

*Political Reform -  
 Citizens Frank*

# Gingrich attacks Clinton's trade strategy

By Nancy E. Roman  
 THE WASHINGTON TIMES

## Faults backing Japan into a corner

House Speaker Newt Gingrich said yesterday that the Clinton administration unwisely forced Japan to dig in its heels during trade negotiations to avoid losing face.

He said by forcing a high-profile conflict, the president caused Japan to "side with bureaucracy and stare you down." The only alternative was to overthrow the bureaucracy and lose face.

"It's a dangerous game they are playing," he said.

He said the U.S. strategy may be interpreted by other countries as "inviting unilateral attacks."

Mr. Gingrich said the United States instead should attempt to cause maximum pain to Japanese manufacturers with as little publicity as possible. For example, he suggested that the United States mandate one entry point for all Japanese cars — Seattle. All cars

coming from Japan would have to be inspected at one understaffed facility there.

"Then you say we'll deal with your problem soon — right after you deal with ours," he said, getting a laugh from the audience at the National Press Club.

Mr. Gingrich's speech yesterday began a packed schedule through Friday of interviews, radio shows and speeches in Washington and New York to promote his book "To Renew America," which calls for the renewal of American civilization. In August, he begins a 25-city book tour.

He repeatedly mentioned the demise of the American school system, the rise of the drug culture and increasing violence as examples of a deteriorating society.

He said 74 percent of fourth-graders cannot read at a fourth-grade level and 79 percent of Mil-

waukee high school seniors failed math tests.

"Let's be blunt. . . . If you can't educate 70 percent of the students, then close the building and rehire and start over," he said. It's no surprise that schools continue to fail, he added, when "they failed last year and we haven't changed a single thing."

He said unless teachers give two hours of homework per night, American students will not be able to compete with the Japanese and Germans.

He recalled the demise of Greek society, which he said "was absorbed more and more in hedonism."

"We've been running around treating symptoms because there is no space in our society to talk about civilization," he said.

Mr. Gingrich stuck loosely to his theme of renewing American soci-

ety, but he peppered his comments with assertions about law, God, discipline, and English as the national language.

He dismissed multiculturalism as a politically correct concept that not even immigrants favor.

He again encouraged conservative Democrats to join the Republican Party, in response to a question about whether the National Republican Campaign Committee would pit GOP candidates against conservative Democrats such as Reps. W.J. "Billy" Tauzin of Louisiana and Mike Parker of Mississippi, who often vote with Republicans.

Mr. Gingrich said there will be GOP challengers to all Democrats because "even conservative Democrats help elect Democratic leaders."

"My hope is that most of the people you described — and five or six more — will join the party that likes them and treats them nice."

# Despite reform rhetoric, free mailings go out

By George Archibald  
 THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Despite reforms, House members continue to send out millions of franked mail newsletters and notices to their constituents at taxpayers' expense — and an increase is expected in the approaching 1996 election year.

About a third of veteran House members cranked up their taxpayer-financed mass mailings during the first three months of the new Republican-dominated 104th Congress.

Rep. Frank R. Wolf, Virginia Republican, was the House's leading mailer, spending \$79,749 to send more than a half-million congressional newsletters and other franked mail, according to the House clerk's financial report for the first quarter of 1995.

Rep. Richard H. Baker, Tennessee Republican, spent \$61,189 and Rep. Rick Boucher, Virginia Democrat, spent \$57,900 to place second and third for costliest mail operations.

Total official mail costs for the entire 437-member House from Jan. 1 to Mar. 31 were \$4,850,479.

None of the 73 House, GOP freshmen were among the top 12 mailers, who used their congressional franking privilege to send more than a quarter million pieces each from January through March.

## TOP MAILERS

Despite reforms, House members continue to send out millions of franked mail newsletters and notices to their constituents at taxpayers' expense — a favorite advantage of congressional incumbents to boost their name recognition and re-election chances. Here are the top 12 House mailers in the first three months of 1995:

	Mailing cost	Estimated no. of pieces*
Frank R. Wolf, Virginia Republican	\$79,749.13	531,661
Richard H. Baker, Louisiana Republican	61,189.11	407,927
Rick Boucher, Virginia Democrat	57,900.75	386,005
John L. Mica, Florida Republican	49,535.06	330,234
Peter A. DeFazio, Oregon Democrat	47,605.32	317,369
Jim McDermott, Washington Democrat	46,076.30	307,175
Jim Ramstad, Minnesota Republican	43,674.39	291,163
Bob Clement, Tennessee Democrat	43,639.26	290,928
Jerrold Nadler, New York Democrat	43,395.06	289,300
Ken Calvert, California Republican	43,381.51	289,210
Maurice D. Hinchey, New York Democrat	43,363.10	289,087
Jack Fields, Texas Republican	43,151.50	287,677

\*Based on House mail cost estimate of 15 cents per piece. Source: Report of the Clerk of the House.

