee's proposed Resolution. The Resolution I understand also criticizes Jack Russ, the Sergeant at Arms for mismanaging the bank and failing to implement recommended reforms and for bouncing several checks himself. By the way, the newspapers now say that the police investigating his case where he was shot in the face, believe that the facts justify the conclusion that he shot himself. They say the overdraft case and other worries may have brought him to this point and that the two men and one woman with the shooting following seizure of his wallet and watch just probably did not happen.

Where we go from here in the House is anyone's guess and the sad part about all of this is all 435 Members in the House of Representatives and the 100 Senators are placed in the same class by some people along with those who violate the laws and have no respect for the Congress of the United States.

March 9, 1992

Another candidate for President on the Democrat side will withdraw today. This candidate is Tom Harkin, one of the two Senators from the State of Iowa and is an outspoken liberal. Harkin was saying a lot of things that the people like to hear said, but they just did not believe that he could beat Bush. He did not win a single primary and was the victor in just three Caucus states, including his own state of Iowa. Harkin's appeal, especially to organized labor, was at the very beginning expected to gain him a firm base of support that would keep him competing through the early contests. Labor did not endorse him up and down the line and only a few of the labor organizations endorsed and helped raise money for his campaign.

Over the weekend one or two political analysts said that they had never been convinced that the Democrat convention in New York would be a brokered convention, but they now believe it would be. I have believed all along that if Clinton is the Democrat candidate going into the convention with most of the delegate votes, there will be a brokered convention.

This is the week that the cold check issue and the little bank that was closed by the Speaker will come before the House. If the number is correct of 355 Members who at one time or another gave cold checks, it will be a right unusual vote if they vote to release their own name. More than 25 must be released in order to satisfy the people in this country and I doubt if any number will do unless the entire list is published.

Jack Russ, our Sergeant-at-Arms, finally decided to talk to the media and an article appeared this weekend in one of the Washington newspapers in which he said that he did not shoot himself and that any statement to that affect is absolutely ludicrous. I thought all along that he should talk to the media because the police department in the city was making all kinds of statements that his story simply did not ring true.

March 11, 1992

Clinton and Bush really swamped their opponents yesterday in the Super Tuesday sweep of six southern primaries. These included Texas and Florida. Buchanan is now being called upon by a number of Republican leaders throughout the country to call off his Presidential primary fight against Bush. They want him to drop out because he is really criticizing the President for taking no position on anything and really having demonstrated a

complete failure to lead this country.

The ethics and conduct committee will issue a report today and there may be a vote in the House on the question of bounced checks at the little bank tomorrow. The Committee's report suggesting that 24 Members be named will not satisfy certain other Members in the House and the four Republicans on the ethics committee filed a minority report. As I understand it, the 24 are to be notified and given some eight or ten days to present evidence that the information concerning their total number of checks as being the largest involved be examined by the committee. Unless they are successful in their appeal back to the committee, the names will then be publicly released. If the number of 355 is correct, with this being the number of Members who at one time or another over a four-year period bounced checks, the release of the list will be right devastating. In fact, it could cost 100 Members their seats and I still believe that before the November election somehow or other all of the information will be leaked as to the names and also probably the amounts of the bounced checks.

The last two years have not been good as far as the House of Representatives is concerned---the Sergeant-at-Arms shot and he, along with the Speaker and the Republican Whip issuing cold checks and with the House Post Office under investigation which so far has resulted in two indictments. The little bank was closed and the perk situation is now being published considerably. The cost of haircuts was bounced up from \$5.00 to \$10.00 in the two House of Representatives barbershops and a bill is now pending to designate a House Administrator who will work under the supervision of the Speaker, but be charged with oversight of the Sergeant-at-Arms Office, the Clerk's Office and the

Post Office. Just a lot of scandal and the media is really having a field day.

The primary election for the House Members in Mississippi yesterday did not disclose that the incumbents would be trampled under as heretofore predicted. My Chairman, Jamie Whitten, who has been under the weather now for several weeks, received 82% of the vote against his opponent and Sonny Montgomery, the Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee with an opponent received 85% of the vote. Apparently there was no belligerence insofar as the incumbents are concerned in this state.

March 12, 1992

Today and tomorrow will be two real busy days in the House of Representatives. We take up the Rule and general debate today on the Budget Process Reform Act of 1992 and will finish the bill tomorrow. We immediately thereafter tomorrow will take up the matter of the House bank checks. The little bank was closed and according to the report from the ethics and conduct committee some 355 sitting Members and former Members at one time or another bounced checks over a period of some three years. The Committee has suggested yesterday in a report to the Members that the top 19 Members names, moneywise and numbers-wise, be exposed and also they be given an opportunity within ten days to deny the charges along with five former Members. This would make a total of 24. The House Republican Caucus yesterday was a stormy one and during the Caucus it was agreed that all of the names should be released and that every effort should be made to do this tomorrow.

Some of the Members and their checks will be a serious matter in the November

election and it is possible we could lose 100 Members in the House. It will be right difficult to have over 200 House Members who have given cold checks vote to have their own names released, so the Lord only knows what action will take place tomorrow. This is probably the most controversial matter we have had up in the House of Representatives since I have been a Member and with the number involved, it is really serious.

March 13, 1992

Yesterday was probably the most crucial day in the history of the Congress during the Twentieth Century. At least I know it was the saddest day I have spent since I have been a Member of Congress.

The Leadership decided for several weeks now to support a resolution that provided for releasing only 24 names of Members who had cold checks outstanding. Nineteen are sitting Members and five are former Members. Those to be released were the highest in amounts and the most in numbers. This was simply to stonewall the whole matter and the Leadership refused to change. Then, early yesterday morning it became apparent that the majority of the Democrats in the House would not go along with that resolution without an additional resolution to follow listing all of the names of the 355 Members who had written bad checks. We were in session until 3 a.m. this morning after going into session yesterday at 11 a.m. A number of bitter speeches were made and accusations against the Speaker Tom Foley and the Majority Leader Dick Gephardt. It was decided to hold a caucus and the Democrats recessed the House for about five hours and a long caucus was held that finally resulted in an agreement that all of the names would be released. This, of course, was a

direct repudiation of the leadership on our side. When we went back into session after the recess, the first order of business was the acceptance of the resignation of Jack Russ as Sergeant-at-Arms. He cashed bad checks and was accused of permitting the little bank to operate in such a manner that it had to be closed. In addition, the question of his statement concerning the robbery while walking his dog has never been fully verified.

The Speaker, after we met following the recess and the acceptance of the resignation of Jack Russ, appointed his chief staff assistant as acting Sergeant-at-Arms. This brought on an uproar because the Republicans maintain that he had not talked with the leadership on our side even though under the Rules of the House he had the right to name an acting Sergeant-at-Arms. Following the naming, Newt Gingrich, the rebel from Georgia made an eight-minute speech and he accused the Democrats of everything under the sun and this included the closing of the bank and the indictments resulting from the operation of the House Post Office. He then went on to say that the man named by the Speaker had participated in a move to stonewall the condition in the House Post Office and this brought the Speaker out of his office with a bitter answer. One or two Members attempted to answer him, but failed miserably.

In Kentucky three of the Members secured letters from the Sergeant-at-Arms which indicated that they had issued no bad checks. One has been under attack now by the papers in Kentucky because he did not ask for a letter and it is apparent he had a number of cold checks outstanding. One other Member has been real coy about the whole matter, but in his votes last night clearly indicated that he has issued cold checks. One of the

newspapers decided that they would force me to secure a letter from the Sergeant-at-Arms and I made up my mind that I would not accept this pressure. I made a statement that I never issued a cold check in my life and that I was not on the list. Under the Resolution adopted after 20 days then the names of those Members will be released and then the balance of the 355 will be released and they will have a chance to defend themselves.

One of the newspapers in Washington carried two articles on the front page with the headline "House Votes to List Names of 355 Who Wrote Bad Checks." This story is as follows:

"The House, hoping to quell growing public outrage, voted overwhelmingly today to name 24 current or former members who abused their check-cashing privileges at the House Bank and to list the names of all 355 members or former members who wrote bad checks at the private bank.

The vote was 426 to 0 early this morning for "full disclosure" of the number of bad checks written by 296 members and 59 former members. The vote late last night to identify 19 current and five former members as "abusers" was 391 to 36. The disclosures will cover bad checks written during the 39-month period ending Oct. 3, 1991.

"Before debate began, the House was informed of the resignation of House Sergeant-At-Arms Jack Russ, who became the first casualty of the House Bank scandal. Russ had served as manager of the bank and was sharply criticized this week by the House ethics committee for the bank's slipshod practices and for writing \$56,100 in bad checks.

The announcement, which came as a surprise, was made in a routine fashion. House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) said a "communication" that contained Russ's resignation, effective immediately, had been received. Russ had held the job for nine years.

The debate last night was dominated by remarks sensitive to public dismay over the House's recent scandals and by the members' feeling that the bank's mismanagement had caused them harm.

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), in calling for full disclosure of the bank's records, said, 'The institution we love stumbles its way deeper into shame and dishonor, and the American people will no longer tolerate...excuses.'

Foley told the House, 'I hope it will be clear to the country that we are not hiding any information, embarrassing as it may be, as misleading as it may be, as unjust...in many

cases... to members as it may be. We're going to release it.'

With the general election less than eight months away, members of both parties increasingly demanded that the bank scandal be resolved as soon as possible regardless of the consequences. 'The brakes failed and we're going over the precipice,' Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D-NY) said earlier in the day. 'We have to take care of it.'

The first resolution called for release of the names of 24 current and former members deemed by the House ethics committee as having abused bank privileges by running overdrafts 'routinely,' 'repeatedly' and in 'significant amounts.'

The second resolution, lobbied hard by Republicans for several days and initially opposed by the House leadership, would list all of the check-kitters.

The debate came after an emotionally charged day that saw several members confess to having kited large numbers of checks. At an ethics committee meeting, Democrats accused Republicans of leaking bank account information. Republicans accused Democrats of mounting a coverup to protect 'abusers.' Some Democrats at a late afternoon, closed-door caucus meeting cried in frustration over slipshod bank practices that they said had trapped them in overdrafts, one participant said.

The Republicans, at first, sought to make the full disclosure resolution their own, but Democrats adopted it after Foley, Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and Michel met for several hours in Foley's offices to draft a compromise.

Foley told reporters after the Democratic caucus that the handling of the matter, including the drafting of the resolutions, was 'bi-partisan.' He did, however, repeat his view that 'there are serious problems with release of all these names,' and cited 'very, very severe management problems' within the bank.

Under the first resolution, the House will publish the names, numbers of bad checks and other account information for 19 members and five former members who ran bank overdrafts that exceeded their monthly paychecks for 20 percent of the months they had an account at the bank.

Publication of information on what the House described as the 24 'abusers,' will occur after 10 days to give those implicated a chance to examine their accounts and appeal the ethics committee's findings.

The second resolution provides for a complete listing of all remaining members who wrote at least one bad check during the 39-month period under investigation. This list will include only names

and numbers of bad checks and will be released 10 days after the list of 24.

The vote came the day after the ethics committee, formally known as the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, released a report on a five-month investigation of the bank, a payroll check-cashing facility that has operated for the convenience of House members for more than 150 years. The House on Oct. 3 ordered the bank closed and authorized the check-kiting investigation. No taxpayers' money was directly involved in the bank scandal.

The committee determined that the bank's rules for depositors were slapdash and its handling of accounts so sloppy that it could only recommend the disclosure of the names of 19 members and five former members as actual 'abusers' of bank privileges. A committee resolution to that effect was prepared.

Republican conservatives, Republican dissenters on the committee and Republican freshmen immediately cried foul, claiming that the line was too narrowly drawn. By Wednesday evening, Republicans had drafted a counterresolution calling for 'full disclosure' of all the names and numbers of bad checks.

And by yesterday morning, the Republicans were awash in partisan glee. Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.), chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, said after a party caucus that the kited checks represented a symbol of the Democratic 'one-party rule' of the House for the last 38 years.

'I am absolutely overjoyed that at least we have something that illustrates the corruption of the entire system that people can understand and relate to,' Vander Jagt said.

At a Democratic whip meeting, by contrast, members emerged looking glum. The ethics committee resolution, they said, was doomed. Full disclosure was the only way to go, although several Democrats noted that many relatively innocent members were going to have to answer for sins they didn't even know they had committed.

Democrat after Democrat complained that the bank hadn't entered their deposits the day they had made them, that the bank had held checks at the end of the month without telling them, that the bank had made multiple mistakes in its calculations, that it was impossible to tell from bank records whether there was an overdraft.

Rep. Peter H. Kostmayer (D-Pa.), who had admitted last year to writing 19 bad checks, told

reporters, 'We've been double-crossed and done real dirty by this bank.'

Without the votes to pass anything that didn't include full disclosure, Foley, Gephardt and Michel met in Foley's office to craft the two-resolution compromise. The idea, Democratic leadership sources said, was to forge a bipartisan consensus. Some Republicans claimed that the Democrats had 'caved in' to their wishes.

But by mid-afternoon, the mood in both camps had turned even more somber. In an ethics committee meeting, sources said, Democrats roundly castigated Republicans for leaking documents on the results of the investigations.

The sources said the Republican dissenters were also taken aback when they found out that the information available for 'full disclosure' was sketchy -- names and number of bad checks and nothing else.

And to reconstruct an overdraft history, a member would have to spend days poring over badly kept bank records. The committee had needed five months to rebuild the worst 66 cases. Full disclosure for everyone else, the committee found, meant that two members who wrote 10 bad checks each would be treated the same, whether the overdrafts totaled \$10 or \$10,000.

One source said the ethics committee's ranking minority member, Rep. James V. Hansen (R-Utah), a supporter of the original committee resolution, at one point offered bitter congratulations to his dissenting committee colleagues for winning the battle for full disclosure.

Said Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), 'I think when you have a mess this big, there's probably no fair process. All you can try to do is clean it up. Inevitably, someone will get hurt unfairly.' "

The other article on the front page was entitled "Members Rush to Confess" and is as follows:

"In times of political and financial distress, far better for a House member to confess his sins before the local press finds out.

That seems to be the rule that anxious House members were following as they tried to put the best face on their kited checks at the House Bank before a resolution to disclose every member's overdrafts reached the floor last night.

The preference to 'fess up first to the folks back home was established last fall, when the check-kiting scandal broke and some 60 members broke the news of their overdrafts --

usually to local reporters. At that time, several press secretaries said that members were granting the first interviews on the matter to local media only. The pattern continues.

