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BENEFACTIVE MICROSCENES IN THE CONTEXT OF NEWS REPORTS

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BENEFACTIVE MICROSCENES IN THE CONTEXT OF NEWS REPORTS

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To
my parents
Orlando and Teresa (in memoriam),
with love and gratitude.

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ABSTRACT

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The present study aims at analyzing the Benefactive microscenes that emerge from news reports. The Benefactive microscenes may be represented by basically Benefactive predicators or by predicators from other semantic domains which have the Benefactive foregrounded. The analysis is carried out on a corpus of 164 microscenes from journalistic texts taken from The Washington Post online version – www.washingtonpost.com – during a period of fifteen days in a row, in an attempt to encompass and enhance the Benefactive notion in the context of language in use, here represented by the political news reports. Fillmore (1968), Chafe (1970), Cruse (1973), Cook (1979, 1989), Nicolacópulos (1992,1995), Nicolacópulos & Conceição (1984), Oliveira (1999), Rocha (2003) and Weickert & Nicolacópulos (2005) have tried to tackle the multiplicity of meanings within *Case Grammar*, incorporated into Relational Semantics, in order to comprise the new senses and their effects constructed in the dynamism of language in use. Within this perspective, they have approached language meaning in different ways, be it expressing agency, experience, beneficiary, object, location, company, time, holism. However, there is still a lot to be researched in this area, mainly in the distinct notion of the *beneficiary*, which expresses the notions of

possession, gain or loss, and transfer of property, and how it is lively represented in the modern English language. This work considers a microscene an 'extended clause' which incorporates notions that are not necessarily expressed in the surface of the microscenes, but can be apprehended by the macroscene, the broader context of the text and by the associations the verb or predicator keeps with the other elements within the Benefactive microscenes. It was noticed that (i) this genre favors the presence of Benefactive microscenes, (ii) most of them emerge from basically Benefactive predicators (87.80%), and (iii) some from predicators from other semantic domains that in specific microscenes have the Benefactive sense foregrounded (12.19%). At the same time, it was observed that many basically Benefactive predicators make a metaphorical move (i) towards other semantic domains (Experiential, Comitative, Time) or (ii) towards a Benefactive subdomain, namely power-Benefactive.

RESUMO

BENEFACTIVE MICROSCENES IN THE CONTEXT OF NEWS REPORTS

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Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar as microcenas que emergem em notícias. As microcenas Benefactivas podem estar representadas por predicadores benefactivos básicos ou por predicadores de outros domínios semânticos que têm o Benefactivo perspectivizado naquela microcena. A análise foi realizada em 164 microcenas de texto jornalístico, retiradas do The Washington Post, em sua versão online – www.washingtonpost.com – durante quinze dias seguidos, numa tentativa de abarcar e destacar a noção benefactiva no contexto da língua em uso, aqui representada por notícias políticas. Fillmore (1968), Chafe (1970), Cruse (1973), Cook (1979, 1989), Nicolacópulos (1992,1995), Nicolacópulos & Conceição (1984), Oliveira (1999), Rocha (2003) e Weickert & Nicolacópulos (2005) têm estudado a multiplicidade de sentidos dentro da Gramática de Casos, incorporada à Semântica Relacional, a fim de compreender os novos significados e seus efeitos construídos no dinamismo da língua em uso. Nesta perspectiva, eles abordaram o significado da língua de diferentes formas, expressando agência, experiência, beneficiário, objeto, lugar, companhia, tempo e holismo. No entanto, ainda há muita pesquisa a ser desenvolvida nesta área, principalmente em relação ao Benefactivo, que expressa as noções de posse, ganho ou perda e transferência de propriedade, e como ele aparece de forma viva na língua Inglesa. Esta pesquisa considera uma microcena uma ‘oração estendida’ que incorpora

noções que não estão necessariamente expressas na superfície das microcenas, mas podem ser apreendidas pela macrocena, o contexto maior do texto e pelas associações que o verbo ou predicador mantém com os outros elementos nas microcenas Benefactivas. É possível de perceber que (i) este gênero textual favorece a presença de microcenas Benefactivas, (ii) a maioria delas são compostas por predicadores Benefactivos em seu sentido básico (87.80%), e (iii) algumas vêm de predicadores de outros domínios semânticos, mas que têm seu sentido Benefactivo perspectivizado (12.19%). Ao mesmo tempo, observou-se que muitos predicadores Benefactivos fazem um movimento metafórico (i) em direção a outros campos semânticos (Experiential, Comitativo, Tempo) ou (ii) em direção ao subdomínio Benefactivo chamado de Benefactive power.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter has as its purpose to elucidate some specific terms which will be used throughout this study within a semantic-pragmatic perspective, as well as to show through a chronological cut the relevant studies which contribute to the development of the theory in which it is inserted. It also contains the statement of the problem which is dealt here, the significance of this study, and, at last, the organization of the other chapters.

The definition of terms starts with the key words that appear in the title of this thesis, followed by other terms which must be cleared out so that the reading and understanding of what is said and supported in this research converge to the same direction.

1.1 Definition of Terms

1.1.1 Macroscene and Microscene

The ‘macroscene’ is considered the political field in which all the articles from this thesis are inserted. Each article encompasses several ‘microscenes’ – each one foregrounded by a verb-predicator. The concept of ‘microscene’ has to do with utterances – language produced naturally while communicating – adding a pragmatic concept to semantics, according to Oliveira (1999).

The ‘microscene’ goes beyond the surface structure of a sentence so that it can better capture the meaning which is foregrounded in that specific situation. Here, the microscenes analyzed are within the context of political news reports.

1.1.2 Benefactive Microscene

A Benefactive microscene is composed by a Benefactive predicator, which can be in its basic sense or can come from another semantic domain and has the Benefactive foregrounded. The Benefactive predicator encompasses the notions of possession, power, leadership, gain or loss, concession of benefit/harm, transfer of property or power perceived statively, process or agentively. It may be either positive or negative and the benefactor may be a gainer or loser.

1.1.3 Basic Sense

The predicator's basic sense is understood as its first meaning, which identifies the community use of this meaning and has a relationship of familiarity and specificity with such community together with its cultural and/or historical aspects. This basic sense may make a semantic move throughout time, once the members of the communities can give the predicator a new meaning, use it in different contexts, or even extend its meaning towards new situations.

Oliveira (1999) defines it as “the sense known by the linguistic community”, and as the one which “works as the *first meaning*, the one that has been already incorporated into the cultural world and that makes investments towards new meaning effects and metaphorical processes feasible” (p. 112 – my translation).

If the predicator, according to the case frame, moves down from State to Process or Action verb, its basic sense does not change.

1.1.4 Verb/Predicator

The predicator is the relational element within a microscene. Other elements within a microscene work in conjunction with the predicator to determine whether the microscene is Agentive (A), Experiential (E), Benefactive (B), Locative (L), Time (T), Comitative (C), or Holistic (H). Even though nouns, adjectives, and adverbs can also be used predicatively, they will be not considered in this study. The only predicator analyzed in this study is the verb and its relations with the other participants of the microscene seen in a semantic-pragmatic approach.

1.1.5 Foregrounded and Backgrounded

The choices made by the speaker/writer in each Benefactive microscene foregrounds or puts into perspective the Benefactive sense. The other possible meanings which the same predicator may have are backgrounded in that specific microscene.

1.1.6 Semantic Domain

In the Case matrix, the semantic domains are Basic, Experiential, Benefactive, and Locative. The other cases (Time, Comitative, Holistic) are not in the Case matrix, but are also considered semantic domains. These predicators can be perceived as state, process or action verbs.

The meaning which is foregrounded by the predicator and its relations to the other elements in the microscene is the criterion which classifies the predicator into its semantic domain. Therefore, a semantic domain can be considered the range meaning which a predicator, in a specific microscene, within a particular macroscene, may encompass.