The Washington Times

About 130 House members, including 18 freshmen, spent more than \$10,000 for postage costs during the first three months. Leading freshmen mailers were Reps. John E. Baldacci, Maine Democrat, \$40,041; Michael P. Forbes, New York Republican, \$39,331; Ed Whitfield, Kentucky Republican, \$34,954; Andrea H. Seastrand, California Republican, \$33,360; Thomas M. Davis, Virginia Repub-

lican, \$30,043; and John E. Ensign, Nevada Republican, \$29,829.

In the last quarter of 1994, House members spent \$3,308,277 to send franked mail. During the two-year session of the 103rd Congress — from Jan. 1, 1993, to Dec. 31, 1994 — House members spent \$66.2 million on postage for newsletters, cards, and letters sent to constituents using public funds.

In just three months before last

November's elections, House incumbents spent \$11,800,667 to send more than 78.7 million pieces of mail to voters in their congressional districts.

The costs do not include printing charges paid out of lawmakers' office allowances, salaries for staff members who work on mass mailings, purchase and maintenance of constituent mailing lists, computer operations, and congressional handling.

In January, when House Republicans pushed through a package of sweeping congressional reforms, leaders forced freshmen to withdraw a plan to abolish taxpayer-funded mass mailings in election years.

GOP leaders say they are trying to work out a less drastic measure that might include a ban on some election-year promotional newsletters, but would not prohibit all mailings sent under a lawmaker's signed franking privilege.

House members are allowed to spend 67.4 cents per address in their congressional district for official franked mail. Also, they can transfer up to an additional \$25,000 from an office account into their franked mail account.

Most senators are limited to about 15 cents per address, although those from states with a single House district can spend double that amount.

# Senate-House talks expected to decide future of bomber

By Rowan Scarborough  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

An upcoming Senate-House conference on 1996 defense spending promises to finally determine the future of the B-2 long-range bomber, a Cold War assembly line that doesn't seem to die despite the Soviet Union's demise, a shrinking U.S. military and a GOP drive to balance the federal budget.

Last year the House capped production at 20 radar-evading bombers, but the Senate, urged on by Sen. Sam Nunn, Georgia Democrat, voted to fund more aircraft.

This year the House, now under Republican management, narrowly reversed course and voted \$553 million, enough to begin producing two additional planes. But the Senate Armed Services Committee voted no additional money.

The switch is explained by changing alliances, according to congressional aides.

In the Senate committee, several senators who had backed the B-2 last year voted no this time in a 13-8 closed-door vote last week.

Senate officials said two recent Pentagon moves influenced the vote:

A Defense Department bomber survey concluded the nation was adequately served by 20 B-2s and 95 B-1Bs configured for pinpoint conventional bombing. Secondly, Gen. Ronald Fogleman, Air Force chief of staff, aggressively lobbied senators to support his service's position that it does not need more B-2s.

The general, an ex-fighter pilot, is worried that inflated bomber spending would endanger money for the Air Force's top priority, the next-generation F-22 fighter.

"I know that he turned traditional B-2 supporters against it," a senior Senate aide said yesterday. "He is worried to death about the F-22."

The committee and the House met the Clinton administration's request of \$2.1 billion to continue the stealth fighter's development.

The Senate committee's \$264.7 defense bill will reach a floor debate later this month, with B-2 proponents unlikely to muster sufficient votes to add bomber money.

The next step is a conference between the Senate panel and the House National Security Commit-

tee, where Rep. Duncan Hunter, California Republican and chairman of its procurement subcommittee, is expected to wage a stiff battle in favor of B-2 funding.

Whichever decision the conference reaches is expected to be final. The two Appropriations subcommittees on defense matters are unlikely to continue the B-2 on their own without approval from the authorizing committees, aides said.