Yesterday there was a rush to the confession line. At least eight members came forward and told on themselves.

Rep. Charles Hatcher (D-Ga.) told an Associated Press regional reporter here that he wrote as many as 780 bad checks, an average of 20 a month. Hatcher said he paid family bills out of his House Bank account with the understanding that overdrafts were permitted up to the amount of next month's pay.

'It was not a good practice. I'm not proud of it. It was wrong. It was a bad system.' he said in an interview with The Washington Post.

Rep. Gerry Sikorski (D-Minn.) who said he wrote 671 bad checks worth \$120,000, added that he 'should not have been so casual and careless.'

Rep. Charles Wilson (D-Tex.) first disclosed to Texas reporters that he wrote about 80 bad checks during the 39-month period reviewed by the General Accounting Office auditors.

Asked about his confession, Wilson said in a later interview: 'I've always thought in a deal like this that taking the shot is better than dreading the shot.'

He called the overdrafts 'no big deal' but was unsure about the political damage it would bring.

'It's not like molesting young girls or young boys. It's not a showstopper,' Wilson said. 'In the words of Abraham Lincoln, this too shall pass. But we are not going to get any badges of honor. It's one more anti-incumbent thing. It might be a showstopper. If it is, c'est la vie.'

Rep. William E. Dannemeyer (R-Calif.), an outspoken conservative who is running for the Senate, gave local newspapers information on 27 checks he kited.

And Rep. Beverly B. Byron (D-Md.), who was defeated in the primary last week, said she had inadvertently bounced one check last July 30 because she was unsure exactly when members are paid each month.

'The tragedy is an awful lot of members are in this same category,' Byron said. 'That's a far cry from those members who used the system blatantly and milked the system.'

In interviews with regional Knight-Ridder reporters, three other members yesterday revealed they had kited checks: Rep. Paul B. Henry (R-Mich.) said he had 20, Rep. Fred Upton (R-Mich.) said he had one and Rep. Larry Smith (D-Fla.) said the number of his overdrafts was unknown.

In a statement faxed to Georgia news organizations, Rep. George 'Buddy' Darden (D-Ga.) confessed to an unspecified number of 'inadvertent overdrafts.'

Hatcher, whose 780 bad checks would put him among the top offenders, said the only advice he could give other members in his situation was 'openness.'

A month ago, Rep. Wayne Owens (D-Utah), another Senate candidate, gave Salt Lake City newspapers a letter from a local banker analyzing 20-odd overdrafts in his House Bank account.

The conclusion from Ross E. Kendell, president of Key Bank of Utah, where Owens banked before coming to Congress: If Owens had an interest-bearing account at Key and paid normal charges on his overdrafts, the bank would owe him about \$127.

'I wished I had kept my bank account at Key Bank,' Owens said in an interview yesterday. 'I'd be richer and less bruised.'

In technical language, Kendell's letter indicated that Owens's

'unposted checks' --overdrafts-- averaged \$484 during the year ending July 1990. The banker also said Owens had 'an average outstanding loan' of \$406 on which he paid no interest.

But his office's news release on the subject focused on the net \$127.27 due Owens on an average daily balance of \$4,815. Owens himself focused on the 'interest' due on ABC's 'Good Morning America.'

Although other candidates for the seat of retiring Sen. Jake Garn (R-Utah) have pounced on the overdrafts as a campaign issue, Owens said he could only hope that voters would give him credit for making an unforced confession.

'I think the hullabaloo will die down, and people will remember that I was forthcoming,' he said. 'I think, in perspective, it [overdrawing his account] was not a grave error...It may turn out to be politically stupid.' "

March 16, 1992

Another story appeared in one of the Washington newspapers today entitled, "Political Furor Grows Over House Bank." This article is as follows:

"The House ethics committee has yet to identify a single member involved in the House Bank check overdraft scandal, but it has ignited a political firestorm.

Many members rushed to confess over the weekend, and yesterday some senior Republicans accused the House Democratic leadership of ethical laxity that they said has fostered an atmosphere of corruption.

House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said no Democrat could 'clean up the House' because of what he called 'an institutional problem of corruption of power involving the Democratic leadership.'

After the House voted early Friday to make public next month the list of members who wrote bad checks that the House Bank made good without penalty, a mad scramble ensued among House members eager to confess, explain, make excuses or fix blame in an attempt to control the fallout from what has grown into a nationwide cause celebre.

The number of those who have acknowledged that they wrote at least some checks for amounts that exceeded their balances grew to more than 110, according to a list compiled by the Associated Press.

Another list, purportedly of the 21 Democrats among the 24 most egregious 'abusers' of the check-writing privilege identified by the ethics committee, was leaked late Saturday to a number of news

organizations, including The Washington Post. But its accuracy could not be verified.

Some members minimized the importance of the check-writing issue to voters, but others predicted that it will be an issue in their reelection campaigns.

Either way, the political dialogue yesterday was little short of poisonous.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), who yesterday acknowledged passing 'two or three' bad checks and expressed regret that he 'wasn't more energetic' in reacting to the affair, said he had 'confidence in the electorate' not to 'overreact.'

But Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.), chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, said on CNN's 'Newsmaker Sunday' that blame for the scandal rests with the Democrats 'lock, stock and barrel' because they control the House, appointed the officials who ran the ill-fated bank, dominate the known roster of alleged offenders and 'tried to cover it up.'

Gingrich, appearing on ABC's 'This Week With David Brinkley,' said Foley knew about the check overdraft problem but 'did nothing for three years.' He also accused Foley of trying to block an investigation of alleged cocaine

trafficking by a staff member of the House post office.

Foley, in a separate appearance on the same program, called that accusation 'outrageous.' He said the ethics committee had conducted its inquiry in a bipartisan manner but Gingrich 'has shown a tendency to throw all caution to the wind, to engage in reckless attacks on individuals... and he frankly owes an apology to me...'

Foley told reporters that he regretted that 'the bank management did not carry out the instructions which I gave it in 1990' to implement reforms. 'And, if I had it to do over again...I would have been concerned on a day-to-day basis that that was being done,' he said. 'I had no reason to believe at the time it was not, but I regret it was not.'

Rep. Fred Grandy (R-Iowa), an ethics committee member, said it was Gingrich's duty to raise partisan issues but questioned the validity of his assault on Foley. 'In this particular instance,' Grandy said, 'I think he is perhaps working from data that he himself could not corroborate. In this kind of investigation where individuals are involved -- Republicans and Democrats -- I think the less said, the better, until the absolute facts are laid out.'

Those facts are not scheduled to be laid out for several days

because the members and former members identified by the committee as the worst abusers of the check overdraft system are not to be named publicly until they have had an opportunity to explain.

Under terms of the two House resolutions voted late Thursday and early Friday, the names of the 24 worst bank abusers will be released after the offenders have had 'at least' until March 23 to examine their accounts and dispute the ethics committee's findings.

The list of 331 additional offenders, together with the number of bad checks they wrote, will be released after at least an additional 10 days - April 2 at the earliest.

The purported list of worst Democratic abusers of the overdraft privilege leaked Saturday contained 16 current House members and five former representatives.

Ethics committee acting Chairman Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.) was unavailable for comment or confirmation, but a committee spokesman said 'any list' released without the committee's official stamp of approval was 'speculative and premature.'

Still, the list at least in part confirmed speculation circulating for months about the identifies of the biggest offenders.

None of those named appeared to have been formally notified, and none would authenticate the leaked information. Most, however, had already acknowledged some check-bouncing and several had admitted to substantial overdrafts.

Grandy told reporters after a television appearance yesterday that 'the rumors circulating about this have been an absolute political maelstrom.'

A great deal of member outrage has focused on the shoddy practices at the bank, where tellers kept few records, made many mistakes, often failed to enter House members' deposits on time and held bad checks at the end of the month without the members' knowledge. The shuffling of money ensured that no account holder ever showed a negative balance, but this 'favor' has now come home to haunt many members who said they had no idea of the scope and nature of their overdrafts.

The leaked list of offenders contained only Democratic names, but the only members confirmed to have been notified by the ethics committee as being on the list are Republicans, Robert W. Davis (Mich.) and Mickey Edwards (Okla.) Davis's press secretary, William Blaul, told reporters that Davis was responsible for 878 overdrafts.

Edwards said in a statement he was 'stunned and humiliated'

to learn that he was named, AP reported.

Speaking for themselves or through spokesmen, 11 other members among the 21 Democrats on the purported list said they had received no such notice. Most also challenged the conclusion that their House Bank accounts had been overdrawn so much as to merit inclusion on any such list.

'I'd face up to it if I thought it was true,' Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) told the Cleveland Plain Dealer. 'It's difficult to believe it's accurate. I'm not denying it, but I am taking steps to get an independent audit.'

Rep. Edward F. Feighan (D-Ohio) told the same newspaper: 'I was stunned and obviously quite embarrassed to be on any list. I knew I had written checks with the knowledge of overdraft protection, but I did not know the exact number of checks over that allowance.'

Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), a senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said, 'I'm proud of my 24-year record of achievement and I am confident my constituents, when they learn all the facts, will put this in perspective.'

Solarz said that when the General Accounting Office first published its audit of the bank last October, he had his accountant go over his records and subsequently paid the bank about \$2,400, his estimate of what he would have owed had his account been a traditional one with overdraft protection in which check overdrafts are covered but the customer is charged interest.

Solarz said there was an 'implicit trade-off' between the bank automatically covering the checks of members who did not have sufficient funds and the bank's policy of not paying any interest to members on their checking accounts.

Rep. Carl C. Perkins (D-Ky.), who is not seeking reelection, said in a statement through a friend that 'Not one check bounced. Everyone written a check received their money. Every congressional checking statement Rep. Perkins received had a positive balance.'

Tom Barry, administrative assistant to Rep. Robert J. Mrazek (D-N.Y.) said that 'based on preliminary analysis, there is no way' his boss could have written the number of bad checks he is purported to have written.

Rep. William L. Clay (D-Mo.) denied that he ever overdrew his House Bank account by more than his next month's pay -- the standard

the ethics committee used to identify top abusers. 'I categorically deny abusing the system. I deny I did not make payments in a timely fashion to cover the amount of checks they say had insufficient funds,' he told the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Rep. Ronald D. Coleman (D-Tex.) was more apologetic and fearful. 'I think whatever Republican I run against can raise this as an issue, and I think it's legitimate to do that. I was obviously negligent with my personal finance record-keeping,' he told the Associated Press.

Others who have acknowledged writing uncovered checks said they have not been notified that they are on the purported ethics committee list, including Reps. Charles A. Hayes (D-Ill.), Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.), Charles Hatcher (D-Ga.) and Charles Wilson (D-Tex.), and former representative Tommy Robinson of Arkansas, a Democrat who turned Republican."

March 17, 1992

According to our information this morning, the member of the Cabinet that is also guilty of bouncing checks while serving in the House of Representatives is Secretary Dick Cheney of the Department of Defense. He will have a press conference today to explain the situation in detail and orders have come from the White House to the other members of the Cabinet who at one time or other served in the Congress to check

their records to make sure they are not on the list. The finger pointing has reached the stage now where you point yours at others and suddenly you might have to point to yourself. The article in today's "Washington Post" is entitled "Bank Scandal Spurs U. S. Criminal Probe". This article is as follows:

"Federal prosecutors are trying to determine whether any criminal laws were violated when 355 current and former House members wrote checks with insufficient funds in their House Bank accounts, a spokesman for U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens said yesterday.

'We are reviewing allegations of possible criminal conduct involving the House Bank,' said Mark Liedle, a special counsel to Stephens. Later, Stephens's office said in a statement that 'we are conducting a preliminary inquiry.'

A law enforcement official said Stephen's office wants to see if federal mail and wire fraud laws were violated by the House Bank or its managers and employees who were aware of the overdrafts.

The announcement of the inquiry stopped short of declaring a full investigation of overdrafts at the House Bank, a check-cashing facility that operated casually and without a charter for more than 150 years until it was closed last December. Some members understood overdrafts up to the amount of the next month's

pay were permissible under the bank's informal rules. No taxpayers' money was directly involved in the bank's operation.

The House voted last week to identify within about three weeks 296 current members and 59 former ones who overdrew their accounts, including 24 the ethics committee said had kited checks that involved substantial sums during a 39-month period ending last October.

Word of the preliminary criminal inquiry came as House aides streamed into the ethics committee's office to inspect members' bank records, three top check-kitters confirmed receiving official notice from the committee and House Republican leaders continued to cast the House Bank scandal as an example of Democratic misrule.

At the White House, a new review began into whether any administration officials who served in the House -- including Cabinet and sub-Cabinet rank -- had written bad checks at the bank.

White House Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner said he would be 'very, very surprised' if any former House members now in the administration were serious offenders but said it was unclear whether their bank accounts ever had been overdrawn.

Spokesmen for three House Democrats said yesterday the members had been informed they were among the top 24 bad check writers. The trio -- Rep. Robert J. Mrazek (N.Y.), a Senate candidate; Rep. Charles Hatcher (Ga.) and Rep. James H. Scheuer (N.Y.) -- were on a purported list of the top 21 Democrats that news organizations obtained from official sources over the weekend.

Appearing on CNN's 'Larry King Live' last night, Mrazek said a reconstruction of his account showed he was overdrawn in only two of 39 months, fewer than the eight that would qualify him for the top 24. The bank, he said, held 136 deposits for two to seven days, causing the appearance of overdrafts. Mrazek's accountant and lawyer were to have met with General Accounting Office investigators yesterday to compare records.

Questions about the list's accuracy were raised by some Democrats yesterday. The unofficial list, for example, includes former majority whip Tony Coelho, who resigned his California seat in June 1989, 12 months into the 39-month period that was investigated by the GAO and the House ethics committee. But Coelho noted the ethics panel report indicates that the top 24 'abusers' had bank accounts for at least 18 months of that time. Former members were not allowed to keep their accounts, and a former aide said Coelho's was closed promptly.

But Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.), chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, accepted the purported list as accurate in a news release yesterday. It said one reason Democrats are to blame for the scandal is 'at least 20 of the 24 names of the worst offenders are Democrats,' a count that subtracts one Democrat-turned-Republican on the list.

'We've got a big mess in the House, and it's a Democratic mess,' Vander Jagt said at a news conference. He said overdrafts were not customary at the bank when Republicans last controlled the House in 1953-54, according to William Bonsell, who as sergeant-at-arms directed the bank that session.