1.1.7 Metaphorical Move

Whenever a predicator, within the microscene, does not have its basic sense foregrounded, it makes a semantic or metaphorical move from one semantic domain to another. This changing of semantic domain, in the case frame matrix is from left to right or right to left, is called metaphorical move or movement in this study.

1.1.8 Case Frame

The case frame is the representation of a microscene taken from the matrix developed by Cook (1989), constituted by the Verb Types in the first column down. They can be perceived as state, process, and action verbs. In another dimension, from left to right, across, the predicators are analyzed as Basic, Experiential, Benefactive, Locative, Time, Comitative, and Holistic.

Brinton (2000) uses the term ‘thematic grid’ for the representation of the former ‘case frame’. In this study, following Oliveira (1999) and Rocha (2003), I will use the term ‘semantic representation’.

1.1.9 Semantic Representation

It is the representation of the microscenes semantically perceived. As in this research the Benefactive microscenes are the object of study, the possible semantic representations for them are: + [B, Os], + [B,O], + [A, B, O]. If any of these cases are lexicalized, deleted or coreferential, they will be marked with an asterisks in front of them and after a slash the explanation is given.

1.2 Background to the study

Fillmore (1968), in an attempt to analyze deeper relations in a sentence elaborates, in his text *The Case for Case*, the Case Grammar, which is the first model of his theory. According to his study, subject and verb notions did not express the real syntactic relationships in a sentence. Thus, his model proposes a supposedly more abstract level of syntactic structure where nouns are associated with the verb in a particular case relationship, stating that syntax was the central component of grammar.

In 1970, Chafe publishes *Meaning and the structure of language*, based on Fillmore (1968). However, he asserts that semantics is the central component of grammar. A year after, Fillmore (1971) reviews his studies both in terms of what he considered a deeper syntax representation and the list of cases. After years of study, Cook (1979) presents his Case Grammar Model, in which the best characteristics of Fillmore (1968), Chafe (1970) and Fillmore (1971) are incorporated and the verb is considered central to meaning. Cook's (1989) theory improves his earlier model and adds some aspects to his matrix model. He classifies the verbs into state, process and action verb types, expressed in terms of one-, two-, and three- place predicates. These verb types are arranged into specific semantic domains, namely Basic, Experiential, Benefactive and Locative.

Following these steps, Nicolacópulos (1992) proposes a semantic-pragmatic model and adds the Holistic and the Comitative Cases, as well as the Time Case already proposed by Cook (1989), to the list of Cases. Years later, Oliveira (1999) adds a discursive dimension to the semantic-pragmatic model, bringing a more interdisciplinary perspective to the Case Grammar Model. In her work, the proposition-metaphor is considered the basis for her study once it is construed under a predicate structure, favoring the semantic concept, which anchors the *Case Theory* and enables

the articulation of microscenes. Thus, a *microscene* is taken as being an instantiation of a verb-predicator within the macrosene.

Considering this improvement, the theoretical framework proposed by Oliveira (1999) develops a semantic-pragmatic-discursive approach to language, applying it to journalistic language in Portuguese, as a sample of language in use. This genre seems to be appropriate for this analysis because it carries, along with the semantic features of the facts, the pragmatic components, which connect the speech acts to its cultural contexts. Therefore, the discursive marks present in news reports are inherent to the meaning-making of the *microscene*.

1.3 Statement of purpose

The main objective of this research is to analyze the constitution of the *benefactive* microscenes in news reports, according to the theoretical framework proposed by Oliveira (1999). Although this study will focus specifically on the Benefactive (B), all the other cases of the matrix, within *UFSC's Case Model*, will be considered, once it will not only analyze the emergence of this case in its basic sense, but also the semantic moves undertaken to the Benefactive semantic domain.

The news reports collected from the political section of the online version of a newspaper are analyzed focusing attention on (i) which Benefactive predicators emerge in their basic sense in twenty seven political news reports and (ii) whether the Benefactive sense may be foregrounded as a result of semantic movements undertaken from other semantic domains towards it.

1.4 Significance of the study

The significance of this research lays on the process of analyzing meaning in context through the relations established by words in their microscenes, within macroscenes. Because *UFSC's Case Model* has demonstrated to be efficient and accurate, this project may contribute to the field of linguistics, such as semantics and pragmatics by collecting true data and analyzing them in the light of a discursive semantic-pragmatic approach, in order to capture the benefactive microscenes that might emerge in the political sections of news reports of the American newspaper, *The Washington Post*, available in electronic format.

Supported by the hypothesis that journalistic language is considered a reliable instance of language in use and that the newspaper deals with accessible language in order to fulfill its role as a means of daily and instant communication nowadays, the articles which compose the corpus of this study were collected for fifteen days in a row from the same section from May 10th to May 24th, 2005.

Finally, it is important to highlight that the notions of possession, gain or loss, and transfer-of-property, namely Benefactive, and the related metaphorical movements or semantic moves were already investigated in Portuguese news by Oliveira (1999), and have been deeper studied by Weickert in her current doctorate dissertation.

1.5 Organization of the thesis

This research is organized in three more chapters. The second chapter tries to describe the theoretical approaches considered meaningful to achieve the main objectives of this study. The third chapter covers the methodological criteria established

to define the strategies which were considered necessary to be used so that the study would follow and reach its objectives. The fourth chapter deals with the process of analysis itself, which is based on the theoretical framework articulated in chapter 2. In this chapter, some final considerations and conclusions are also mentioned.

The intention of this work is collecting, identifying, analyzing and demonstrating the Benefactive microscenes which may appear in the press media, specifically in political news reports of an American newspaper and which are the Benefactive predicators that emerge in their basic sense, as well as the predicators from other semantic domains which may, through a semantic and metaphorical movement, constitute Benefactive microscenes.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Linguistics and Meaning

Linguistics is the scientific study of language. According to Brinton (2000), “linguistics understands language as a system of arbitrary vocal signs”(p. 3). Considering that this system is used by human beings to accomplish different and varied purposes, Brinton (2000) exemplifies by saying that

it is through language that we get others to do things, to express emotions or feelings, to maintain social intercourse, to make promises, to ask questions, to bring about states of affairs, to talk to oneself, and even talk about language itself (p. 4).

Thus, it is this communicative function of language that has motivated linguists to explore language not only by its universal properties and origin, but also to account for its developments and how meaning is conveyed through it.

Saussure is widely known as the father of the 20th-century linguistics. His ideas were the foundation for the structural linguistics. His work is remarkable for the innovative approach once he focused on examining how the elements of language related to each other in the present, that is, ‘synchronically’ rather than ‘diachronically’(Caldas-Coulthard, 1997, p. 15). Besides this, he argued that linguistic signs were composed of a signifier (the *sound pattern* of a word, either in mental projection or in actual, physical realization as part of a speech act) and a signified (the concept or *meaning* of the word).

About Saussure’s theory, Rocha (2003) reminds us that even though the linguistics signs may be considered arbitrary, their meaning (signified) do not depend

only on the free choice of the individual who uses it, but it is related to the extra-linguistic reality to which the individual belongs.

In an attempt to understand how meaning is built into a linguistic community, Rocha (2003) assures that the meaning process has its origin in the communicative scope, which underlies the utterance, and “meaning efficacy depends on the contextualizations of facts, on their circumstances, and on their historic commitment” (p.19 – my translation).

Structural linguistics was the starting point of two currents of thoughts that emerged independently of each other from Saussure’s ideas. In Europe, the Swiss linguist, Roman Jakobson worked on universalizing structural-functional theory of phonology, based on a markedness hierarchy of distinctive features.

In America, Leonard Bloomfield worked on the idea that the behavioristic principles for the study of meaning were the most important to be considered in the study of languages. The development of formal procedures for the analysis of language data in order to provide linguistics with rigorous scientific methodology was his legacy for this science.

With the emergence of Generative Grammar pioneered by Noam Chomsky in the late 1950s and 1960s, special attention is given to the syntax of a language. Chomsky develops the idea that each sentence in a language has two levels of representation — a deep structure (represented by the semantic relations of a sentence) and a surface structure (the mental representation of a linguistic expression). This theory does not account for linguistic markers that represent the meaning of a sentence, only through its syntax, the language patterned rules.