"It's just a big chunk of money they would prefer to dole out to other things," said a Senate defense aide.

The pros and cons on B-2 production are a debate over necessity. Anti-bomber lawmakers — who range from Rep. John Kasich, Ohio Republican, to Rep. Ron Dellums, California Democrat — say the nation cannot afford to continue building a plane originally designed to penetrate Soviet air space and drop atomic bombs.

Proponents say the Pentagon cannot afford to terminate one of its most advanced weapon systems at only 20 bombers.

Retired Gen. Charles Horner, who managed the successful air war against Iraq, recently broke with his former Air Force colleagues and endorsed added production. He also rebuked the Army and Navy for viewing more B-2s as a threat to their budgets.

"Unfortunately, some in the Army and Navy believe the B-2's revolutionary capability is a threat to their own service's continuing relevancy," he wrote in an op-ed opinion piece. "Just the opposite is true: Long-range, survivable bombers will contribute to the effectiveness of the shorter-range carrier air by striking those targets that pose the greatest threat to our ships."

B-2 builder Northrop-Grumman Corp. has told Congress it can build 20 more conventional B-2s for about \$575 million each, or nearly \$12 billion. The Air Force would add administrative costs, bringing the total cost to \$15 billion, according to a Northrop-Grumman spokesman. The company is building the current 20 at a much higher cost of \$44 billion, including research and development costs. The Pentagon had wanted 132 of the planes before the Cold War ended.

# Campus paper endorses killing

## Welcomes death of federal agent

By K.L. Billingsley  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SAN DIEGO — An officially recognized student publication at the University of California at San Diego calls for killing federal agents and celebrates the death of a Hispanic Border Patrol officer.

Border Patrol agent Luis A. Santiago fell to his death near the U.S.-Mexico border east of San Diego on March 28. Attorney General Janet Reno and Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Doris Meissner attended a memorial service for the 30-year-old. But the student publication vilified Mr. Santiago, born in Puerto Rico, as a traitor.

"We're glad this pig died, he deserved to die. All Migra pigs deserve death," said an editorial in the most recent issue of *Voz Fronteriza*, using a slang term for the Border Patrol.

"We do not mourn the death of Santiago. Instead we welcome it," said the editorial. "Death of a Migra Pig" in the university-funded student newspaper. "Yet it is to [sic] bad that more Migra pigs didn't die with him. . . . All of the Migra pigs should be killed, every single one. There are no good Migra agents; the only good one is a dead one."

Rep. Brian P. Bilbray, California Republican, whose district borders Mexico, said: "I condemn this type of hate speech and the violent actions that it condones and encourages. Agent Santiago died upholding our laws, the very laws that protect the authors of this cowardly diatribe against him."

University officials made no public statement of protest when the editorial was published.

"There's no question that this is hate speech," said Linda Chavez, a

*"We do not mourn the death of Santiago, instead we welcome it. . . . There are no good Migra agents; the only good one is a dead one."*

— *Voz Fronteriza* editorial

civil rights official in the Reagan administration and now president of the Center for Equal Opportunity in Washington.

"This is not name-calling; this is incitement to kill," she said. "It's appalling that this is being published in a student newspaper."

Cecilia Munoz of the National Council of La Raza in Washington said groups making such statements are fringe elements within the Hispanic community. But she did not hesitate to condemn the "outrageous and inhumane sentiments."

"I think it is hate speech and indefensible, just as white supremacy is indefensible," Ms. Munoz said. "This country is destined to have a Border Patrol, and it must have adequate resources."

Roberto Martinez, director of the U.S.-Mexico border program for the American Friends Service Committee, said he found the editorial "shocking" and was surprised that the university made no statement. "This is an inflammatory, inciteful article," said Mr. Martinez, who has often criticized the Border Patrol.

"No way do we endorse it," said Lynn Peterson, the campus director of student activities, who added that the university cannot control the content of the paper and that cutting off its funding would be difficult. UCSD Chancellor Richard Atkinson was out of town and unavailable for comment.

Rep. Duncan Hunter, California Republican, has written Mr. Atkinson to demand a retraction and an apology "to the men and women of the U.S. Border Patrol, who serve our country at great sacrifice." If no retraction is forthcoming, Mr. Hunter plans to introduce legislation "aimed at defunding institutions whose publications advocate the killing of American officers."