'My point is you can't reform it, unless you put it under new management,' Vander Jagt said, echoing House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.).

Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.), who has acknowledged an undetermined number of overdrafts, said yesterday the House Bank scandal was not a one-party affair. 'All I know is a substantial number of Republicans and the Republican leadership had overdrafts as well,' he said.

Gingrich has said he had about 20 and Rep. Mickey Edwards (Okla.), chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, has confirmed being among the top 24. So has Rep. Robert W. Davis (R. Mich.).

In its statement, the U.S. attorney's office said, 'We have reviewed the GAO audit while awaiting completion of the House report. We now have obtained a copy of the House report and are reviewing it to determine what, if any, additional action may be appropriate.'

One criminal offense possibly involved in the overdrafts, a law enforcement official said, would be a violation of a District law that prohibits knowingly writing a check with insufficient funds to cover it.

If the check was for more than \$100, the offense is a felony, with penalties of up to three years in prison and a fine of up to \$3,000 for each check. Proof of fraudulent intent would be needed. The ethics committee did not explore possible criminal behavior.

Some House members on the purported list of the top 21 disputed their overdrafts were anywhere near the large numbers and amounts indicated. A statement issued by a Scheuer aide questioned whether the bank promptly posted deposits and declared he will not be in the top 24 once such mistakes are corrected. Members have 10 days to appeal the accuracy of the House ethics committee's findings.

Rep. Joseph E. Early (D-Mass.) said a review of his bank records indicated his balance was always

positive, dipping to a low of 77 cents in June 1989.

An aide to Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) said he was rechecking his bank records to see whether his overdrafts would rank him among the top 24.

'It was my fault -- careless bookkeeping -- but this was another of what I considered to be our perks,' said former representative Jim Bates, a California Democrat who is campaigning to return to the House. 'I feel like we were set up or had, to some extent, by the leadership, the speaker, the bank people, the system. Why did they set it up, if it wasn't a perk?'

The White House renewed its internal review, Skinner said, when it became obvious some administration officials shared the same problem confronting many House members -- that the bank's slipshod records made it difficult to reconstruct accounts and say definitely that no bad checks had been written.

In an interview last week, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater had said that all Cabinet members who had served in the House were 'clean.' Yesterday, Fitzwater said his original statement 'turned out to be wrong.'

Fitzwater added, 'I know of some comments made [to White House counsel C. Boyden Gray]

and I don't want to go into it until we have it all sorted out.'

Among administration officials who served in the House are Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, Agriculture Secretary Edward R. Madigan, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. and White House deputy chief of staff W. Henson Moore. Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward J. Derwinski, a longtime representative from Wisconsin, told an Associated Press reporter, 'I made damn sure I didn't write a bum check.' "

March 18, 1992

Now, the Republicans have stopped pointing their fingers at the Democrats over the Sergeant at Arms bank bouncing check scandal. Yesterday three of President Bush's Cabinet secretaries admitted that while serving in the House of Representatives they had cold checks. On the front page of "The Washington Post" today is a picture of Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney of Wyoming, pointing to a large board where checks that he issued at the House bank are displayed. In addition to Cheney, we have Lynn Martin, the Secretary of Labor and Ed Madigan, the Secretary of Agriculture. All previously served in the House and all now are admitting to having cold checks. The headline in the paper is "3 Cabinet Members Admit Writing Bad Checks in House" and the story is as follows:

Even President Bush and Vice President Quayle were having their records rechecked, although their spokesman said Bush and Quayle were certain, based on their recollections, that they had not written bad checks while serving in the House.

The Bush and Quayle House terms fall outside the time period reviewed by General Accounting Office and House ethics committee investigators, but White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray asked House ethics officials to certify that Bush and other former House members in the administration have clean records anyway.

The administration's day of confession began with a televised news conference by Cheney, complete with military-style briefing charts and extensive details of his personal finances, that rivaled some of his performances during the Persian Gulf War.

Cheney said he had found 21 'problem checks' over the weekend in piecing together his records of the 1989-90 House period in question. He said he was told by ethics committee officials there were 25 such checks, but said his banking records showed he always had a positive monthly balance and had no checks returned for insufficient funds.

Madigan, who followed Cheney, barred television cameras from his news conference on the advice of White House officials who cringed at what one called the 'military over-production' of Cheney's performance.

Madigan, who abruptly left an Illinois political dinner at which Bush appeared Monday night to rush back to Washington to deal with the problem, said he had found 49 bad checks from the nearly three years he served in the House before leaving in 1991 for the Agriculture Department.

Martin, in a statement issued by the Labor Department, said she had issued 16 overdrafts for a total of \$5,125. She said a third of the overdrafts were caused by checks from her renters that bounced on deposit.

Officials said Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp had one contentious check from his days as a House member from New York. Kemp's records showed it had not caused an overdraft, but House records indicated it may have.

Bush, who has been restrained in his use of the scandal as a political club against Democrats, said yesterday, 'A lot of people are piling on. It's an institutional problem.' Asked about the

"Republican hopes of portraying the House Bank scandal as an election-year symbol of Democratic abuse of power suffered a blow yesterday when three members of President Bush's Cabinet, led by Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney, confessed to writing bad checks during their tenures in the House.

In a series of news conferences and statements orchestrated by a chagrined White House anxious to get the confessions over in one day, Cheney, Agriculture Secretary Edward R. Madigan and Labor Secretary Lynn Martin offered explanations of how they had written checks on their House Bank accounts that contained insufficient funds.

The three Cabinet members were followed by John Hiler, the Assistant administrator of the General Services Administration and a former House member from Indiana, who said he had written five bad checks totaling less than \$4,000.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said that 'to my knowledge' no other member of the administration would be coming forward, but he cautioned that until House Bank records could be checked against individual records and House ethics committee information, 'we cannot be certain.'

House scandal later, he defended administration officials and the 'good people on the Hill' whom he said had gone through 'considerable agony.'

'Let's get the facts out and then I think the American people are smart, they will be able to make a determination as to what was wrongdoing and who were simply victims of a system that obviously has failed everybody.' Bush said.

But Quayle, who gleefully seized on the issue the day it broke as a Democratic scandal, told reporters at an appearance in California, "This is what happens when you have one-party control of an institution for almost 40 years. A national disgrace. A national scandal. They are out of touch with reality and out of touch with the people. They think they are above the law.'

Republican campaign advisers said they doubted that the political maelstrom that has swept up two House Republican leaders -- Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (Ga.) and Rep. Mickey Edwards (Okla.), chairman of the Republican Policy Committee -- and three members of the Cabinet can be used by Republicans as a national issue against Democrats.

'I think I'll go slit my wrists,' said one Bush adviser. 'This is the best issue we had.'

I already had the ads in my head.'

Monday, the U.S. attorney's office said it would examine 'possible criminal conduct involving the House Bank.' The House voted last week to identify within about three weeks the 355 members and former members who overdrew their accounts, including 24 the ethics committee said had kited checks that involved substantial sums during a 39-month period ending last October.

Cheney, the former House minority whip who cultivates a squeaky clean image and joked about the bank scandal in a speech last Thursday, said he learned this week that he had written 25 bad checks from 1988 through the spring of 1989, when he left the Hill to join the Bush administration.

'It doesn't seem quite as funny today,' said Cheney, who said the overdrafts occurred because he and his wife had miscalculated the funds they kept in their House account and the bank never notified him of the overdrafts. The overdrawn checks ranged from \$12.00 to \$1,945 and all of the deficits were covered within one to five days, when his paycheck was deposited, Cheney said.

Cheney expressed 'anger and frustration' at his discovery and appeared to lay much of the

blame at the feet of House Democratic leaders. 'I do think a certain burden of responsibility should be assigned to those responsible for the day-to-day running of the House of Representatives,' he said. 'They may want to consider offering an apology to the public and to those of us, members of both parties, who have had our reputations tarnished as a result of the way the House Bank was allowed to operate.'

Cheney said he had been reassured when he reviewed his bank statements last week that they did not reflect any overdrafts. Cheney said he subsequently learned, however, that the only way to find out if he had overdrawn his account was to review his cancelled checks, which are stamped with the dates they were received and posted to his account. Any discrepancy between the two indicated an overdraft, Cheney said.

On that basis, he said, he found 21 checks that had been overdrawn. The ethics committee then told him that there were 25 such checks, Cheney said, adding that his records apparently were incomplete. The value of the 21 checks was \$10,069, a Pentagon spokesman said.

Cheney described himself as a stickler for financial propriety

and said he does not even borrow money to buy cars. 'It is especially aggravating to be lumped together with others who were clearly abusing the system,' Cheney said.

Cheney ruefully acknowledged, however, that he would no longer be telling jokes like the one he told to a business group last Thursday. 'I began my remarks by saying that it is difficult to be secretary of defense at a time when we are cutting the defense budget,' he said. 'But I said things could be worse. I could still be a member of Congress with an account at the House Bank.'

Madigan, a 10-term Illinois Republican House member, yesterday said he had written 49 bad checks worth about \$30,000 during a 31-month period ending March 1991. The amount is the face-value of the checks and does not reflect what was available in his account.

'More attention should have been paid to the workings of this account,' Madigan said at a news conference he called yesterday, only to prohibit cameras and tape recorders when reporters showed up. 'Clearly, this is an embarrassment to me, my family and friends.'

The largest was a \$8,618.84 check he wrote after banking hours on January 23, 1989, for a real estate settlement in the

Washington area. He said he transferred \$9,000 from a savings account to his checking account the following day. The check was held for payment until January 25, when the deposit was credited.

He said he knew at the time he wrote the check that he did not have \$8,000 in his account.

Madigan criticized the House Bank for not crediting most of the 114 checks he deposited on the same day he made the deposits. Fifty-one of the checks were credited to his account the next day; three were not credited for seven business days or longer.

To make the case that he was solvent financially and would not have a reason to kite checks, Madigan ticked off his personal finances: \$39,000 in his congressional credit union; \$25,000 in his government savings plan; \$16,000 in a savings institution in Illinois; \$4,000 in another savings bank; \$9,500 in checking and savings accounts in his hometown bank.

Martin released only a written statement that noted the familiar problems of not being informed of overdrafts, of never getting a statement with a negative balance and of bad House Bank records. 'All this would be true, but they would still ignore the crux of the matter,' the statement said, 'that members of Congress

were not treated in the same way as most Americans at their banks.'

Noting most pay a penalty for bouncing checks, Martin said she calculated what would have been the normal bank penalty, \$425, and sent it to charity. 'Someone at least should benefit from this embarrassing episode,' she said."

March 20, 1992

Every day brings startling news. Yesterday at Noon, the Postmaster of the House, Bob Rota, resigned following indictments of three in his office and investigation of a fourth employee. It now appears that the Postmaster was cashing checks for Members and real large checks received by way of campaign contributions. Rota apparently told someone that Heather Foley, the wife of the Speaker told him to stonewall way back yonder what was taking place in the Post Office and now the Washington papers say that the Committee on House Administration will call her to answer questions concerning the stonewalling if it is true.

We are in session today, on Friday, with the main business being the Conference Report on the tax reduction bill and this is the one that the President says he will veto the minute it arrives in the White House. The House and Senate Confererees have been in session just about all night, but say they will have the Conference Report ready by the time the House convenes at 11 a.m. this morning.

There are two articles in one of the Washington papers today. One is entitled "House postmaster quits; probe grows", and this story is as follows:

"House Postmaster Robert V. Rota resigned yesterday amid allegations of illegal check cashing at the postal facility, while congressional and law enforcement officials revealed that an undercover probe included telephone surveillance of some top House officials.

The officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity said a federal grand jury run by U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens already has heard some of the secret tape recordings, which reportedly include conversations between Mr. Rota and Heather Foley, wife and chief of staff to Speaker Thomas S. Foley.

The undercover operation also included video surveillance inside the House Post Office.

Besides probing allegations of cocaine sales, embezzlement, theft and an illegal check-cashing scheme at the House Post Office, the grand jury is looking at possible obstruction-of-justice charges against some top House Democratic officials.

Whether Mrs. Foley is implicated in any wrongdoing could not be immediately determined, but the officials said Mr. Rota may be a target of the grand jury.

Mr. Stephens' office did not respond to calls seeking

comment last night.

The Washington Times reported yesterday that some House members allegedly cashed personal and campaign checks at the House Post Office in return for cash or stamps. The stamps would be redeemed later for cash.

Some of the lawmakers may also be involved in the House bank scandal. The ethics committee recently discovered that 355 current and former members wrote tens of thousands of bad checks with a total face value of about \$25 million.

Mr. Stephens, who has opened a preliminary criminal investigation of the House bank, has been conducting a separate criminal investigation into the House Post Office for several months. Thefts at the facility were discovered in April.

An audit by the U.S. Postal Inspection Service found 'gross mismanagement' by Mr. Rota and probably criminal conduct by some staffers.

Three former postal clerks have admitted embezzlement, while a fourth faces charges of embezzlement and possibly cocaine trafficking. All have said they will cooperate with the ongoing criminal investigation.

Mr. Rota, who resigned on his 57th birthday, is the second House officer in the past week to resign as a result of scandal. Jack Russ resigned as House sergeant-at-arms seven days ago after severe criticism of his mismanagement of the House Bank.

The ethics panel, formally called the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, said last week that Mr. Russ failed to properly oversee operations of the bank, which was closed in December after a critical audit by the General Accounting Office.

Mr. Rota, who testified recently before a grand jury, was grilled about alleged attempts by senior Democratic officials to kill or impede an initial criminal probe of the postal facility last year, according to congressional and federal law enforcement officials.

Frank A. Kerrigan, the Capitol Police chief who retired early in June, testified recently before the grand jury about his knowledge of secret tape recordings in which House General Counsel Stephen R. Ross allegedly tried to stop a police probe in June.

Mr. Ross, in interviews earlier, flatly denied charges

by Chief Kerrigan and other police officials that he sought to derail a criminal investigation.

Mr. Rota, who initially cooperated with the Capitol Police probe in April and May, ordered House Post Office employees in June not to cooperate on orders of Mr. Ross, according to internal police documents obtained by The Times.

The federal grand jury investigating the postal facility, which acted as an independent contractor for the U.S. Postal Service, has sought to establish evidence that one or more senior House Democratic officials may have obstructed justice, according to the congressional and federal law enforcement officials.

The same officials said that the grand jury is keenly interested in the role played by Mr. Ross and Mrs. Foley throughout the investigation last year.