Semantics, for Moskey (1979) “might informally be defined as ‘an organized, principled means of accounting for meaning in natural language’”(p. 1). In a more formal and systematic way, Brinton (2000) defines semantics as

the study of how meaning is conveyed, focusing either on meanings related to the outside world (lexical meaning) or meanings related to the grammar of the sentence (grammatical meaning). (p. 11)

In studying meaning, lexical semantics is interested in the meaning of individual words, while sentence semantics is concerned with the meaning which results from the interaction of elements in a sentence. Therefore, this study is focused within sentence semantics in order to grasp such interaction between elements of syntax and semantics.

As the fifth level of linguistics, according to Brinton (2000), pragmatics “is the study of how language is used, how the forms of language is used to create discourse (p. 289)”. This way, the forms of language which are used to create a discourse is influenced by contextual conditions, which in their turn

include such things as the social positions or roles of the participants in discourse and their interpersonal relations of intimacy and power, the psychological states of the speaker and hearer, the intentions, beliefs, attitudes of speaker and hearer, and even the circumstances (physical and social) of speech. (p. 289)

In this sense of interpreting pragmatics, Green (1989) affirms it is

the study of understanding intentional human action. Thus, it involves the interpretation of facts assumed to be undertaken in order to accomplish some purpose. The central notions in pragmatics must then include belief, intention (or goal), plan, and act.(p. 2)

Therefore, pragmatics is interested in examples of language with content, communicative function and examples that are originated from their real use.

After mentioning the components of the study of languages and have briefly described two of them, it is time to narrow down the scope of this study, starting by the two branches that come from semantics and pragmatics and which will give the

foundation for what is understood as being a theory for analyzing the meanings of language in use in this research: sentence semantics and linguistics pragmatics.

2.2 Sentence Semantics and Linguistics Pragmatics

According to Brinton (2000), sentence semantics studies “the semantic relationships holding between nouns and verbs in a sentence” (p. 263). It comes from sentence semantics the concept of ‘proposition’ (prop), which

is divided into ‘a predicate (pred) and its arguments (arg). An argument is any of the various elements of the sentence that are set in one relation to one another by the predicate, typically noun phrases. The predicate is the operation carried out on an argument or arguments; it places the arguments in relation to one another. Predicates are typically verbs (including accompanying prepositions and participles), prepositions, and (predicate) adjectives. Predicates differ in respect to valency, the number of arguments that co-occur with a predicate. There are different types of valencies, Φ -, 1-, 2-, 3-, 4-place predicates (p. 264).

In the study of linguistic pragmatics, or the pragmatics of language use, Green (1989) assures that it is necessary “to stipulate that the principles of pragmatics must account systematically for facts involving linguistic expressions” (p. 5).

Van Dijk (1982) reinforces this idea that in pragmatics the sentences (or discourses) must be turned into acts (utterances) and be placed in a situation (context). The utterances, made up of sentences, are considered in the context of concrete conversations, which influences the interpretation of the communicative act or speech (p. 190).

In this attempt of interpreting not only the literal meaning of the sentences, but also the concept the speaker is trying to convey in a speech situation, pragmatics is interested in the linguistic, objective, or subjective factors that may affect the interpretation of signs and expressions. Thus, Van Dijk (1982) assures that

like meanings, actions are intentional objects. They are assigned to observable doings just as meanings are assigned to utterances. Just like meanings, actions are combined with other actions to form compound and complex actions and sequences of actions. Finally, it will be assumed that actions, just like semantic information, are organized in higher level units and structures. More specifically, sequences of doings are assigned hierarchical action structures, planned and interpreted as such, at various levels of macro-organization. (p. 233)

It was Fillmore's work "*The case for case*" published in 1968 which provides the foundation of Case Grammar, as a reaction to Chomskyan transformational grammar. In his work, he elaborates the notion of semantic case and presents the first model of his theory, encompassing the cases as deep syntactic structures.

In Case Grammar, "case" stands for the 'roles', or semantic relations of the deep structure, in opposition to the surface structure, where the 'subject' and 'object' notions, which refer to syntactic relations.

For Fillmore, the changing of position of the predicator does not alter its relationship with its case. The case relationship established will classify the predicator, according to Fillmore, into state or action verb, represented in terms of case frames.

The Case Grammar models presented by Fillmore (1968, 1971), Chafe (1970) and Anderson (1971) provide the framework of the case grammar matrix model developed by Cook (1974 – 1989).

Fillmore's 1968 model and Chafe's 1970 model are nonlocalistic. In general terms, nonlocalistic models deal with basic, experiential, benefactive, locative, temporal, and other verb types. Fillmore's 1971 model and Anderson's 1971 model are localistic. This means that they also deal with basic verbs and locative verbs, but differ in their treatment of experiential, benefactive, temporal, comitative verbs, etc., considered 'abstract' locations.

In order to encompass the meaning changes in the context of language in use which are realized through metaphorical processes, Nicolacópulos (1992) suggests a

semantic-pragmatic model. Among the various advances in his studies, it is relevant to mention his reference to verb types (state, process, and action) and cases into basic, experiential, benefactive, temporal, locative, etc. ‘clauses’ and verbs/verb types/predicators as component of them. In this sense, it is important to clarify that for him

although the verb or the predicator is the relational element within a clause, other elements within a clause work in conjunction with the predicator to determine whether the clause is agentive, experiential, benefactive, locative, etc. (p. 105)

Another important accomplishment in the study of Case Grammar, was achieved by Nicolacópulos in his 1992 paper, in which he “proposed the addition of three more cases to Cook’s case grammar matrix, namely, Time (T), the Comitative (C), and the Holistic (H)” (p. 106). Even though Cook had previously admitted the existence of an essential Time (T) case, he did not include it in his revised case frame matrix (Cook, 1989, p.197). The Comitative (C), which expresses ‘accompaniment’, was only mentioned in Fillmore’s 1969 paper. The Holistic (H) case, which expresses ‘wholeness’, is Nicolacópulos’ improvement to the semantic domains.

Another relevant discussion in Nicolacópulos (1992) is how to account for a phenomenon in the language that extends the ‘basic’ meaning of a predicator, referred to as ‘meaning extension’. In this connection, Halliday (1985) states that

part of knowing a language is to know what the most typical ‘unmarked’ way of saying a thing is. At the same time, we also recognize that there are these other possibilities, where the unmarked mode has been departed from and the speaker or writer has chosen to encode things differently (p. 322).

For Nicolacópulos (1992), this idea became particularly interesting because it was verified that ‘meaning extension’ seemed to retain ‘traces’ of ‘unmarked’ meaning. It also might occur more than once across different semantic domains, and, considering that according to case grammar theory there might be a set of universal cases, this

‘meaning extension’ might also work across languages, as he exemplifies with Portuguese and English predicators in his paper (pp.107-108).

Nicolacópulos *et alii* (1997), in an attempt to broaden the perspectives of this approach, so that it could effectively account for semantic moves (meaning extensions) which emerge in the context of language in use and are realized through a metaphorical process, refines his model aiming at capturing the pragmatic dimension in the analysis and interpretation processes in a nonlocalistic model that covers the basic roles A (Agent) and O (Object), and the non-basic E (Experiencer), B (Benefactive), L (Locative), T (Time), C (Comitative) and H (Holistic).

Oliveira (1999, pp. 71-72) elicits some aspects that are known by *UFSC’s Case Model* based on Nicolacópulos 1992 and 1997 papers. The following advances are worth being mentioned: the model’s case system (case list) is composed of eight cases: A – E – B – O – L – T – C – H; the predicators are classified into basic, experiential, benefactive, locative, time, comitative, and holistic, perceived as states, processes and actions, respectively; the O-case is not obligatory; this model admits the rare possibility of co-occurring cases considered mutually exclusive as already admitted by Fillmore (1971, p. 51); for example, the verb *spend*, which admits both cases L (locative) and T (time), such as in “Jeffrey spent Tuesday afternoon at the beach”; however, even though the number of these occurrences seem to be rare, they do not invalidate the norm, which gains support in Fillmore’s (1977, p. 59-81) notion of *scenes*.