*Voz Fronteriza* is one of a number of officially recognized "alternative" publications on University of California campuses. Last year it received \$6,000 from student activity funds. Many of its writers are members of the Chicano Press Association and the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan, which refers to the American Southwest as "Aztlan" and "occupied Mexico."

However, Robert Katzmann, a Georgetown University professor who specializes in congressional-judicial relations, disagrees. "In

paing and working with a number of them," Franks said, referring to the 1996 election cycle. Democratic members of the

Court announced last week it will take redistricting cases in Texas and North Carolina for its 1995-96 term. It also dismissed a chal-

lenger at the University of Georgia. "It makes it harder, even if the Democrats are in the driver's seat [in the state legisla-

member. Vowen said she will be studying the membership of the Georgia reapportionment committee."

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# Frosh reformers discover virtue of the frank

By Jennifer Senior

Sometimes, it's tough to toe the line between criticizing Congress for its perks and using them, as Rep. Tom Davis (R-Va.) is finding out.

During his 1994 campaign against Democratic Rep. Leslie Byrne, Davis disseminated literature to thousands of homes saying she was "the fifth biggest abuser" of the House's free mailing privileges. Once in office, he introduced legislation that slashed members' personal franking budgets by one-third.

But during the first three months of Congress, Davis used more of his franking allowance than all but eight of his 86 new colleagues, according to the most recent Report of the Clerk of the House. Using raw expenditures as a gauge, Davis was also in the top 15 percent of House frankers as a whole.

Davis says the figures are misleading, because he had a series of town hall meetings in February, rather than over the April break, and had to send out early mail-

ings to his constituents to alert them. "You can't look at a snapshot from the first few months and extend that out," he said.

The Clerk's Report shows that Davis spent \$30,041 of his franking allowance during the first quarter. The median expense for House members, based on a random, 75-member sample, was just under \$5,500.

When the second quarter figures are released, Davis said his numbers will drop while his colleagues' will rise, because their notices announcing town meetings over Easter break will be accounted for. Meanwhile, Davis says he's curtailed his own mass mailings; instead he takes advantage of newspapers and the airwaves.

When asked if his numbers made him more sympathetic to others who'd been criticized for over-franking in the past — like Leslie Byrne — he answered, "Not at all. She abused her privileges. She had self-promotional newsletters going out in mid-September. I don't believe in self-promotional news letters. I believe in answering my mail."

Byrne, reached at her Virginia home, said she thought it was "hypocritical."

Other hard-charging House reformers didn't appear to be shy about using the frank either. Rep. Steve Largent (R-Okla.), who is part of the loosely defined "New Federalists" group of freshman reformers, spent \$39,760 in the first quarter. Rep. Greg Ganske (R-Iowa), who drove around his district in a 1958 DeSoto to vividly illustrate how long his opponent had been in Congress, spent \$32,757.

But many of these new members stress that they didn't make franking an issue in their campaigns. Indeed, they say, the frank is not so much a perk as an effective communications tool. "I'm not the least bit embarrassed about it," said Rep. Michael Forbes, a Long Island Republican who spent \$39,331. "When you're a new member of Congress, and you're in the shadow of a major media market, people have a right to know what you're doing, and who you are."

## Top 10 freshman frankers so far

Rep. John Baldacci (D-Maine)	\$40,041
Rep. Steve Largent (R-Okla.)	\$39,760
Rep. Michael Forbes (R-N.Y.)	\$39,331
Rep. Ken Bentsen (D-Texas)	\$39,166
Rep. Ed Whitfield (R-Ky.)	\$34,954
Rep. Andrea Seastrand (R-Calif.)	\$33,360
Rep. Greg Ganske (R-Iowa)	\$32,757
Rep. John Hostettler (R-Ind.)	\$30,084
Rep. Tom Davis (R-Va.)	\$30,041
Rep. John Ensign (R-Nev.)	\$29,829

## Top 5 frugal freshmen

Rep. Jon Christensen (R-Neb.)	\$619
Rep. Matt Salmon (R-Ariz.)	\$689
Rep. J.D. Hayworth (R-Ariz.)	\$720
Rep. Chaka Fattah (D-Pa.)	\$734
Rep. Frank LoBiondo (R-N.J.)	\$942

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