As part of Mr. Rota's examination, the officials said he was allowed to hear portions of secretly taped phone conversations he had with Mrs. Foley and other senior House Democratic officials.

Details of those conversations were not provided to The Times. But the officials said they dealt with the status of the emerging investigation last summer.

The officials said that lawmakers who reportedly no longer were allowed to cash checks at the House bank in some cases circumvented the restriction by writing checks to 'cash' or 'postmaster' at the House Post Office.

House members and their staff also allegedly used campaign checks to buy stamps and other services at the post office and sometimes later resold the stamps for cash at the in-house mail facility.

U.S. Postal Service regulations prohibit the use of personal and corporate checks other than for purchases of stamps and other services up to \$200 and \$500, respectively.

The use of checks for getting cash is against U.S. postal regulations and could involve criminal wrongdoing.

Mr. Rota, 57, in a three-sentence letter of resignation yesterday, said 'it has been an honor and pleasure to serve the members of Congress and this institution for these many years. Thank you.'

His letter was read on the House floor.

Mr. Foley, Washington Democrat, told reporters shortly afterward that the postmaster's departure was not prompted by news reports of wrongdoing.

'No, I don't think there's any connection with that at all,' Mr. Foley said. 'I wouldn't assign any connection with that.'

Congressional sources said, however, that Mr. Rota had planned to stay until the end of this year before retiring, plans he had made public to others in the House."

The second story is entitled "Party pressure on Foley mounts" and this story is as follows:

"Speaker Thomas S. Foley is under fire from House Democrats who say his mishandling of the bad-check scandal has further plunged the institution into disrepute and endangered their re-election.

There also are warnings from lawmakers that if he does not act quickly to clean up the scandal and move to protect threatened members he will be opposed for reelection as speaker in December.

Rep. Richard J. Durbin, Illinois Democrat, voicing a typical criticism, said his

'level of anger and frustration' over Mr. Foley's handling of the scandals was 'found throughout the [House Democratic] caucus.'

'Foley failed to sense the seriousness of this issue from Day One,' said Democratic Rep. Timothy J. Penny of Minnesota. 'I think he will face opposition within the caucus.'

Complaints about Mr. Foley's leadership have been growing since the House bank scandal broke, putting the re-election of dozens of members in jeopardy. Earlier this week, in a rare public display of discord, Rep. Joseph D. Early, Massachusetts Democrat, denounced the speaker from the floor, saying, 'He has handled this situation as a disgrace, as a disgrace.'

But such complaints took on even greater intensity after Tuesday's Illinois primary when two House Democrats were ousted from office, one of whom was reported to have written 716 bad checks.

'The buck does stop at the speaker's office,' Mr. Durbin said yesterday. 'He must step forward with comprehensive changes in how the place is managed...For the survival of members with no guilt, this has to be done.'

Mr. Durbin's 'feelings validate the feelings of most members,' said a chief aide to the House Democratic caucus. 'People are very angry about the situation.'

In a letter to Mr. Foley, Rep. Tom McMillen, Maryland Democrat, yesterday called on him to appoint an independent commission to review operation of the House. The bank scandal, he said, has 'eroded public confidence in this institution.'

The scandal, now facing criminal inquiries by the U.S. Attorney's Office, deepened yesterday with the resignation of House Postmaster Robert Rota.

Mr. Rota's departure followed disclosures in The Washington Times yesterday that House members reportedly were using the post office to cash personal or campaign checks in violation of Postal Service regulations.

'Members are complaining a lot about Foley,' said a top aide to a senior Democratic House member close to the speaker. 'They are unhappy with him for moving too slowly.'

Mr. Foley was elected speaker in 1989 at least in part to clean up the leadership after the resignation of Speaker Jim Wright and Democratic Whip Tony Coelho.

Yesterday the Washington Democrat accepted partial responsibility saying: 'I certainly regret that I did not assume, as I did, that the instructions that I had directed to the bank were not carried out. I assumed that they would be. I regret...the problems that have occurred as a result.'

Several House Democrats said that if the scandal worsens, or more members are defeated in upcoming primaries, Mr. Foley's future as speaker will be in doubt.

'They [House leaders] should have gotten a powerful wake-up call,' Rep. Dan Glickman, Kansas Democrat, told Congressional Quarterly. 'If they don't read members' mood right now, I think they could see serious challenges in the next Congress.'

Rep. Leon Panetta of California, House Budget Committee chairman, agreed. 'If the [banking] issue becomes decisive in a number of [elections], it could have an impact on the leadership. A lot of members will try to assign blame.'

'No one is saying they want to cut Mr. Foley's services,' said a House Democratic official. 'But what members are going to say in December when he comes up for reelection [as speaker] remains to be seen.'

Asked if Mr. Foley was in danger of losing the speakership, Mr. Durbin said, 'A great deal depends on what happens in the next few days in terms of reforms' to 'reclaim the respectability of this institution.'

'Many think that the speaker should have been looking out after them, protecting them,' said an aide to a veteran Democratic member who asked not to be identified. 'They feel he let them down.'

Other Democrats complained he should not have opposed full disclosure, which the Republicans sought, making it appear that Democrats were trying to cover up the bad-check scandal.

Rep. James L. Oberstar of Minnesota said Mr. Foley 'made a mistake of judgement' when he initially pushed for the ethics committee's proposal to reveal only the names of the 24 worst checking abusers.

But Mr. Foley still has many defenders. 'I support him now and I plan to support him in December when he seeks re-election as speaker,' said Veterans Affairs Committee Chairman G.V. 'Sonny' Montgomery of Mississippi.

Rep. Charles W. Stenholm, a Texas Democrat who has been

critical of Mr. Foley's management, said the speaker met with his House Democratic whips yesterday and discussed reform.

Mr. Stenhold added: 'He's very intent on getting on top of a lot of very difficult situations. I believe the next 40 days will be more important than anything that's happened in the past.'

As for assigning responsibility, he said, 'All of us have to share some of the burden of blame.' "

March 23, 1992

We are still under all kinds of pressure from the check-kiting scandal and now the Speaker has decided to make a move to eliminate certain perks, as they are called by the Members. No longer can drugs be obtained from the Capitol physician and the Speaker is directing that the services of the masseuse be discontinued, and that the Members dues for the gymnasium increase from \$100 a year to \$100 each quarter.

An article appeared in one of the Washington newspapers today entitled "Check-Kiting Scandal's Widening Ripples Staining More and More". This article is as follows:

"It was the week that Congress learned just what toll the House Bank scandal might exact.

'Certainly, the people have a feeling of betrayal, and they have a feeling of lack of respect for this Congress and

this body,' said Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli (D-Ky.), reporting on a 'dismaying and depressing' trip back home to Louisville.

The bank scandal, at first a bitter, partisan battle inside the House, had become a vivid part of campaign '92, with both parties moving to use it as a way of exploiting voters' frustration with Congress and Washington ways .

President Bush, speaking of 'paralysis' and 'disarray' on Capitol Hill during a speech Friday, underscored his attack with a joking reference to the recent case of embezzlement and drug-selling at the House Post Office.

Bush's chief of staff, Samuel K. Skinner, continued the White House theme on CBS's "Face the Nation" yesterday, saying that 'nobody in this country thinks Congress is working...And I'm just absolutely appalled at how non-functioning Congress is.'

The Democratic front-runner, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, acknowledged that Congress suffers from image and campaign finance troubles, but put some of the blame on Presidents Reagan and Bush. 'I think the abandonment of our last presidencies of any national responsibility for setting a real, aggressive

agenda to deal with our problems has left the Congress adrift in an unfortunate manner,' he said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

As one consequence of the House Bank scandal after another tumbled out last week, lawmakers of both parties took to the floor and decried as a tragedy, disaster or crisis the fallout from the disclosures of members' writing bad checks without penalty.

Taking their case first to hometown news media, members reportedly ranked among the top 24 abusers of the checking privileges tried to explain hundreds of overdrafts as best they could, relying on the haphazard records of the casual and unchartered bank that was shut down last December. The list included Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), a senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Rep. William F. Goodling (R-Pa.), ranking minority member on the House Education and Labor Committee.

Those 19 members and five former members were joined by less egregious offenders who apologized and sometimes released their House Bank records in a shrewd exercise of preemptive public relations. Rep. Duncan Hunter (R-Calif.), who said he had more than 400 overdrafts, returned to his southern California district and put his canceled checks on a card table for all to see.

The House ethics committee had planned to issue an official list of the top 24 abusers today. But the release was delayed at least several days until the alleged abusers could appeal to a six-member subcommittee that investigated the overdrafts. An additional list of as many as 277 members and 54 former members who overdrew their accounts was to be released in 10 days.

Delays in naming the names would stretch out the focus on the bank scandal, exacting a higher price in discomfort for a practice that 84 percent of adults interviewed in a Washington Post-ABC News poll said was unethical.

Other possible costs became apparent last week:

--Political defeat, the ultimate sanction for an erring politician, befell Rep. Charles A. Hayes (D-Ill.), reported to be one of the top 24. Political observers said Hays was already in trouble in his Chicago district when his name surfaced on the list three days before last Tuesday's primary election, resulting in a rare defeat for a Congressional Black Caucus member. Another top user of overdrafts, Rep. Robert J. Mrazek (D-N.Y.), is likely to scuttle his long-shot Senate bid.

Democrats and Republicans are among the check-kickers, but some leaders of the House GOP

minority consider the scandal a net winner. The National Republican Congressional Committee is preparing television spots.

--Members and former House Bank employees could face criminal prosecution for check-kiting or fraud, an outcome that many members doubted. On Friday, Attorney General William P. Barr appointed retired federal judge Malcolm R. Wilkey as a special counsel to conduct a preliminary inquiry to determine whether a full-fledged investigation is warranted.

According to an administration source, Barr tapped Wilkey to complete the inquiry, which U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens began last fall, to put to rest accusations of any 'political considerations' in scrutinizing the Democratic-controlled House. House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) called the appointment 'a wise and appropriate decision,' an aide said.

Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.) said he welcomed an investigation because 'if crimes were committed, congressmen shouldn't be above the law' but he acknowledged 'difficulty proving criminal intent.'

--The customary decorum among House members broke down. Several House Democrats retaliated last Monday for a verbal assault

from Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) with nasty charges of their own. Some Republicans blamed the scandal on the Democratic majority's 'one-party rule,' using that term and others to invoke images of communist dictatorships.

Democrats aired one intra-party spat on the House floor. Rep. Joseph D. Early (D-Mass.), one of the top 24, angrily denounced Foley's handling of the bank scandal 'as a disgrace' and drew a rebuke from Mazzoli, who was presiding. Others complained privately about Foley and said his three-year tenure as speaker could be threatened if many Democratic incumbents lose this fall.

-- Foley, heeding members and media, said Friday he would trim House perks by ending free prescriptions through the Navy and urging an increase in the \$100 annual dues for the House gymnasium. Other Democrats pressed for broader action to 'de-perk-olate,' as Rep. Dick Swett (D-N.H.) put it.

Foley told reporters Thursday, not long after House Postmaster Robert V. Rota resigned amid reports of postal policy violations by his workers, that political patronage was 'probably over' in the House. Both the House Bank and Post Office have been dominated by the patronage workers of senior Democrats.

The only comfort that Democrats could find last week came when three former Republican members in Bush's Cabinet stepped forward Tuesday and shared the burden of an unpopular perk. Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney, Agriculture Secretary Edward R. Madigan and Labor Secretary Lynn Martin said they, too, had overdrawn their accounts.

House Democrats hoped the disclosures from Bush's Cabinet officers would blunt partisan charges from Republicans. But they did not. Republicans continued to blame the scandal on continuous Democratic control of the House--and its fateful bank--since 1955."

March 24, 1992

We are still contending with bounced checks here in Washington and in fact, it has reached the point where it is almost nauseating.

Shortly after it was announced that there had been a number of cold checks given at our little bank, the word leaked out that the General Accounting Office and the Sergeant at Arms had notified our Speaker, Tom Foley, in the year 1989 about this matter, and nothing was done. So far, on the bounced check list, Foley admitted that he has at least one check for a little over \$500. In today's "Washington Times" on the front page with the top headline, we read "Foley warned on checks in '89." This story is as follows:

"House Speaker Thomas S. Foley was warned about the severity of the bad-check problems at the House bank nearly two years earlier than he or the House ethics committee have suggested in public statements.

'For the four 6-month periods ending June 30, 1989, our reviews showed numerous and repeated instances of checks being returned to the House Bank because of insufficient funds,' Mr. Foley was told in a letter from the General Accounting Office dated December 19, 1989.

'Although we have suggested that the bank adopt written procedures for handling insufficient checks, no formal procedures have been established [and] since the problem has not abated, and since several House members and staff, including two House employees associated with bank operations, have repeatedly had checks returned because of insufficient funds, we believe you should be aware of this situation and the extent to which is occurring,' wrote Comptroller Charles A. Bowsher, head of the GAO.

The five-page letter, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Times, went on to say that 'at least 257 individuals or organizations wrote more than 600 checks

totaling over \$462,000 which were returned to the House Bank primarily because of insufficient funds.'

It identified Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ, who was responsible for bank operations, as one of the worst abusers, writing more than \$100,000 in bad checks.

Although the letter was cited in the March 10 House ethics committee report on the House bank, the report downplayed the extent to which Mr. Foley was alerted to misuse of the bank by House members, staff and even those operating the banking facility.

Mr. Foley has repeatedly stated publicly that he was alerted to the seriousness of the bank's problems only when the GAO published an audit in September detailing longstanding problems there involving members. The audit came almost two years after the GAO sent the letter on the problems to Mr. Foley.

An aide to Mr. Foley, Washington Democrat, said yesterday he could not discuss the apparent discrepancy between the GAO letter and the speaker's public comments.

Another senior Democratic aide, who asked not to be named, said Mr. Foley was aware of the

seriousness of the bank's problems but he followed his instincts to keep it low-profile and to try to work within the system without too much fanfare.'

'I guess it didn't work,' the senior Democratic aide said, adding, 'It's typical of how Foley operates and how things have backfired on him since becoming speaker.' Mr. Foley became speaker in June 1989.

Meanwhile, Rep. Matthew F. McHugh, New York Democrat and chairman of the ethics panel, yesterday announced that the official naming of the top 24 bad-check abusers at the House bank will be delayed until next week. He notified House members the delay was needed so the members could review and challenge data used by GAO to identify members who 'abused' the bank's liberal overdraft policy.