In 1977, Fillmore publishes an article entitled “*The Case for Case reopened*”, where he is reviewing his 1968’s model. Then, he proposes that meanings come from ‘scenes’. The notion of scenes is connected to the speaker’s choice of expressions uttered in particular situations, the scenes. Any of the verbs chosen in any specific scene brings into play or activates a context in which it is inserted and by which it is

interpreted. This way, each scene is the result of the perspective chosen by the speaker, “but the particular word chosen imposes in this scene a particular perspective” (p. 73). According to it, only the elements selected by the speaker will be foregrounded, while the other elements will be backgrounded.

In the same article, Fillmore (1977) also admits the possibility of occurrence of other cases besides O (Object) more than once in the same proposition; the model exceptionally admits more than three cases in the same proposition, as in the above example of Fillmore with the verb *spend*; it considers that the cases are in a relational association with their verb-predicators (not in a dependency relationship); and this model takes into consideration elements in the case analysis, allowing a semantic-pragmatic approach of the scene.

The notion of scenes is improved by Oliveira (1999) in her study of benefactive scenes. Within the context, there is no doubt in considering the instances in which the various scenes responsible for the event configuration are produced. Her concern is about using the notion of scenes to help interpret the meaning, which is not only related to the scene itself and isolated, but also presupposes the notion of what is foregrounded and backgrounded in a microscene, by taking this particular scene and analyzing it as part of a broader contextualized situation (pp. 76-78).

In order to account for this idea of the participants of the events/situations having the choice of selecting what they attribute bigger relevance to put in evidence (foreground) in terms of meaning, Oliveira (1999) articulates an interface:

The notion of Fillmore’s scenes is associated with the episode conception of Van Dijk (1992, pp. 101-102) in order to set up a relation of compatibility with the journalistic utterances and to consolidate the denomination ‘macroscene’, which encompasses several ‘microscenes’ – each one foregrounded by a verb-predicator. (p. 78 – my translation)

This study uses the concept of ‘microscene’ based on this interface developed by Oliveira (1999) to better capture and analyze the benefactive microscenes in the context of news reports.

Furthermore, the study of the benefactive semantic domain has been extended to account for a semantic subdomain called the ‘quasi’-benefactive by Silva (2002). She calls it ‘quasi’ “because it expresses a situation that is not one of gaining or losing, benefit, etc. proper, but a situation that will result in gain or loss, benefit, etc” (p. 77). For instance, *take the risk, compete, dispute, bet, look for*.

Similarly, Weickert & Nicolacópulos (2005) has extended the benefactive domain to account for another subdomain, namely the ‘power’-benefactive semantic domain, (pB), “representing the notion of maintenance or transfer of power” (p.2). As examples of such predicators, we have *surrender, capture, relinquish, rule, lead*, etc. in the context of a journalistic text on war.

2.3 The Case Grammar Matrix Model

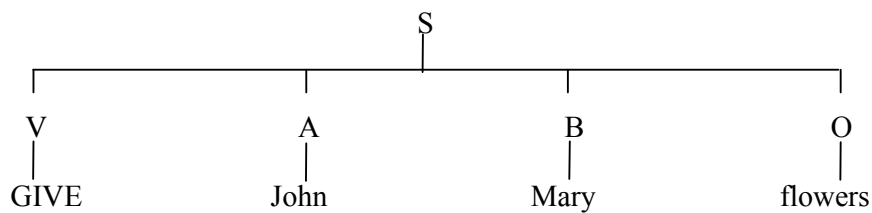
This section tries to explain more detailed aspects involved in the constitution and development of Case Grammar. Some examples and definitions are given in a way of consolidating and scaffolding the microscenes of this study.

Fillmore presents his 1968 model of case grammar as “a substantial modification to the theory of transformational grammar” based upon “a reintroduction of the conceptual framework interpretation of case systems, but this time with a clear understanding of the difference between deep and surface structure” (p. 21). His objections against Chomsky’s transformational grammar are on the definition of functions. The surface case system of the language could not capture the meaning of a sentence, since the notions of subject and object express only superficial relationships.

According to Fillmore (1977), “case grammar is a system of semantic analysis which represents the internal semantics of a single clause” and Cook (1989) assures that it “differs from logical representation only in that the arguments are given names or case roles (p. 186)”.

Figure 1 exemplifies a typical logical structure:

Figure 1 Logical structure with cases (Cook, 1989, p. 186)



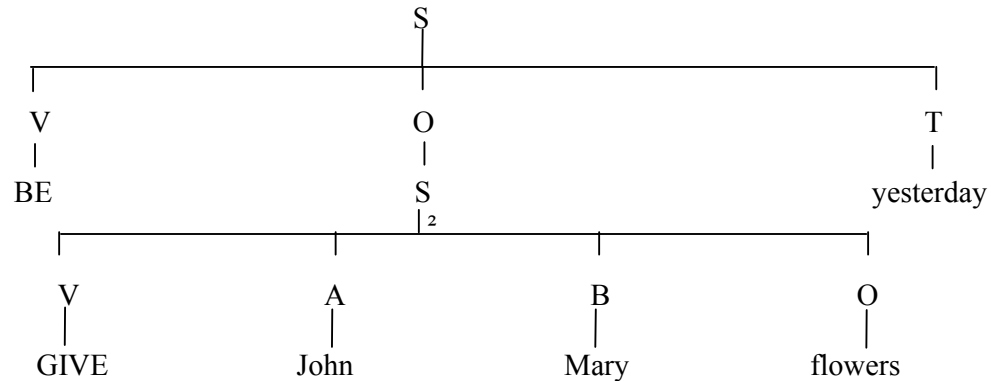
The verb is the central element which determines the numbers and kind of cases that occur. The S is simply a bracketing device which groups together the verb and its cases. This structure is mirrored exactly in the form of the case frame + [__ A, B, O] with the verb in initial position and the required cases in subject choice hierarchy order after the verb. There is no simpler or more direct way of representing case structures (p. 186).

This way, Cook relates underlying logical structures to surface syntactic structures, concentrating upon the propositional content of a sentence. On the other hand, case grammar

is open to expanding the system to include performative and modality layers to express all the elements which enter into the literal meaning of a sentence, not just the basic predicate and arguments (p. 187).

However, because modal cases are not required by the meaning of the verb, they are not part of the logical structure, but can be represented as in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Logical structure with modal cases (Cook, 1989)



“In the sentences *John gave Mary flowers yesterday* the verb *give* is a three-place predicate which requires a giver (A), a receiver (B), and the object given (O)” (p. 187). These cases required by the semantic valence of the predicate are called by Cook (1989) ‘propositional cases’. The expression of time (*yesterday*), which is not required by the predicate, and, therefore, is outside of the proposition because it is an optional element, is a modal case.

Based in Fillmore, Chafe (1970) publishes his model of semantic relationships entitled “*Meaning and the Structure of Language*”, distinguishing the Modal Cases (not required by the verb) from Propositions (required by the verb). In the same sense and based in Chafe (1970), Cook (1979) defines the propositional cases as the ones which are required by the verb valency, while the optional cases, which are not required by the verb meaning, even though are part of the proposition¹, are called modal (Rocha, 2003).

The cases of the case grammar listed by Cook (1989) are as follows:

Agent (A). Agent is the case required by an action verb. Although Agent is typically an animate performer of the verbal action, inanimate nouns may also occur as Agents.

Experiencer (E). Experiencer is the case required by an experiential verb. Experiencer is the person experiencing sensation, emotion, or cognition.

¹ A proposition is considered, within this perspective, as the semantic counterpart of clause (a syntactic term). However, the term is replaced, in this study, by microscene, which has to do with utterances – language produced naturally while communicating – adding a pragmatic concept to semantics, according to Oliveira (1999).

Benefactive (B). Benefactive is the case required by a benefactive verb. Benefactive is the possessor of an object or the nonagentive party in the transfer of property. Benefaction may be either positive or negative and the benefactor may be a gainer or loser.

Object (O). Object is an obligatory² case found with every verb. Object is the neutral underlying theme of the state, process, or action described by the verb. With state verbs the Object is the thing being described. With process or action verbs the Object is the moving object or the thing undergoing change.

Locative (L). Locative is the case required by a locative verb. Locative is restricted to physical location in space and includes both stative location with state verbs, and directional source and goal locatives with process and action verbs (p. 191).

Even though Cook (1989, p. 196) admits a Time (T) case, which is required by a predicator that denotes chronological time, he does not include this case in his case frame matrix.

Before analyzing the verb cases, the predicators are first analyzed as state, process, or action verbs. It was Chafe who introduced the notion of “Process” to Fillmore’s verb classification. Chafe (1989) classifies the verbs in States, Processes, Actions and Action-Processes³. However, in general terms, verbs can be classified as “state” and “non-state”.

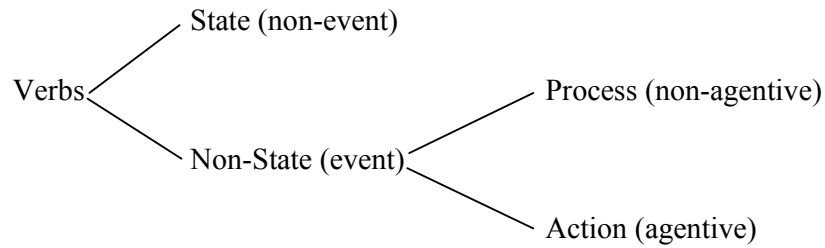
In Chafe’s model (1989), a State verb is stative and it is better defined as a non-event verb. A non-state (event) verb can be categorized as a Process or an Action. The Processual verb is non-agentive, while the Action verb is agentive.

In order to clarify such concepts, Nicolacópulos and Conceição (2002) in their article “*Causativização de Predicadores Estáticos e Processuais no Português Brasileiro*” schematize them, as can be seen in Figure 3.

² In predications as “(a) ‘It’s late’, and (b) ‘It’s Tuesday’, the Object (O) is not deleted. This way, it is evident that the O is not obligatory” (Oliveira, 1999, p. 53 – my translation).

³ Cook (1989) classifies the verbs in States, Processes and Actions. This is the concept followed in this thesis.

Figure 3 Scheme of Verb Types (p. 3)



State, Process and Action verbs, in Cook (1979), following Lakoff (1966), Fillmore (1968) and Anderson (1971), Cruse (1973), are identified by the [imperative, progressive] test (for state and process verbs) and the [-imperative, -progressive] test (for state verbs).

Exemplifying Cook's test, Nicolacópulos and Conceição (2002) use the sentences below:

- (1) a. Maria is beautiful.
- b. ?Be beautiful, Maria.⁴
- c. ?Maria is being beautiful. (p. 3 – my translation)

This test illustrates that it is not possible either to have an imperative sentence, as in example (1b), or a process sentence as in example (1c). Therefore, example (1a) is State.

When the verb admits the progressive tense, as in example (2c), but not the imperative (2b), it is considered Process (2a). Consider the sentences:

- (2) a. John died.
- b. ?Die, John.⁵
- c. John is dying. (p. 3 – my translation)

⁴ According to Cruse (1973), the question mark at the beginning of the sentence indicates abnormality.

⁵ State and Process verbs, according to Cruse (1973), can be considered, depending on the context, Agentive.

For classifying a verb as an Action verb, the test allows the imperative as well as the progressive. Nicolacópulos and Conceição (2002) show this concept by using these sentences:

- (3) a. John has sold the house.
- b. Sell the house, John.
- c. John is selling the house. (p. 3 – my translation)

Yet, Cruse (1973) tries to prove that this test for Action verbs is not satisfactory, because it does not detect agentivity in involuntary actions. He says:

The insistence on ‘willful’ means that *kicked* may be agentive in *John kicked the bucket over*, but not in *John accidentally kicked the bucket over*; and that verbs having as their subjects nouns denoting natural agents cannot be agentive (p.12).

In other words, Lakoff’s, Fillmore’s and Cook’s tests can not capture the agentive of an involuntary action. Then, Chafe (1970) proposes other tests to detect states, processes and actions. The “*What happened?*” question serves to distinguish a state from a non-state verb, as in example (4):

- (4) What happened?
 - a. ?The wood is dry.⁶
 - b. John died.
 - c. Mary sang.

As in example (4a), given by Nicolacópulos and Conceição (2002), the sentence is not an answer to the question “*What happened?*”, it is considered a non-event, that is, a State sentence because “the wood is in a certain state or condition. The verb is specified as State and it is followed by a name which is its Object (O)” (p. 4 – my translation).

⁶ Even though Chafe (1970) uses the asterisk to indicate that the sentence is abnormal, I follow the question mark, as already mentioned, and proposed by Cruse (1973).

On the other hand, examples (4b) and (4c) can answer the question “*What happened?*” or “*What is happening?*”. They are considered, then, non-state sentences, that is, an event. This means that the sentences can be Processes or Actions. As we still have this doubt, another test was developed by Chafe (1970) to differentiate processes from actions. According to him, example (4b) answers the question “*What happened to N?*”, being N a noun, so it is a Process sentence. And as example (4c) answers the question “*What did N do?*” or “*What is N doing?*”, it is considered an Action (p. 100).

Halliday (1968, p. 196, apud Cruse (1973)) also tries to create a more satisfactory way of testing for relationship with *do*.

Clauses are classified according to the ‘preferred’ form of the corresponding ‘identifying clause’. Thus *John punched Bill* is a ‘do-clause’,⁷ because *What John did was punch Bill* is preferred to *What happened to John was that he punched Bill*. On the other hand, *The vase broke* is a ‘happen clause’⁸, since *What happened to the vase was that it broke* is preferred to *What the vase did was break*. (p.13)

Therefore, the verbs or the sentences in general are classified as state, process or action. The State verbs or sentences are detected when they do not answer the question “*What happened?*”, for they are non-events. The Process verbs or sentences or the nonagentive event sentences are identified by “*What happened to N?*”. And finally, the actions are Agentive verbs or sentences which are captured by the question “*What did N do?*”.

For Cruse (1973), “apparently in certain circumstances the difference between *do* and *happen* is neutralized, *do* being the normal form”. (p.17)

In the sentence

(5) Christ died in order to save us from our sins (p. 17).

⁷ The term *do-clause* refers to agentive sentences in Halliday’s theory (1968).

⁸ The term *happen-clause* refers to material process sentences according to Halliday (1968).

the question “*What did Christ do?*” seems to be answered by example (5), even though it would be, at a first sight, considered a Process verb. However, due to the other elements in this sentence, it has a *do*-interpretation and it is considered Agentively, conversely to example 4b (John died), when there is no intention of John to die. However, it is normal to see example (5) as

(6) What Christ did was die in order to save us from our sins (p. 17)

Christ was impelled to do so that we could be saved from our sins, having a *do* interpretation and is shown by the normality if compared to

(7) ?What happened to Christ was that he died in order to save us from our sins.

On the other hand, “the *do*-test is not necessarily what is usually referred to by the term ‘agentive’ (Cruse, 1973, p. 17). He claims that there are four features (at least) that “seem to be operating” (p. 18) in order to consider a predicator as an Action verb, which are “volitive, effective, initiative and agentive, respectively” (p. 18):

1. Volitive: this feature is present when an act of will is stated or implied. Willing is a kind of doing, whether what is willed is a state, process or action.

The following examples, given by Cruse, justify his statement once these “are features whose *do*-feature is due entirely to the presence of ‘volitive’:

(8) What John did was drift two miles further down the river, so as to avoid landing in enemy territory.

(9) What John did was not eat anything for two days.