The House voted early on the morning of March 13 to identify all 355 current and former members who wrote bad checks totaling about \$25 million between July 1, 1988, and Oct. 3 of last year. Hours earlier, it voted to provide full details on the 24 worst offenders.

Last week, Attorney General William P. Barr appointed Malcolm R. Wilkey, a retired federal appeals judge, as special counsel to determine if House

bank activities warranted full criminal investigation.

In the 1989 GAO letter to Mr. Foley, Mr. Bowsher not only outlined serious concerns about bad checks at the House bank going back to at least June 1987, he also flagged flagrant abuses by Mr. Russ and bank employee Doris Boyd.

In the ethics committee's 38-page report, the panel mentioned the 1989 Bowsher letter but said the GAO document 'contained [only] a passing reference to members' unpaid checks.'

The bipartisan committee of seven Democrats and seven Republicans, formally called the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, also understated the extent of the bad-check problems it uncovered concerning Mr. Russ and Mrs. Boyd, whose name was not mentioned in the report.

According to the committee report, Mr. Russ wrote bad checks with a total face value of \$56,100 while Mrs. Boyd cashed 'bad checks' with a total face value of \$9,138.

The December 1989 GAO letter from Mr. Bowsher disclosed, however, that the overdraft amounts for both Mr. Russ and Mrs. Boyd actually were higher.

From Feb. 23, 1988 to Nov. 14, 1989, GAO said it found that Mr. Russ wrote at least 31 bad checks with a total face value of \$104,825, while Mrs. Boyd or her relatives were responsible for at least 36 bad checks with a total face value of \$12,778.

Mr. Russ, who was severely criticized two years ago for writing bad checks, resigned March 12 after Democrats and Republicans demanded his resignation, both for writing the bad checks and for not operating the bank in a professional manner.

Mrs. Boyd remains on the House payroll in another position, according to congressional officials familiar with personnel and payroll records.

Mr. Russ and Mrs. Boyd declined comment.

In a floor speech in September -- when the bank scandal broke -- Mr. Foley said he and both the Democratic and Republican leadership knew of some of the bank problems and that steps to correct them apparently had not been carried out.

'I must tell you that I am distressed that communications problems developed and that

message was not clearly understood,' he said. 'I have made it clear, no such action will be tolerated in the future.'

Mr. Foley's comments followed severe criticism by lawmakers and an outraged public.

In his December 1989 letter, Mr. Bowsher alluded to earlier problems in trying to get the bank managers to clean up their operation.

Mr. Bowsher said that on at least three occasions the GAO had been assured that procedures at the House bank would be fixed, but they were not and the problems persisted."

In "The Washington Post" today there is also a story on the front page entitled "\$104,825 in Bounced Checks Attributed to House Officer." This story is as follows:

"Former House sergeant-at-arms Jack Russ bounced 31 personal checks worth \$104,825 at the House Bank in 1988-89 and ignored auditors' warnings to stop abusing his check-cashing privileges, documents show.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) was advised of Russ's overdrafts in a private letter from Comptroller General Charles A. Bowsher dated Dec. 19, 1989. The letter included the list of bad checks with face values between \$200 and \$11,000.

Six of the checks were resubmitted and bounced a second time.

Neither Russ, who resigned as sergeant-at-arms March 12, nor his lawyer could be reached for comment yesterday. The House ethics committee harshly criticized Russ in a report earlier this month, saying that as bank manager for nine years he had to accept 'ultimate responsibility' for slipshod accounting practices. The report rebuked him for ignoring repeated recommendations to clean up the overdraft policy. Russ made good on all his overdrafts and apparently bounced no other checks after September 1989.

Last week, Attorney General William P. Barr appointed a special counsel to head an inquiry into possible criminal conduct at the House Bank. One law enforcement official noted that it is a violation of District law to knowingly write a check with insufficient funds to cover it. If the face value of the check is more than \$100, the violation is a felony carrying a penalty of up to three years in prison and a \$3,000 fine for each check.

Russ did not have an account at the House Bank but cashed personal checks there drawn on unidentified accounts elsewhere. 'He was cashing

checks that were drawn on insufficient funds in other banks and getting the money from the House Bank,' said Rep. Jon L. Kyl (R-Ariz.), an ethics committee member. 'I don't know whether there are potential crimes in his conduct.'

After a five-month investigation, the committee reported that 355 House members and former members had written at least one overdraft at the bank during the 39-month period ending Oct. 3, 1991. The committee was scheduled to release the names of the top 24 abusers yesterday, but now is not expected to do so until next week. Before the House recesses for two weeks in mid-April, the panel plans to release a list of the others who overdrew their accounts -- as many as 277 current and 54 former members.

The longer list almost certainly will dwindle from the 331 that the General Accounting Office identified in the House Bank's haphazard records. The investigating subcommittee has given those members until Friday to challenge their presence on a list 'that probably contains some mistakes,' the committee leaders said in a 'Dear Colleague' letter circulated yesterday.

In addition, the subcommittee has decided 'it will not count overdrafts caused by the late posting' of deposits. Some

members have complained that deposits were not posted for as long as 15 days, but the panel will credit them as of the next day, according to Rep. Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.), who is the committee's acting chairman, and Rep. James V. Hansen (R-Utah), the ranking minority member.

Negotiations on a compromise for appointing a professional manager to oversee House operations like the now-closed bank may stall and lead to a party-line vote this week.

In a letter to Foley, Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) repeated his demand for a two-thirds vote to name a chief financial officer and proposed a bipartisan panel to guide House reform. House Democratic leadership aides have scoffed at a two-thirds vote, which would in effect give veto power to the Republican minority. Foley has proposed that he -- after consulting Michel -- name an administrator to monitor the House's operations.

Although the ethics committee report described the extent of Russ's personal overdrafts in broad outline, documents examined yesterday provided fresh details of his check-cashing activity.

The ethics committee listed 19 overdrafts by Russ from June 30, 1988, to

Aug. 22, 1989, worth \$56,100. Audit figures from the General Accounting Office showed 31 Russ overdrafts from March 23, 1988 to Sept. 6, 1989, worth \$104,825. The ethics committee counted five double bounces as five overdrafts worth \$37,000, while GAO counted six double bounces as 12 overdrafts worth \$76,000.

Sources familiar with the audits said sloppy accounting procedures made it impossible to assess how many overdrafts--from Russ or anyone else -- had been cashed at the House Bank before June 1988. These same sources, however, confirmed congressional reports that Russ stopped bouncing personal checks at the House Bank after Bowsher warned Foley about it.

GAO, the bank's auditors for more than 40 years, first learned that Russ and another bank employee were bouncing personal checks during unannounced spot audits at the bank in 1987-88, sources familiar with the audits said. Auditors found returned checks in cash drawers where they were being held until Russ and the other employee made them good.

Under the bank's informal guidelines Russ and other House employees could cash personal checks, but only House members could have accounts at the bank or use the bank's checks.

In an August 1988 meeting with Russ described in the ethics committee report, auditors warned him not to use the bank to cash large personal checks. Russ, the report said, 'promised GAO that he would cease such activities.'

But during the next yearly audit period, the report said, GAO found that Russ and the other bank employee had not stopped the practice. Sources said GAO was able to make a better case than in the earlier audit because the National Bank of Washington and, later, Riggs Bank, the two local institutions responsible for processing outside checks cashed at the House Bank, had initiated a policy of photocopying bad checks in early 1988. Before that time, the sources said, overdrafters covered the bounced checks and the transaction was simply dropped from House Bank records.

In his Dec. 19, 1989, letter, Bowsher summarized the difficulties GAO was having with Russ: 'Although we have suggested that the bank adopt written procedures for handling insufficient checks, no formal procedures have been established,' Bowsher said. 'Since the problem has not abated, and since several House members and staff, including two House

employees associated with bank operations, have repeatedly had checks returned because of insufficient funds, we believe you should be aware of this situation...'

Bowsher said that bounced personal checks took 'two to four weeks' to return to the House Bank and 'redeposit and subsequent return of these checks may allow another two to four weeks delay in making the checks good.' In the interim, Bowsher concluded, the check bouncers 'have what could be considered an interest-free loan' from the bank.

In all, Bowsher said, 257 'individuals or organizations' wrote more than 600 bad checks worth \$462,000 between Feb. 23, 1988, and Nov. 14, 1989. He appended lists of bad checks written by Russ and the other bank employee. Russ had 17 overdrafts of \$1,000 or more. The other bank employee, who could not be reached yesterday, had 36 overdrafts with a total face value of \$12,778."

March 25, 1992

Redistricting has really played havoc in certain sections of our country. Yesterday, the three-judge Federal Court finally redistricted Michigan and about 16 of the Members will be involved in races against each other. Carl Pursell who is the Ranking Member on my Subcommittee immediately announced his retirement. There will probably be one or two more retirements announced as a result of the redistricting in this state.

In Massachusetts yesterday Donnelly announced his retirement as a result of redistricting and I understand that Bernie Dwyer of New Jersey who is also a Member of the Committee on Appropriations will announce his retirement today.

As Chairman of the Gym Committee I have problems from time to time, but I certainly do not let them keep me awake at night. The Speaker made up his mind that the dues should be raised and that the masseur should go. I called the Gym Committee together and as usual, only a very few showed up because the situation is right tense on Capitol Hill at this time. In the section of "The Washington Post" entitled "The Reliable Source" there is a little article entitled "House Masseur Rubs Speaker Foley the Wrong Way." This story is as follows:

"The growing Perkgate scandal grabbing Congress by the throat now has hold of one of the last bastions of Hill testosterone: the House Gym.

Sources say Speaker Tom Foley has moved to head off yet another perception problem by quietly decreeing that the puny \$100-per-year dues be raised promptly--and that the masseur be given the heave-ho.

The 'Members Only' facility in the sub-basement of the Rayburn building this week posted notice that rates would be increased to a whopping (cough, cough) \$400 a year. And,

according to insiders,
the massage table has been
taken down and the masseur
reassigned.

One source said Foley
told gym committee Chairman
William Natcher last Friday
that some members were anti-
cipating a 'concern in the
press and in the public' that
taxpayers are footing the bill
for the infamous basketball
court, pool, sauna, weight
room, Stairmaster and paddle-
ball courts. Massages were
extra--sort of. 'It was
between the masseur and the
client--there was not a set
policy' on payment, said a
gym supervisor.

Poor guys. Just when
they need a back rub most."

We are still confronted with the matter
of the little bank and just before the Easter
Recess, the balance of the Members who have
given cold checks will be announced. The
24 major offenders have already been announced
but not officially.

Retirements have also reached the point
where the Senate is involved. Senator Warren
Rudman (Republican-N.H.) one of the most
outspoken, influential and effective Senators
of the past decade said yesterday he will not
seek a third term this Fall because of frus-
tration over paralysis in Government and his
own powerlessness to do anything about it.
Warren Rudman is a good senator and I was
sorry to hear that he has announced his
retirement.

March 26, 1992

We are still having our troubles in operating the Congress of the United States. In fact, it's reached the point now where all kinds of agreements are being made and we have no right to enter into these agreements just because we have almost completely failed to operate the Congress as it should be. Either this week or next week we will take up legislation which names an Administrator of the House. This Administrator will be under the control of the Speaker and such an officer is not necessary. Just because our Leadership is not what it should be, in my opinion, should not make changes that will prevent future Members who have the ability to rule and do a good job from doing so.

The newspapers continue harping on the Sergeant-at-Arms and the Post Office. In one of the newspapers today there is a story entitled "Grand jury looking closely at Mrs. Foley." This story is as follows:

"House Speaker Thomas S. Foley disclosed yesterday that his wife testified voluntarily before a federal grand jury investigating alleged criminal wrongdoing in the House Post Office, but he said she was not a target of the probe.

Federal law enforcement and congressional officials, however, told The Washington Times yesterday that Heather Foley, her husband's unpaid chief of staff, and at least two other current and former House officials are the subject of intense scrutiny by the grand jury.

Jurors are weighing whether Mrs. Foley and House counsel Steven R. Ross tried to stop a U.S. Capitol Police investigation of alleged drug trafficking, theft and embezzlement at the House Post Office, according to several of the officials, who asked not to be identified.

The grand jury is expected to return indictments against a number of current and former House Post Office employees. Congressional officials confirmed that dozens of employees have been called before the panel, which also is looking into reports that members of Congress cashed both personal and campaign checks at the post office.

The Justice Department's Office of Public Integrity is investigating possible obstruction-of-justice charges against some House officials.

One federal law enforcement official said it was unclear whether Mrs. Foley was the target of such an investigation but added that she is 'certainly the subject of great interest to the grand jury and the Department of Justice's inquiry of the House Post Office.'

The statement contradicts Mr. Foley's comments to reporters yesterday that he had confirmed she was not the target or the subject of a probe.

Mr. Foley was quoted yesterday in the New York Times as saying he heard 'through the grapevine' that the grand jury was investigating his wife and Mr. Ross.

Asked about the newspaper report and his own admission that she had been questioned, Mr. Foley told reporters: 'She has cooperated in that review as we have cooperated in every matter relating to investigation of post office activities and will continue to do so.'

Jeff Biggs, Mr. Foley's spokesman, said later he did not know exactly when Mrs. Foley testified or the subject of her testimony.

Another person who has testified is Jack Russ, who resigned March 12 as the House sergeant-at-arms. Mr. Russ--a key figure in another House scandal at its defunct bank--went before the grand jury Tuesday to discuss the post office.

The grand jury has been asking witnesses both before and since Mrs. Foley's testimony about her and Mr. Ross' involvement with the police investigation at the post office, the sources said.

Jurors are asking whether the two ever got involved with previous Capitol Police probes

and witnesses have told them no, officials said.

A law enforcement official said the grand jury has received sworn affidavits and testimony that said Mr. Ross ordered the Capitol Police to get off the case. Other affidavits and testimony say that Mrs. Foley talked with former Postmaster Robert V. Rota and ordered House Office employees not to cooperate with Capitol Police investigators.

The Washington Times has reported that Mr. Rota told friends and House officials that Mrs. Foley ordered him to hush up the investigation. He also reportedly said that Mrs. Foley and Mr. Ross ordered him to keep quiet about a U.S. Postal Inspection Service audit that found criminal wrongdoing at the post office. The House Post Office is an independent contractor to the U.S. Postal Service.

Mr. Rota, who has testified before the grand jury, resigned last week. One official said he may be a target of the grand jury probe over the alleged misuse of postal funds.