(10) What John did was to be ready. (p. 18)

However, they can become *happen*-sentences “in contexts where volition is rendered unlikely, or is explicitly denied” (p. 18)

(11) What John did was not sleep that night, so as to forestall any surprise attack.

(12) ?What happened to John was that he did not sleep that night, so as to forestall any surprise attack.

(13) ?What John did was not sleep that night, through no fault of his own.

(14) What happened to John was that he did not sleep that night, through no fault of his own. (p.18)

For instance, sentence (11) is more easily seen and used than (12), but (13) is less used than (14).

The other features cited by Cruse (1973) are

2. Effective: this feature is present in a sentence which refers to something which exerts a force (literally or metaphorical), not by virtue of an internal energy source, but because of its position, motion, etc. Examples: *The wind* opened the door, and *The stone* broke the window.
3. Initiative: (the term is borrowed, with slightly modification, from Halliday, who speaks of the 'initiator' of an action (1967, p. 42)). The meaning of it can be roughly glossed 'initiation of an action by giving a command'. Examples: The warder marched the prisoners across the yard, and John galloped the horse, which had died the previous day, round the field.
4. Agentive: this feature is present in any sentence referring to an action performed by an object which is regarded as using its own energy in carrying out the action. Example: John moved (himself) to avoid the falling stones, and The machine automatically switches (itself) off at 6 p.m. (pp. 18-19)

According to Nicolacópulos and Conceição (2002, p. 13), "the intention is a pragmatic sign connected to the enunciating subject, which takes into consideration the knowledge (supposedly shared by the interlocutor). In the news articles analyzed by them, they found that predicators which occurred after verbs such as *want*, *search*, *pretend*, *decide*, *need*, *try*, *convince*, etc were causativized because of the mentioned verbs. In other microscenes, it was only possible to detect intention. Then, they propose the use of the adverb *deliberately* to indicate voluntary action when there are no linguistic elements in the microscenes" – in other words, state/process + intention = action. (p.10 – my translation) Examples:

(15) I *want* to be a physician. (my translation)

'Be a physician' is Os, Os) However, in this example, the semantic representation is A, *O, O/A=O, once intention is added by *want*.

(16) I *pretended* to be sleeping. (my translation)

Sleep is basically O, but in example (16), because intention is added by the predicator *pretend* to the microscene, the semantic representation is A, *O/A=O.

In this sense, Cook (1989) develops a matrix which shows all the possible semantic representation for the verbs, considering the context in which they appear.

According to him,

if the verb is a state, it belongs on the first line of the matrix and the O case is marked as Os to indicate stativity. If the verb is a process, it belongs on the second line of the matrix and no Agent is present in the case frame. If the verb is an action, it belongs on the third line of the matrix and has an Agent case in the case frame (p. 196).

Cook (1989, p. 195) defines the verb types in State, Process and Action verbs:

1. **State verbs** express a notionally stative situation. In English, state verbs do not take the progressive aspect nor the command imperative,
2. **Process verbs** express a dynamic nonagentive event. In English, they freely take the progressive aspect but do not take the command imperative. Process verbs include motion verbs with inanimate subjects and involuntary human activities.
3. **Action verbs** express a dynamic agentive event. In English, action verbs take both the progressive aspect and the command imperative. Action verbs refer to an Agent who may be said to be performing the action indicated by the verb.

Considering these verb types and the semantic domains, the case frame can possibly be arranged in a 3 x 4 matrix with state, process, and action verbs in one dimension and the basic, experiential, benefactive, and locative semantic domains in the other. This model is described in Table 1.

Table 1 Case frame matrix (Cook 1989, p. 195)

Verb Types	Basic	Experiencer	Benefactive	Locative
1. State	Os be tall	E, Os like	B, Os have	Os, L be in
2. Process	O die	E, O enjoy	B, O acquire	O, L move, iv
3. Action	A, O kill	A, E, O say	A, B, O give	A, O, L put

Considering that some verbs use only the primary cases, Agent and Object, Cook calls them Basic verbs. “Verbs which also use one of the other three cases, the

Experiencer, the Benefactive, or the Locative case, are listed within the experiential, benefactive, or locative domains”. (Cook, 1989, p. 195)

(1) Basic verbs use only the Agent and Object cases. These are verbs which do not belong to the experiential, benefactive, or locative domains and include basic state, basic process, and basic action verbs.

(2) Experiential verbs use the Experiencer case along with the Agent and Object cases. These verbs describe the semantic domains of sensation, emotion, and cognition proper to the inner life of man. Experiential verbs are also used to describe human communication, which always involves a speaker, a hearer, and what is said.

(3) Benefactive verbs use the Benefactive case along with the Agent and Object cases. These verbs describe the semantic domains of possession and transfer of property. State verbs are used to describe voluntary and involuntary transfer of property.

(4) Locative verbs use the Locative case along with the Agent and Object cases. These verbs describe the semantic domains of location and direction. State verbs describe static location in a place, marked with stative prepositions. Process and action verbs describe directional motion, marked with directional prepositions.

Cook (1989, pp. 196-197) suggests an extension of the matrix which he considers “necessary and sufficient for the classification of all the verbs of the language in all their meanings”.

Table 2 Revised case frame matrix

Verb types	Basic	Experiential	Benefactive	Locative
1. State	Os be tall Os, Os be + N	E, Os like Os, E be boring	B, Os have Os, B belong to	Os, L be in L, Os contain
2. Process	O die O, O become	E, O enjoy O, E amuse	B, O acquire O, B	O, L move, iv L, O leak
3. Action	A, O kill A, O, O elect	A, E, O say A, O, E amuse (agt)	A, B, O give A, O, B blame	A, O, L put A, L, O fill

2.4 The Covert Role Theory

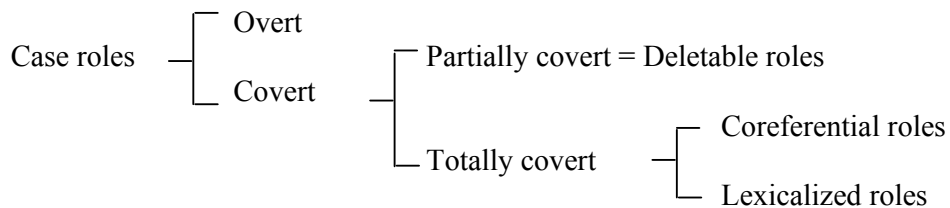
The Covert Role Theory was first proposed by Fillmore (1971) and further developed by Cook (1989). In terms of verb classification, Cook (1989) says:

In case grammar verbs must be classified according to their full complement of case roles but in the analysis of particular sentences one or more cases required by the meaning of the verb may be missing from the surface structure (p. 201).

Then, Cook (1989) develops this theory to explain the partial or total absence of essential cases in the surface structure:

Case roles are either overt or covert. Overt case roles are roles that are always present in the surface structure of simple active sentences. Covert case roles are roles that are sometimes or always absent from the surface structure. Covert roles may be partially covert or totally covert. Partially covert roles are sometimes present and sometimes absent and are called Deletable roles. Totally covert roles are roles that are never present in the surface structure despite the fact that they are part of the verb's valence. Totally covert roles include both Coreferential roles and Lexicalized roles (p. 201).

Figure 4 Case roles in surface structure.