Officials in the speaker's office have repeatedly denied that any type of a cover-up took place and have said Mrs. Foley did nothing wrong. Mr. Ross also has said he did nothing

News of Mrs. Foley's grand jury testimony came as a surprise to House leaders, senior Democrats and rank-and-file members who had not been told of the development before Mr. Foley informed reporters at his daily news conference.

Told about Mrs. Foley's testimony, several House members said they were shocked that a top adviser to the highest-ranking leader in the House would be called before a grand jury investigating possible criminal misconduct.

One senior Democrat, who asked not to be identified, said he had come to the 'foregone conclusion that [Mr. Foley] cannot remain as speaker.'

Said another senior Democrat: 'I am shocked by what the speaker said today and what he has not said in past days concerning Heather's role.'

Investigators are looking at reported links between bad-check problems at the House Post Office and similar practices at the House bank. The bank was abolished because of revelations that 355 current and former members wrote tens of thousands of bad checks with a total face value of about \$25 million.

Federal authorities are investigating possible crimes at the bank."

March 27, 1992

Last night I received information to the affect that out of the 139 Members in the House of Representatives who did not bounce at our little bank, some 84 or 85 of them did not use the bank. This leaves 54 or 55 out of 435 Members who did not bounce checks. When I received this information, even though I have had assurances all along from the Sergeant-at-arms that I have no bounced checks, I decided I had better take all of my cancelled checks and examine them carefully. I did so last night and there are no marks on any checks indicating that any one of the checks issued during the past 39 months were bounced checks.

There is an article in "The Washington Post" today entitled "House Postal Cash Went For Loans." This article is as follows:

"Three former employees of the House Post Office, acting with the knowledge of some superiors, repeatedly used money from the post office till to pay personal bills, make loans to House employees, cash checks for others and purchase drugs, according to sworn affidavits and interviews given last July to inspectors from the U.S. Postal Inspection Service.

The former employees also said that some superiors were aware that shortages were regularly replaced before scheduled audits, sometimes by transferring cash from one clerk's cash drawer to another, according to the documents,

which were obtained by The Washington Post.

Information in the documents indicated that some of the superiors of the three former employees may be subjects or targets of a grand jury investigation.

The House Post Office contracts with the U.S. Postal Service to sell stamps, mail orders and other postal services. However, it is operated by House employees under House rules, and not those of the Postal Service.

After the Postal Service audit and report were delivered to House leaders, these three low-level House Post Office employees and one other employee were dismissed. All four subsequently were indicted on charges of embezzlement. Two of them have pleaded guilty and are cooperating with the ongoing investigation by U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens into the House Post Office scandal.

Wendell Magruder, a former counter clerk who faces trial on one count of embezzlement, told the inspectors that he supplied drugs to one of his superiors who knew of his cash-drawer shortages, according to the documents. That same superior allegedly loaned Magruder money, the documents state.

Magruder, whose cash drawer was found by the inspectors to have been short \$13,997 in a July audit, said 'on a regular basis' he had taken postal money orders 'imprinted them in values between \$500 and \$700, cashed them and kept the money,' according to an interview, a summary of which is contained in the documents.

Magruder also said some superiors cashed personal checks for others and 'would 'hold' checks for employees until they had the money to cover the amount on the check.' Magruder said he had cashed checks for non-House employees 'by order of Mr. Rota.' Robert V. Rota, House postmaster since July 1972, resigned March 19 in the wake of publicity about the House Post Office scandal.

Magruder said he had been told by one superior that 'the okay to cash personal checks' had been given by Rota and one of his top assistants, according to the documents. Magruder also told the inspectors that he had been told that one supervisor 'cashed checks for congressmen, as if he had no other choice.'

In their report, the postal inspectors noted that the House Post Office employees kept far larger amounts of cash in their

drawers than required for normal post office business. One supervisor had \$29,000 in cash and \$50,457 in checks on the day of the postal inspector audit, the report said. Of the 169 checks, 98 were personal, 27 were from firms and organizations, 19 were travelers checks and five were not made payable to the postmaster or the Postal Service. Salary checks were not included, the inspectors noted.

Among the inspectors' recommendations last July to Rota was that he limit window clerks to 'no more than \$100 cash' in their drawers from one day to another. Rota agreed and said he would halt the practice of check-cashing and accept checks only for the purchase of postage.

As part of their audit and investigation, the postal inspectors interviewed House Post Office employees after warning them about their rights against self-incrimination and asked them to provide signed affidavits about what they had done.

Celia Gutierrez, a former counter-clerk-in-charge who pleaded guilty of one count of embezzlement March 5, told the inspectors that after a May 29, 1991, surprise audit by the U.S. Capitol Police, she replaced \$900 in her drawer

before she was audited again on July 9 by the U.S. postal inspectors.

She told the postal inspectors that after the Capitol Police audit, 'her boss... told her she was to replace any funds missing' from her drawer, according to the documents.

The same superior 'told other clerks the same thing,' Gutierrez told the inspectors, according to a memorandum of the interview.

Gutierrez said she often loaned money from her cash drawer to House mail room employees and that she had taken significant amounts to pay bills she had from a medical operation.

She said in April 1991 a supervisor warned her that a fellow clerk was about to be audited and asked her to tell him 'that he should get his drawer up to par.'

Gutierrez realized that she would be audited next, so she took \$3,000 from her American Express account into her drawer for the audit, which took place the next day. After the audit found her only \$250 short, 'I put my \$3,000 back into my American Express account.'

When the postal inspectors audited her last July, Gutierrez was \$4,285 short, according to the documents.

Yvonne M. Welborne, a counter clerk who pleaded guilty March 10 to embezzlement of \$10,000 from the House Post Office, said she once returned from three days vacation and 'found a bag of cocaine under the mat in her work area,' according to the postal inspector interview. She said one of her superiors was thought to have a drug problem but that when she mentioned it to Rota, the former postmaster 'just turned his head the other way, and nothing was done about drugs,' according to the Welborne interview.

Welborne 'said all of us have borrowed from our credits and we know when we will be audited,' according to a summary of her interview.

'Everyone that has been on the [House Post Office] window has wanted off,' the documents indicate Welborne told the inspectors."

Another story appeared in the same newspaper entitled "In an Unusual News Session, Foley Defends Wife, Staff and Leadership." This story is as follows:

"It was a day for House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) to defend his wife, his staff and his leadership of the House.

Before legislative business each day, Foley customarily sits behind a desk in a ceremonial office off the House floor and takes questions from reporters who stand for the 15-minute conference. Usually, the speaker banters about his views on various bills and their prospects.

During yesterday's extraordinary session, a defensive Foley answered 15 of 20 questions with some form of 'no' as he sought to put down rumors that Heather Foley, his unpaid chief of staff, or other members of his staff were involved in the latest House scandal and might be targets of an ongoing investigation of the House Post Office directed by U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens.

'I have no indications that he's investigating Mrs. Foley, my wife,' he said.

To buttress the point, Foley press secretary Jeffrey Biggs later released a one-paragraph letter issued in the name of Stephens by John M. Campbell, chief of the public corruption section in his office. The

March 26 letter to Steven C. Tabackman, Heather Foley's lawyer, noted he was advised last week that she was 'neither a subject nor a target' of the inquiry. 'Please be advised that Mrs. Foley's status regarding the matter to date remains unchanged,' the letter concluded.

Asked if his wife would step down as his chief of staff, even temporarily, Foley replied: 'My wife has done nothing wrong. There's no reason for her to step aside as my chief of staff.'

Foley also denied that other aides in his office were under investigation. He said Steven R. Ross, the House general counsel, has testified before a federal grand jury as 'a witness and not a target of the investigation.' Law enforcement sources also confirmed that former sergeant-at-arms Jack Russ, who ran the now-defunct House Bank and resigned March 12, testified before the grand jury for about an hour last week.

Then it was Foley's turn to defend himself. Asked if he felt pressure to resign the speakership before this session of Congress ends, Foley replied: 'Absolutely not. Absolutely not.' He smiled and declined to speculate about his reelection prospects in the Democratic Caucus.

He also denied that scandals at the House Bank and the Post Office have stalled action on legislation. 'This will be an active, busy legislative schedule. There is no legislative gridlock,' he said.

The House Democratic leadership, including Foley, has been criticized by some committee chairmen-who met with the speaker yesterday-for not speeding legislation on jobs and economic needs as a way to push the scandals into the background.

'That's what makes people nervous, economic security, not the bank,' said Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), chairman of the Interior Committee. 'The reason they care about the bank is we're not doing the people's business.'

Miller denied that he was interested in challenging Foley for the speaker's post, saying he has been a persistent critic of the leadership. An East Coast Democrat who did not want to be named described Foley's political footing as 'very precarious.' Asked about the likelihood of a challenge, the member replied: 'It's a question of who, not whether.'

Another Democratic leader, Majority Whip David E. Bonior (Mich.) reported 76 overdrafts totaling \$26,378 in his House Bank account during the 39 months ending last October. Two other House leaders, Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), are expected to make announcements about the number of their overdrafts soon.

Rep. James H. Scheuer (D-N.Y.) announced yesterday that he was removed from a list of the top 24 'abusers' of the House Bank after his accountant found large deposits were not posted promptly in at least three months. 'I can't say any member of Congress, the 435 of us, are satisfied with the way it was done,' Scheuer said, but added, 'I'm not here on a Foley-bashing mission.'

Yesterday, the National Republican Congressional Committee released radio and television advertisements on the bank scandal that urge voters to 'Bounce the Democrats.' The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee responded with a newspaper ad that accused Republican members and Cabinet officers who 'bounced' House Bank checks of being 'hypocrits.'"

March 30, 1992

Yesterday on "Face The Nation" our Speaker, Tom Foley, said that it was now time to check the White House perks and

the perks of the different departments of the government. My friend, Ed Roybal of California is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Treasury and Post Office Appropriations. Most of the perks come in this particular bill with the exception of the State Department and instead of Roybal it would really take a Tom Steed to get this job done. Tom Steed was Chairman of the Subcommittee on Treasury and Postal Service for many years and when he went after the White House or any of the departments it was almost like a tornado. They all jumped back and started running because Steed would never quit.

The check bouncing and the different articles about the parks ought to be slowed down now because the Speaker's proposal of checking the perks throughout the government will produce very little. The people of course will say that this is the result of the check bouncing and the position that the Congress is now in.

The John F. Kennedy assassination case comes up from time to time and the move now is to release all of the papers and hearing records of the Warren Commission. The day before yesterday the pistol that Jack Ruby used to assassinate Lee Harvey Oswald entered the picture. U.S. Capitol Police seized the gun Jack Ruby used to kill Lee Harvey Oswald after a man carried the \$220,000 weapon to Capitol Hill and on a whim, offered to show it to House Speaker Thomas S. Foley. A representative of the handgun's owner said that he meant no harm and considered the unloaded gun bought at auction to be more a piece of history than a weapon. The Saturday incident has flushed out the owner of the gun who had gone to great lengths to maintain his anonymity. The owner of the gun is a man by the name of Anthony Pugliese of Florida.

Jerry Brown is really campaigning in New York state now and has an opportunity to defeat Clinton. What he is saying meets more with the approval of the people in New York than Clinton's utterances. Yesterday on television a number of New Yorkers were interviewed about the candidates and a great many women said Clinton gave them the feeling of just being a little "slick."

March 31, 1992

In today's newspapers here in Washington two more of our Members have announced their retirement. Robert A. Roe (D-N.J.), Chairman of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee since 1990 said he was leaving the House after 23 years to pursue unspecified interests in the public and private sector. Roe is 68 years of age and has represented Patterson and other suburbs of New York and Newark, New Jersey. This is really unusual for a man to become Chairman of a standing Committee that is considered a good Committee and then announce his retirement. Maybe it is based on what took place in Senator Bradley's campaign for reelection two years ago in New Jersey when he came within 1.4% of being defeated in the November election. New Jersey is simply bitter over the increase in taxes that the Governor has laid upon them and is reacting to the economic situation as well.

Another Member in the House, Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.), the former Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa said he was a victim of court-ordered reapportionment that decimated the southern Michigan district he has represented since 1979. Wolpe is 52 years of age and was an early advocate of U.S. sanctions against the South African apartheid government.

Another senior Member also announced his retirement yesterday and he is Chalmers Wylie, a Republican from Columbus, Ohio. Wylie, a 13-term Congressman overdrew his House bank account 575 times. He blamed 44 overdrafts on bank errors. This is a tremendous number of cold checks and knowing Columbus, Ohio like I do, I am not surprised that he announced his retirement.

H. Ross Perot, a billionaire from Texas has indicated that he would like to run for President on the Independent ticket and yesterday announced that if he was a candidate he would select a retired General as his running mate. Here in Washington we have believed for days now that he might select Ollie North who would be just the type for such a campaign.

April 1, 1992

A number of Members have announced their retirement this week and probably there will be several more within the next four or five weeks. The Speaker has decided to have an investigation as to the Executive Department of travel and other expense items and this makes the pot continue to boil. President Bush, in all of his speeches, speaks very harshly against the Congress and the people generally feel that Congress should go to work and do something about the economy in this Country. This man, Perot from Texas has indicated he will run on the Independent ticket if enough people want him to make the race. He has sufficient funds of his own to do so without accepting contributions. He's a billionaire and one who believes this Country should turn around. Last night on Channel 5 here in Washington from 10 pm to 11 pm, there was a call-in program of people who would vote for Perot if he ran on the Independent ticket. During this hour, over 3,000 people called in and 93% said

they would vote for Perot and 7% said they would vote against him. This clearly shows dissatisfaction as to the leadership in this Country and is not only a warning to the Republican Party, but also to the Democrat Party.

A story appeared in "The Washington Post" today entitled "Foley Saw House Bank Problems as Correctable." This story is as follows:

'For Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), the most embarrassing scandal to engulf the House since he became speaker began as just a housekeeping problem. The House Bank was a mess to be cleaned up and put in order.

'My focus,' Foley said in an interview yesterday, 'was on getting the problems corrected' so his colleagues could use the bank with confidence that it would be run properly.

Foley's handling of the bank scandal has provoked vigorous attacks from colleagues, touching off speculation--as yet unsubstantiated--that House Democrats may seek to depose him as speaker when they caucus at the beginning of the new Congress next January.

Throughout the affair, Foley never chose a bold stroke. The series of small steps that he took were unsuccessful, and it is still not clear how Foley expected his tactics to achieve the desired objective of cleaning up the bank's shoddy accounting

practices and reforming its generous overdraft policies.

At no point did Foley say he regarded the removal of Jack Russ, who controlled the bank's administration while the House sergeant-at-arms, as the solution to the bank's malaise, even though it was Russ's overdrafts that brought the bank's shortcomings to Foley's attention and Russ's failure to implement reforms that proglonged and deepened the scandal.

Foley initially had no authority to dismiss Russ, and abandoned his lone tentative effort to bring Russ under his control when his caucus colleagues opposed it. Even after the extent of House member overdrafts became public knowledge late last year, Foley persisted in saying he 'had no plans' to seek Russ's ouster or resignation.

The scandal has become a disaster. On March 12 the House ethics committee announced that 355 current and former House members had written at least one overdraft at the bank during a 39-month period ending October 3, 1991. This week, the committee is expected to announce a list of more than 20 'abusers' with chronic overdrafts amounting to thousands of dollars.

Foley first found out about the bank's difficulties in 1989.

The previous year, auditors from the General Accounting Office had discovered that Russ and a bank teller were bouncing personal checks at the bank, a payroll disbursing facility whose only account holders were the 435 members of the House. When the check-bouncing continued despite warnings, the auditors decided to raise the matter with Foley.

On December 19, 1989, Comptroller General Charles A. Bowsher, the head of the GAO, sent Foley a list of \$104,825 in personal checks bounced by Russ, cautioned that 'you should be aware of this situation and the extent to which it is occurring' and suggested that 'the makers or depositors of these checks have what could be considered an interest-free loan from the House members' deposits at the bank.' Foley said he did not recall 'specific information' about Russ's overdrafts.

Foley and his wife, Heather, his unpaid chief of staff, had already had a run-in with Russ, who had told a House member about a Capitol Police report on a man who claimed to be Foley's rejected lover and had threatened to kill him. The FBI discounted the report, but caucus members had discussed it before Foley's election succeed Speaker Jim Wright (D-Tex.), who had resigned in June 1989 while

facing an ethics investigation into his financial dealings.

Despite this ill will, said one Foley aide, 'the perception was that this [the bank scandal] was a problem that could be corrected.'

Foley said he informed House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) of Bowsher's concerns, and summoned Russ and ordered him to stop using the bank for personal business. Russ two days later sent Assistant Comptroller General Donald H. Chapin a letter in which he outlined sharp restrictions in check-cashing activities by non-account-holders.

'Furthermore, I, as Sergeant-at-Arms will refrain from all banking transactions in the bank,' Russ said. All evidence shows that neither Russ nor any other bank employee ever again bounced a personal check at the House Bank.

Bowsher, however, had additional concerns. 'Several House members,' he said in his letter, also were bouncing personal checks, and auditors had recorded that '257 individuals or organizations [all of them not necessarily House members] wrote more than 600 bad checks

totalling over \$462,000' between February 1988 and November 1989.

Russ in his Dec. 21 response did not address members' practices, but in a private January 31, 1990, letter to Foley, he said House members would no longer be able to write checks a second time without verification that funds were available in their House Bank accounts.

Consistent overdrafters would not be allowed to cash personal checks until they had cleared at the bank of origin, he said. And finally, he added, 'account holders with a continuing pattern of overdrafts may also have their accounts suspended.'

On Feb. 10, 1990, GAO published its audit, prompting a spate of news coverage. GAO, like Bowsher, focused on Russ's overdrafts, but also mentioned that 164 'individuals or firms' had bounced 330 checks between July 1, 1988 and June 30, 1989.

More ominous, GAO found that in one 12-day period 'a daily average of 30 checks totalling nearly \$18,900 were being held due to insufficient funds.' These were House Bank checks, not outside checks, and the account holders included 'more than 90' House members, the GAO said.

Still, Foley aides said, there was little cause for alarm, for Russ had assured the speaker's office that bad practices would cease. 'My experience has always been that when the speaker says he wants something done, it's done,' said one senior House official. Foley's aides considered the problem solved, virtually by definition.

Yet in September Foley began a delicate inquiry into the possibility of rewriting caucus rules so that the speaker, and not the caucus, would prepare the list of nominees for the four officers of the House: sergeant-at-arms, postmaster, clerk and doorkeeper.

Under existing rules, these jobs--paying \$93,702 a year in 1990 and \$119,120 today--were the subject of fierce in-house political campaigns every two years. The majority caucus voted on the candidates at the beginning of each Congress, then presented its selections to the entire House. Republicans, with about 100 fewer seats in the chamber, had little choice but to go along with the Democrats' selections.

Officers had to be superb politicians--backslapping extroverts, fixers extraordinaire, doers-of-any-kind-of-favor. Russ, a Capitol Hill employee since 1967, knew the game and played it as well as anyone. He had been sergeant-at-arms

since 1983 and he had plenty of friends. 'Jack was an enormously popular official,' said one House leadership source.

Foley, who had no power over the sergeant-at-arms beyond what one said described as 'moral suasion,' wanted to change the procedure. Under his proposal, the caucus would vote on candidates selected by the speaker. He represented the change as a move to clean up the chain of command in House administration.

His colleagues understood it as such. 'He said that as speaker he needed clear lines of authority over these offices,' said Rep. Martin Forst (D-Tex.) then chairman of the caucus's standing committee on organization, study and research. 'It made sense to me.'

Privately, however, Foley would note in interviews with reporters that it was unseemly for officers of the House to be involved in full-scale election campaigns. More privately, Foley staff members said that if the speaker was going to take the heat for controversies like the House Bank, he ought to have the power to do something meaningful about them, like get rid of the sergeant-at-arms.

But it was no go. On Sept. 19, 1990, Foley let the caucus committee on organization, study and research know his intentions. The committee circulated his proposal among its 25 members, who in turn shared it with other Democrats. Foley and the committee did their own informal surveys.

The results were the same: Some members of the caucus were suspicious about a 'power grab' by the speaker; some members worried that he had taken aim at Russ, their friend. And many members didn't connect the initiative to the bank, at that point something of a fading memory.

'The bank didn't come up,' said Rep. Louise M. Slaughter (D-N.Y.), who would succeed Frost as the caucus committee's chairman in early 1991. 'He [Foley] said he needed the power of appointment in order to get hold of what was going on around here.'

Indeed, Foley confirmed that he had felt for a 'long time' that the speaker should appoint House officers and that he 'would have made the recommendation' independent of the bank's difficulties. Did he contemplate getting rid of Russ? 'I hadn't reached that decision yet.'

In trying to sell the proposal simply as a desirable administrative reform, 'it became apparent very quickly there was no support,' Foley said. He pulled the proposal.

But his concerns about the bank did not abate. Less than two months into the new Congress, Foley said, he began getting signals from GAO that Russ's 1990 changes at the bank had not been implemented. Looking for a second opinion, his office commissioned Riggs Bank to conduct an analysis. Two Riggs officers visited from Feb. 21 to Feb. 25, 1991.

Part of the news was good: Russ wasn't using the bank, and Riggs found the bank holding nine checks written on accounts elsewhere totaling \$392.50, none for an amount above \$75.

But nothing had changed with members' accounts. Near the end of one month, Riggs found, the bank was holding 227 bad checks written by 43 House members for \$76,880.

Riggs submitted its eight-page report on April 8, 1991, but by that time Foley's office had already had five days to look at a preliminary draft of the GAO's upcoming September audit. This report, when it became public, would speak of members writing 8,331 bad checks in the single year

July 1, 1989-June 30, 1990.
Twenty-four members bounced more than \$1,000 in checks in each of six months, the report would say, and virtually no one had been disciplined.

This news went off like a bomb in Foley's office. Staff members grilled Russ and the bank employees, but got nowhere. 'They didn't understand the implications of this at all. They just kept saying, 'But we didn't lose any money,' said one source.

And Russ? 'Hard to say,' the source said. 'He would talk about how he had a full-time bank manager and the bank was his responsibility.'

Foley said he was 'gravely disappointed' that Russ had not corrected the bank's shortcomings and was 'very unhappy' with Russ, 'but again, my focus was less on firing people than on finding a way to correct the situation.'

And trying to get rid of Russ at that point, one leadership source said, would have made things worse, adding a 'public controversy' to the political fallout anticipated from the audit. It was a mistake, the source said, to assume that 'all the speaker has to do is stand up and say let's get rid of Jack Russ.'

GAO published its report Sept. 18, touching off national outrage. On Oct. 3 the House ordered the bank shut down and launched an ethics committee investigation. Foley continued to voice confidence in Russ.

On March 12, amid a renewed public uproar, Russ resigned. The House then passed resolutions to publish the names of members who had written bad checks at the House Bank. The next morning Foley resubmitted his proposal for appointing House officers and the caucus passed it."

April 2, 1992

The redistricting around the Country pursuant to the 1990 census has really created many problems. One problem is that most of the Federal Judges that have been appointed in the last 20 years were appointed by Republican Presidents and three-judge courts in Alabama and Michigan have really turned those two states into Republican strongholds. Claude Harris of Alabama and Ben Erdreich were placed in the same District, but the District is a black District now and neither one can win, so Harris announced his retirement this morning. It now appears that we will have well over 100 new faces in the House in January of 1993.

There is a lot of resentment and bitterness in the House at this time. Election-wary Members of the House last night rejected further funding for the Resolution Trust Corporation, hobbling the nation's savings and loan cleanup. Both Democrats and Republicans defied the wishes of the Bush Administration and a bi-partisan effort by the House Leadership and voted 298 to 125 against a

measure that would have provided \$17 billion to keep the cleanup of the savings and loans going through next Fall. This created an emergency now and it will be solved somehow, but the type of legislation to be presented will have to be watered down considerably.

The first bounced check list was announced yesterday afternoon by the House Ethics Committee and instead of 24 at the top on the high list, there were 22 names listed. Next week, the balance of those that bounced checks will be listed. In today's Washington Post, there is a story entitled "Amid Denunciations, House Panel Lists 22 'Abusers' of Check Cashing." This story is as follows:

"The House ethics committee last night formally released the names of 22 current and former House members described as 'abusers' of check-cashing privileges at the defunct House Bank. Those named bitterly denounced the committee for what they said were premature leaks and denial of due process.

Rep. Robert J. Mrazek (D-N.Y.), who was quoted by the Associated Press as saying he would stay in the New York Senate race and 'continue the process of clearing my name,' had 920 overdrafts, the largest number of overdrafts among incumbents. Former representative Tommy F. Robinson (Ark.) wrote 996 overdrafts, the largest number.

Others named last night included several influential members and former members: Rep. John Conyers, Jr. (D-Mich.), chairman of the Govern-

ment Operations Committee; Rep. William 'Bill' Clay (D-Mo.), chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee; Rep. Mickey Edwards (R-Okla.), chairman of the Republican Policy Committee; Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D.-N.Y.), chairman of the subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs; Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio), chairman of the subcommittee on personnel and police; Rep. Harold E. Ford (D-Tenn.), a Ways and Means subcommittee chairman, and former Democratic Whip Tony Coelho (C-Calif.).

The ethics committee did not provide the dollar amounts of the checks or describe aggregate overdrafts or the largest overdraft for any member.

Clay, with 328 overdrafts, branded the procedure a 'libelous indictment' and 'a charade' that produced unfair results. 'The way this committee handled this affair...was callous and cavalier. It was unconscionable.'

Robinson, a Democrat-turned-Republican who has acknowledged he was in financial difficulty during his six years in the House, described the committee report as 'bull manure. I think they've all lost their minds.'

'If they put my name out at the top of the list after I

hired a lawyer to represent me, well they can just flat kiss my ass,' said Robinson who now runs a 7,000-acre soybean and wheat farm near Brinkley, Ark.

The six-member ethics subcommittee led by Rep. Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.) on March 12 had announced that 24 current and former House members had abused the bank by 'routinely' and 'repeatedly' running overdrafts for significant amounts during a 39-month period ending Oct. 3, 1991. Those named as abusers had to have overdrafted their accounts by more than a month's salary for 20 percent of the months they held an account at the bank.

Two members, Reps. James H. Scheuer (D-N.Y.) and Charles Wilson (D. Tex.), were on a list of 24 abusers leaked to some news organizations March 14 but subsequently had their names removed by demonstrating they had been unjustly included.

To disclose the final list of 22 names, McHugh chose an unusual method, coming to the House floor to submit the names for the record along with a personal statement during 'Special Orders,' the period after the close of regular debate when members are allowed to address any topic.

The McHugh statement contained little beyond the abusers' names, a description of the individual offense and a review of the procedures used to select the 22. It emphasized, however, that slipshod record-keeping at the bank likely contributed to many members' problems:

'Their intent to abuse is by no means clear,' McHugh's statement said. 'Given the informal nature of the House Bank's operations, including its long-time practice of honoring overdrafts and its lack of written rules and regulations, the subcommittee cannot say the people on this list intended to abuse banking privileges.'

But this was cold comfort for a handful of offending members who had come to the nearly empty chamber to villify the subcommittee for the leaks and for the procedures it used to cull the 22 names from a larger list of 355 members and former members who had kited at least one check during the period investigated by the committee. The names and number of overdrafts for the remaining 333 overdrafters will be released by April 11, at the earliest.

Rep. Joseph D. Early (D-Mass.), with 140 overdrafts, came to the floor, he said, hoping to confront

the ethics subcommittee, but McHugh and fellow subcommittee member Rep. Fred Grandy (R-Iowa) had left by the time he rose to speak: 'I would dare them if they were here, but they ran like rats...they ran,' Early said, his voice rising to a keening growl through the nearly empty chamber.

There had been some question earlier in the day whether the subcommittee would release the 22 names yesterday or wait until the abusers had more time to examine the evidence against them. 'This is a place full of fighters,' said subcommittee member Rep. James A. McDermott (D-Wash.). 'Nobody goes down without fighting.' McDermott said the subcommittee had spent 'a lot of time' in the past 20 days examining bank records, arguing with members and listening to mitigating circumstances.

Like McHugh, he criticized the bank's haphazard record-keeping: 'When you're dealing with facts it's easy,' McDermott said. 'When you're dealing with human beings, there's always a question.' In the end 'there were many things we cannot know. So we had votes.'

The scandal began Sept. 18 when the General Accounting Office released an audit showed House members had written 8,331

bad checks during a one-year period at the House Bank, a payroll depository and check-cashing facility. Two weeks later, amid a massive surge of public outrage, the House voted to close the bank and ordered the ethics committee, formally known as the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, to investigate bank records from June 30, 1988, to Oct. 3, 1991.