In order to exemplify these cases, some examples will be given. However, considering that this study focuses on the Benefactive semantic domain, only examples of partially covert (deletable roles) and totally covert roles (coreferential and lexicalized) within this domain will be shown. They are all taken from Cook (1989, pp. 202-204):

Deletion of the B case with A – B – O verbs (Cook, 1989, p. 202):

- (1) Dick / sold / the car / (to somebody). A, *B, O/B-del
 A V O B

“The Agent case is coreferential with the Benefactive case in the active form of verbs of deliberate acquisition” (Cook, 1989, p. 203):

(2) They / caught / three good fish. A, *B, O / A = B
 CATCH = acquire for herself

“Modal roles, as well as propositional roles, may be lexicalized into the verb form. The most common form of lexicalization is Object incorporation” (Cook, 1989, p. 204):

(3) He / fed / the fishes. A, B, *O/O-lex
 FEED = give food to

2.5. The semantic representation of the cases

Oliveira (1999) observed some criteria which are followed in this research with the purpose of signaling a coherent relationship with the case model adopted here – *UFSC's Case Model*. The hierarchy outlined in this model is characterized and represented, respectively:

- a) coreferences: mainly A=B, A=O.
- b) lexicalizations: lex
- c) deletion: del
- d) passive voice: pass
- e) semantic valency: sv, besides the case representations: A (Agent), B (Benefactive), O (Object), E (Experiencer), C (Comitative), L (Locative), T (Time), and H (Holistic), which identify the eight cases of the referred model (p. 139 – my translation).

In summary, as shown in example (1) - A, *B, O/B-del, (2) - A, *B, O / A = B and (3) - A, B, *O/O-lex above, the semantic representation of the Benefactive microscenes will be reproduced following Oliveira (1999). For example, the '+' that comes first, indicates that all the cases that follow it between square brackets, '[]', are semantically realized in the specific microscene which is being analyzed. Between the square brackets, the '___' stands for 'microscene', and then the case representation comes in this hierarchical order A, B, O. Considering that not all of these three cases may be realized in the surface structure of the microscene, but are semantically captured, an asterisk, '*', is used in front of it, so that, after a slash, '/', the explanation be given. It can be considered deleted from the surface structure, 'del', lexicalized, 'lex', or the cases can be considered coreferential, '='.

Therefore, for example (1) – Dick / sold / the car / (to somebody –, we will have this semantic representation: + [___A, *B, O/B-del], for example (2) – They / caught / three good fish –, + [___A, *B, O / A = B], and + [___A, B, *O/O-lex] semantically represents example (3) – He / fed /the fishes.

Looking back to Table 1, the case frame matrix by Cook (1989), and more specifically, to the Benefactive case, the semantic representation of this case, perceived statively is [B, Os], where the 's' subscribes for stativity; as a process, its representation in only [B, O], where the O undergoes a change; and when the Benefactive case is perceived agentively, its semantic representation is [A, B, O].

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This chapter is going to detail the corpus of this research, by (i) defining and defending the genre used for the corpus's constitution; (ii) delimiting and giving examples of the Benefactive microscenes which are actually analyzed; and (iii) explaining the use of dictionaries to define the Basic sense of predicators that appear in such microscenes.

3. 1 The constitution of the corpus

The News Reports in this study were collected from the American newspaper, The Washington Post in its electronic version, which exemplifies the English language in use and represents an easily available source.

According to Caldas-Coulthard (1997):

...news is not a natural phenomenon emerging from facts in real life, but socially and culturally determined. News producers are social agents in a network of social relations who reveal their own ideological stance towards what is reported. **News** is not the event, but the **report** of the event (p. 7).

In the introduction of her study, she also assures that “the language of the media is nowadays one of the most pervasive and spread languages that people from all sorts of literate societies are exposed to.” (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997, p. 11)

The main source not only of information, but also entertainment for a large amount of people all over the world is the media (newspapers, radio, television, magazines, and Internet). Thus, “news has a social, a political and an educational role – by being exposed to news, people make connections and try to understand and explain how events reported in the media relate to society as a whole.” (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997, p. 11)

Another reason why this genre was chosen is that it is assumed that the political news context might provide a considerably valuable source of benefactive microscenes. In order to check such hypothesis, a pilot study was conducted as a final paper for my Semantics 2005 course. Three political news reports were then analyzed so that they could exemplify the kind of benefactive microscenes that would emerge in such genre. This way, this final paper gave me the support needed to carry out this research using political articles, once many benefactive microscenes were identified and analyzed. Among the many benefactive predicators found in those articles, (i) *win, lose, provide, offer, get, fund, sell, pay, receive, charge, cost, succeed* and *give, etc.*, appeared in their basic sense and (ii) *add* and *improve* as examples of predicators that come from other semantic domains towards the benefactive. The use of political articles in this research is due to the fact that it is in the political field that the relationships between the Representatives and the Government, for instance, are clear, as well as gaining and losing as a result of their negotiations, agreements and decisions.

The political articles from the Political Section of the newspaper from the site www.washingtonpost.com were collected for 15 days in a row, from May 10th, 2005 to May 24th, 2005, totaling 27 articles (See in appendix 2 the entire articles). It was noticed that the articles are updated daily more than once, so the ones that are part of this corpus were collected in the afternoon period, as a criterion. The number of articles encountered in this section varies from one to two a day, being the number of two more frequent. However, when there was only one article available, it used to be longer.

After the data were collected, the search for the benefactive microscenes was carried out, considering (i) the benefactive verbs/predicators in their basic sense as well as (ii) the semantic moves from other semantic domains towards the Benefactive semantic domain.

Differently from Oliveira (1999), the corpus of this research was not stimulated, as explained above. She used a software that selected and analyzed all the microscenes she was interested in, from August to December, 1996, every Thursday, from the economic and political context of ‘Folha de São Paulo’, ‘Zero Hora’ and ‘O Globo’, three widely known Brazilian newspapers.

This way, this corpus may get to conclusions during the analysis in terms of the presence or absence of Benefactive microscenes in articles collected daily for 15 days in a row, from the political section of only one newspaper.

3.3 The selection of the Benefactive Microscenes

In order to clarify what kind of Benefactive microscenes are exactly being analyzed in this study, in order to achieve its objectives, I will justify some criteria which were established by using six microscenes from my data collection as examples. The two first examples will show the cases in which the Benefactive sense is foregrounded and, for instance, will be necessarily analyzed:

(1) “In his role as a consultant, Kelman helped Accenture draft a document urging William’s US-VISIT team to **give** contractors great latitude in designing the system and to limit the number of bid competitors to “2 or3” as a way to speed the process of choosing a victor.”

In example (1), the predicator *give* expresses the Benefactive in its basic sense, perceived agentively, as confirmed by the definition of The American Heritage dictionary (2000) in its online version and in its first entry: “**1.** To make a present of: *We gave her flowers for her birthday.*”; and also already mentioned in Chapter one, Figure 1 (Cook, 1989, p. 186). This way, in example (1) *give* is a three-place predicator, semantically represented as + [__A, B, O] or simply A, B, O, with the Agent (A)

“William’s US-VISIT team”, the Benefactive (B) “contractors”, and the Object (O) “great latitude in designing the system and to limit the number of bid competitors to “2 or3” as a way to speed the process of choosing a victor”.

Therefore, all the benefactive predicators which appear in their basic sense in the microscenes taken from the articles collected are classified and compose Appendix 1. However, not all of the microscenes in which the same benefactive predicator appears are analyzed in Chapter 4, so that unnecessary repetition is avoided, and Appendix 1 displays all of them. In the same sense, it is important to mention that even if one benefactive predicator emerges in only one microscene throughout the twenty-seven articles, this microscene will definitely be analyzed in Chapter 4.

Similarly, in example (2) the Benefactive sense is foregrounded from a basically Basic predicator:

(2) “A bare majority of Enterprisers favor **cutting** taxes over reducing the budget deficit, while the other two groups in the GOP coalition say budget-cutting should be a higher priority.”

The predicator *cut*, in example (2) is basically a two-place predicator, and an action verb [A, O] in its basic sense. It is in the Basic semantic domain, as confirmed by the definition of The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language (2000) in its online version and in its first entry: **1.** To penetrate with a sharp edge; strike a narrow opening in. Nevertheless, in this particular microscene, the Basic sense is backgrounded while the Benefactive meaning is foregrounded. There is a metaphorical movement from the Basic semantic domain towards the Benefactive domain, represented by $O \rightarrow B$. The beginning of the microscene starts by “*cutting*”, so the Agent is deleted, once it does not appear in the microscene (the government), the Object is “taxes” and for the Benefactor is not realized into lexical items, it is

considered deleted (the taxpayers). The representation of this microscene is + [___*A, O, *B/A-del, Bdel], what turns it into a three-place predicator.