For those who talked their way off the list, there was triumphant vindication. Scheuer, a wealthy man, demonstrated that the bank had not posted deposits in a timely fashion. And for Wilson, who showed that his account was in surplus and not overdrawn in six of the eight months he had been cited, there was a sigh of relief: 'This is major news,' said Wilson, who had acknowledge his sins early and in good humor. 'There's some sort of list, and I'm not on it.' "

April 3, 1992

We are still back on bouncing of checks and two articles appeared in today's Washington Post. One is entitled "Most in Poll Say Checks Deliberate." The second article is entitled "A Range of Emotions in House." These articles are as follows:

"Most Americans believe that House members implicated in the House Bank scandal deliberately overdrew their checking accounts and were not merely being careless or forgetful, according to a new survey released yesterday.

The survey sponsored by the Times Mirror Center for the People & The Press, also found growing dissatisfaction with Congress, as job approval ratings of individual members have plummeted in recent months.

The poll also provided fresh evidence that the widening check scandal has placed both Republican and Democratic incumbents in jeopardy this campaign season and perhaps blunted the considerable advantages that incumbent members historically have enjoyed over challengers.

'The capital's bouncing check escapades are deadly serious to voters back home,' concluded Andrew Kohut, director of surveys for the foundation. 'Public opinion polling going back to 1965 fails to match current levels of dissatisfaction with Congress and with the check kitters in particular.'

A total of 557 randomly selected adults were interviewed March 26-29. Margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 5 percentage points.

The Times Mirror survey showed that the House Bank scandal has clearly affected public attitudes toward the House and individual representatives. Overall, the survey found that 45 percent of those questioned approved of the way their representative was handling his or her job, down from 60 percent in a Washington

Post-ABC News poll conducted in December.

But among those who said their representative had written bad checks, just 40 percent expressed approval and 45 percent disapproved. Among those whose representatives had not been implicated in the scandal, 53 percent approved while 34 percent disapproved.

The survey found that even House members who wrote relatively few bad checks may be punished at the polls in November. Thirty percent of those questioned said they definitely would vote against their representative if he or she had been found to have written 10 overdrawn checks.

'The bad news gets worse for those congressmen who bounced one hundred checks or more,' Kohut reported. 'Fully half of their constituents say they'll 'definitely' vote to throw out anyone with a record like that.'

'Inasmuch as a House ethics committee report states that 355 congressional representatives have been charged with bouncing from at least one check to hundreds, a major election issue is very much in the making,' he concluded.

Technically, few members of Congress 'bounced' checks. Rather, members were found to

have written checks that exceeded their balance in the House Bank, which held the checks until deposits were made that covered the overdrafts. But most observers agree that this distinction either has been lost -- or is being ignored -- by an increasingly angry public.

Last night, House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), appearing on PBS's 'McNeil/Lehrer News Hour' indicated he thought key facts of the House Bank operation had been lost in the controversy. 'I think the public reaction is understandable, but mistaken,' Foley said. 'The members were not trading on the public's money.' He acknowledged that the penalty-free overdrafts, however, were a 'mistaken policy.'

The survey found a big majority -- 62 percent -- that said they believed representatives deliberately overdrew their accounts, while only 26 percent said these members were 'just being careless or forgetful.'

The survey also found that most voters see wrongdoing on both sides of the aisle. When asked which party was more responsible for the scandal, 76 percent said both political parties were equally to blame.

But, as Kohut noted, the scandal represents a greater threat to Democrats, who control both houses of Congress."

The second article reads as follows:

"Emotions ranged from anger and hurt to nostalgia and hope the day after the House named 22 current and former members who abused checking privileges at the now-closed House Bank.

With more political careers possibly threatened as the House ethics committee prepares to name another 333 who overdrew their accounts, feelings ran raw and spilled out in different directions on a day of light legislative business.

Rep. John Bryant (D-Tex.), a longtime critic of House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), stood on the House floor and urged him to step down at the end of this session. Bryant charged that Foley 'refuses to be a political leader' because 'for him political leadership is painful, and political combat... is to be avoided, if at all possible.'

Foley restated his plans to run for another two-year term. 'My response is, I do not intend to resign the speakership,' he told reporters.

At a morning meeting of Democratic whips, other Foley critics angrily demanded more time for appeals to the ethics committee, which may issue its

longer list next week. One critic, Rep. Marty Russo (D-Ill.), who lost a March 17 primary, stormed out of the room.

Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.), chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, demanded that details on the overdrafts of 42 other members be released and blamed the scandal on the Democratic leadership, the last a point he has made repeatedly in recent news conferences.

Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, responded by hurling an angry reply at his Republican counterpart and his cohorts.

'They can take this as a threat or view this as a warning: We will match every ethical impropriety, perk and privilege they level at the Congress with the same and more at the White House or this administration,' Fazio said.

Rep. Joseph D. Early (D-Mass.), one of the 22 named, normally shies away from reporters but yesterday called a news conference. A moist-eyed Early, who is considered to be politically vulnerable, said he felt 'abused' because a six-member subcommittee instead of the full Committee on Standards of Official Conduct heard his appeal and split 3 to 3.

'They didn't give me my day,' Early said. He lashed out at

Foley, Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin (D-Md.), a member of the ethics subcommittee.

Another of the 22, Rep. Edward F. Feighan (D-Ohio), has announced he will not seek reelection. 'I have never had to endure such a mean-spirited, ugly and dehumanizing atmosphere as the one which now prevails in Washington,' said Feighan, 44, a five-term member from the Cleveland area.

More positive emotions about the House came from two Republicans who attended a ceremonial gathering of former members in the chamber yesterday.

Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney, who has acknowledged overdrafts when he served in the House, observed that former members now 'see the institution pass under a cloud. We see its reputation sullied. For those of us who love the House, this is deeply painful to watch.'

He added: 'When occasion demands, this House will rise again, and we and our fellow citizens will once again understand it for what it is: the greatest legislative assembly of the greatest nation on Earth.'

John J. Rhodes, a former Republican leader from Arizona, expressed similar sentiments. 'I think we would all agree that the institution was not perfect when we were here, and

perhaps it does need some corrections of imperfections... which we didn't have the courage or the capabilities of correcting,' he said, referring to the longstanding practices of House Bank overdrafts.

'We hope that they will do as we say, not as we did, and do whatever is necessary to refurbish and renew the confidence of the American people in this great institution.'

Meanwhile, sources said the announcement of the selection of D.C. Deputy Chief Gray L. Abrecht as the new chief of the U.S. Capitol Police was delayed until next week.

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) was unable to schedule time to meet the nominee yesterday, an aide said, adding that there appeared to be no problem with the choice of Abrecht."

In today's Washington Post there is a cartoon by Herblock. This man, Herblock, has to be the best in the world. In the cartoon he has George Bush energetically and strenuously trying to pump up a tremendously large balloon with letters on the side that read -- Congressional Bank Overdrafts -- Cost to U.S. Taxpayers: zero Cost to Depositors: zero. In the background there is a tremendously big building crumbling down with a real large sign on the top that reads Silverado Savings and Loan -- Neil Bush, Director -- Cost to U.S. Taxpayers: \$1 billion. My old

friend, George Bush, really must be jumping up and down after seeing this one early this morning in the newspaper.

April 6, 1992

Hundreds of thousands of abortion rights advocates streamed down Washington streets yesterday for a march and rally. The march for womens' rights, according to the local police, drew 500,000 people and one of these struggling to get to the front of the line was my daughter, Celeste Jirles. Present to make speeches were Jesse Jackson, Jane Fonda, Diane Feinstein, former San Francisco Mayor and now a candidate for the United States Senate, and many others.

A right unusual man died this past weekend. He and his family are rated as the wealthiest family in this country now and this man, Sam Walton, started with a single general store in 1962. Later he decided to go on his own and branched out with stores including some 1,700 Wal-Mart stores in 40 states. He had cancer of the bone and at age 74, Sam Walton passed on. He opened his first store in the Washington area recently and plans are underway for 160 more stores across the country this year. Before dying, he set up a committee to operate his business, along with the members of his family.

April 7, 1992

It looks like Iraq and Iran may start up again. The war between these two continued for about six years and believe it or not, Iraq was winning.

Yeltsin survived a right crucial vote in Moscow. Warding off civil war and economic collapse really dominated the opening of the Russian Congress yesterday as Yeltsin and his

backers just barely beat back a "no-confidence" vote. I don't know whether Yeltsin will last or not.

Peru is acting up and President Fujimori shut down magazines and radio stations, and detained opposition figures yesterday after suspending the constitution and sending tanks to surround the Congress. Our government called the present state of emergency declared regrettable, and immediately cut aid to Peru.

April 8, 1992

Clinton wins another one. This time, in New York State and Tsongas, who had dropped out previously ran second. Jerry Brown, former Governor of California, was third and with a few hundred more delegate votes, Clinton will have enough to go into the convention and win it on the first ballot, unless the convention is brokered.

The "perks" are back again and the President has decided to release in full travel and staff costs at the White House. He said that he would comply with the request and the figures would be submitted. This "tit for tat" now on perks between the Legislative and Executive branches of the government will see no winners.

April 10, 1992

The House yesterday voted 269 to 81 to hire a professional administrator to oversee non-legislative affairs, including payroll, food, and mail service, which by the way have caused problems during the past year. Apparently, we have forgotten what the Speaker is supposed to be doing because we do not need an administrator.

Noriega was found guilty on eight of ten counts and could serve as much as a

maximum of 120 years in federal prison. This case has bothered me for months now because under international law and the way countries should operate, I have had my doubts all along that this man should have been picked up suddenly in Panama and brought back into this country for trial. Any trial should have taken place in Panama.

We leave today for a two-week Easter recess and it comes at a good time. Bouncing of checks and bitterness that has prevailed now for months in the Congress makes it so that all the Members ought to go home and talk to their people.

April 29, 1992

Very little has been accomplished since we returned from our Easter recess work period. In fact, really nothing.

Since we returned, Judge Wilkey, the Special Counsel designated by the Attorney General has served a summons demanding that the bank records not only for those who gave all of the cold checks, but for those of us who gave no cold checks be turned over to him for examination. Technically, under the Constitutional provisions of the law, and all of the laws on the statute books, this does not have to take place unless the Speaker and the House of Representatives agree to the demand. If refused, then the people in this Country would say we have a cover-up and that Congress is ducking and dodging to hide something so in the end, by a unanimous vote almost, it will be agreed, I presume to turn over all of the records to Judge Wilkey. Unless my memory fails me, this same Judge who served on the Circuit Court of Appeals here in Washington for a number of years, is the same one that had some difficulty on one of his trips to Africa. Something pertaining to payment of expenses and the cost of the trip or something along this line.

My Chairman, Jamie Whitten of Mississippi, is still in and out of the hospital and not doing too good at this time. We always circle the wagons and take care of our Chairman and this we are doing today. We will have a meeting of the full Committee this afternoon, the first one since my Chairman was confined to the hospital and I do not know for sure as to whether or not he will be present. He suffered as a result of a stroke and other physical defects that necessitated an operation. I want to be Chairman of our Committee, but certainly not at the expense of the health of my Chairman, Jamie Whitten.

Clinton, Bush, Brown and others are still making their Presidential primary races and the election in Pennsylvania will bring about some surprises. Bush and Clinton, of course, won in the Pennsylvania primary, but one or two of our House Members are in serious trouble and the vote count up to this hour indicates there may be more than one who will lose in the primary.

In going back just for a moment to the matter of the subpoena for the House bank records, my old friend, Bob Michel, the Minority Leader in the House first joined with Tom Foley, our Speaker, in emphatically stating that the records should not be turned over to the Special Counsel. The Republicans have since had a caucus meeting on the House side and the House Minority Leader yesterday reviewed his position and joined other top House Republican leaders in urging compliance with the Special Counsel's subpoena of the House bank records. The reversal by Michel, who the day before had criticized the subpoena as far too broad, left the Speaker, Tom Foley, clinging to the position of resisting a sweeping subpoena issued by the Special Counsel, Malcolm R. Wilkey, the retired Judge.

May 1, 1992

This has been a long, difficult week. My Chairman, Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi, has reached the point now where he is not physically able to lead our Committee. We have a recission bill that must come before the House next week and a rule must be first obtained. In full Committee during the present week, he was unable to preside over the Committee at the time we reported out the recission bill to the extent that he was not sure what was taking place. He has been in and out of the hospital now for over 9 weeks after suffering a stroke and also, according to some members of his family, a prostate operation. His family and his closest political advisor know that unless something is done now, the same thing may happen to him that took place when our old friend Warren Magnuson, in his race for re-election, returned to the State of Washington and was defeated. Jamie Whitten has an outstanding record in the Congress and certainly every move should be made to help him and not permit him to destroy himself.

During the week, a jury returned a verdict in the California case where a number of police officers, with sticks and clubs, beat a black man almost to death, and it just so happens that a television camera was there and time after time during newscasts throughout the United States, the same picture is shown again and again of the beating that this man received. After he was subdued and arrested and handcuffed, the beating continued and the jury, after hours and hours, returned a verdict of not guilty against the police officers. Immediately after the verdict was announced, looting and rioting began in the State of California. Up to this time, some 24 are dead and 900 injured in Los Angeles rioting.

Stores were looted and a great many buildings were set on fire and some are still burning and out of control. Finally, the Governor and the federal authorities agreed that the National Guard must be called out and a curfew was set and announced by Tom Bradley, the Mayor of Los Angeles. The Mayor declared a dusk to dawn curfew for the entire City and said that lawbreakers would be arrested and booked. Grocery stores, drug stores and other businesses were looted and burned. Factories, civic buildings, schools, and libraries were closed. Sports events were cancelled or postponed and sale of ammunition was banned. Gasoline sales were restricted and postal services were cancelled from ten post offices in 14 zip codes.

More than 1,700 firefighters battled the stubborn blazes and last night at least 35 fires were out of control. Of the first 13 fatalities, 11 were men, a woman and a boy 15 years of age. Of this number, at least 9 were blacks with 2 Hispanics and two white people.

The violence began Wednesday with black youths dragging motorists from their cars and beating them which took place soon after the jurors in suburban Sun Valley exonerated the four white Los Angeles police officers accused of feloniously assaulting black motorist Rodney G. King when he was stopped for traffic violations on March 3, 1991.

My daughter, Louise Murphy, has been in touch with me on a number of occasions by telephone since all of this started and she advises that the situation in California is more serious than at any time during the last several years. A number of events have happened in California such as the Watts riots, but nothing like the present situation.