Therefore, all the microscenes in which predicators from other semantic domains (Basic, Locative, or Agent) make this semantic movement towards the Benefactive domain are analyzed in Chapter 4 and are part of Appendix 1.

On the other hand, the examples that are given below illustrate the microscenes that will not be analyzed in this thesis, once they go to the opposite direction, from Benefactive towards Time, or *power* Benefactive, that is, they are not selected for the analyses.

(3) "The negotiators had **spent** a week laboring to find the language to define their agreement."

In example (3), the predicator *spend* is used in the microscene. *Spend*, in its basic sense is a benefactive predicator. Yet, most importantly, the meaning of ‘to pay out (money)’, which would make it be considered a benefactive predicator is backgrounded and what is foregrounded is the idea of ‘to pass (time) in a specified manner or place’, expressed in the microscene by “a week”. This way, there is a semantic move from the Benefactive to the Time (B → T) semantic domain, a metaphorical extension.

Thus, all the cases in which a Benefactive predicator makes a metaphorical movement towards another semantic domain, such as Basic, Experiential, Locative, Time, Comitative, or Holistic, the microscenes in which they appear will not be referred to either in Chapter 4 or in Appendix 1, even though they can be found in the articles in their entire format, which are in Appendix 2.

(4) “Parks retaliated by running for and **winning** a seat on the City Council, then running for mayor.”

Example (4) brings the two-place predicator *win* [B, O], perceived as a process verb. “Parks” is the Benefactor and “a seat on the City Council” the Object. Like example (3), *win* is a basically benefactive predicator, once it has the idea of gaining something or according to the dictionary ‘to achieve victory or finish first in a competition’. Nevertheless, the macrosene in which it is inserted is clearly a ‘power’ context, as pointed out by Weickert and Nicolacópulos (2005) and thus Power Benefactive, where the participant involved is ‘running for mayor’, an authority position which enables him to make political decisions, legitimated by the electors, who will give him such power. So, “winning a seat” does not mean ‘getting a place’, but ‘getting the power’.

Therefore, all the microscenes, as in example (4), which can be classified as Benefactive Power microscenes, a subdomain of the Benefactive, were left out of this study once Alyson Weickert has been studying them and is going to defend her Ph.D. dissertation on the Power Benefactive (*pB*). These microscenes make a semantic movement from $B \rightarrow pB$, which has been considered a subdomain of B, where their ‘power’ meaning is foregrounded (Weicket and Nicolacópulos, 2005).

By analyzing these examples above, I am explaining the criteria used in the analysis of the microscenes in order to fulfill the objectives of this research. In summary, all the microscenes which are basically Benefactive, as in example (1) and the ones which emerge from other semantic domains (Basic, Locative, Experiential, Holistic, Time) towards the Benefactive, as in example (2), were selected, analyzed, and classified and are in Appendix 1. The other microscenes, as examples (3) and (4), which are no longer Benefactive because the basically benefactive predicator in those microscenes made a semantic move (backgrounded) towards other domains or

subdomain, which were then foregrounded, are left out of the analysis, even though they were perceived during the selection.

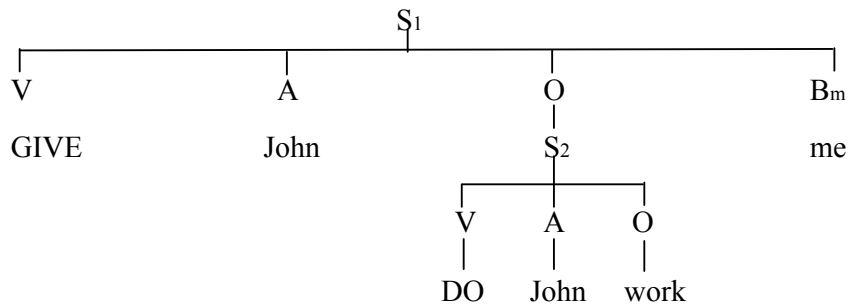
There are other two important concepts which were used for the selection of the Benefactive microscenes analyzed in this thesis. They are the ‘modality constituents’ and the ‘modal cases’.

Fillmore’s 1968 model is characterized by the separation of proposition and modality. This way, his 1971 model is also characterized by the absence of any modality constituent. Cook (1979), mentioning Fillmore, says that “if the deep structure represents only the ‘propositional core’ of the sentence, then the modality is not represented in this deep structure (p. 35)”. On the other hand, he reassures that the modality elements exist – as tense, aspect, negation, and modal adverbials – and are considered ‘optional complements of essentially any predicator’, according to Fillmore (1971, p. 49), who suggests a higher sentence analysis for the modal Benefactive case. The example Fillmore (1971) gives is

John / did / the work / for me (p. 36).
 A V O B_m

And the structure of this sentence would be illustrated as given in Figure 3.

Figure 4 Modal Benefactive



The modal Benefactive case manifested by *for* meaning ‘for the sake of’, is represented in the deep structure as a case required by a higher verb such as *give* or

offer. Sentences such as *John did the work for me* would be represented as *John gave it for me* where *it* represents the embedded sentence *John did the work* (p. 52).

By that time (1971), Fillmore still does not see the Benefactive as a propositional case, only as a modal case (role) at that point and uses it as an example of a modality constituent, which is not part of the ‘propositional core’ of the sentence, that is, the elements required by the predicator.

Microscenes like the one above, in which the predicator is not linguistically marked in the microscene and is not requiring, by its semantic valence (sv), a benefactor, will not be investigated in this study, as well as other modality constituents, like tense, aspect, negation, and modal verbs), as shown in the examples below.

(5) “The first, basic message **has** to be ‘We’re going to fight the heck out of this,’”
Kingston said.

(6) “I don’t often **get** to see their success,” she said to the clients.

In examples (5) and (6), *have* and *get* are not part of the propositional case, which has its meaning anchored in the predicators that follow them, *to be* and *to see*, respectively.

Considering the fact that this study focuses only on propositional cases or essential semantic roles, the roles that belong to the modality component are not part of the microscenes which are analyzed in Chapter 4.

3.4 The use of dictionaries

The online version of American Heritage® Dictionary of English Language (2000) is used as the reference for the definitions of the predicators which were analyzed in all the Benefactive microscenes. The reason for that is it has been considered a reliable and traditional source. This way, the definitions of the predicators

were taken out of the referred dictionary, in Chapter 4. Another aspect which seems to be relevant is that the first entry represents the most common and used meaning for the verb. Consequently, this concept matches with what Oliveira (1999) considers common sense, as mentioned in the definition of terms. In case of any doubts or controversies, another dictionary was used to decide on which could be considered the basic sense of the predicator. It was the printed edition of Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2005). All the examples of this dictionary are based on the spoken and written corpus material in the Longman Corpus Network.

In some specific cases, as when the predicator was not found in the online version of American Heritage® Dictionary of English Language (2000), or the definition was considered not so clear or ambiguous in it, only the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2005) was used.

CHAPTER 4

THE PROCESS OF ANALYSIS

4.1 The Benefactive Predicators

The Benefactive predicators can be perceived as state, process or action verbs or predicators. Oliveira (1999) defines them as follows:

“The stative Benefactive verb expresses possession, benefit in the positive and negative sense for the benefactor, power, and leadership. It is perceived statively and seen as a non-event.

The processual Benefactive verb expresses gain, loss, leadership, and benefit in the positive and negative sense for the benefactor. It is perceived as a non-agentive event.

The agentive Benefactive verb expresses transfer of property or power. It is perceived as an agentive event.” (p. 128 – my translation)

Table 3 The Benefactive semantic domain

STATE	PROCESS	ACTION
B, Os	B, O	A, B, O
have	win, gain	give
own	lose	provide
	receive	help

4.2 The Benefactive Microscenes

Conversely to Oliveira’s (1999) study, who used a computing program with a list of pre-determined Benefactive predicators in order for them to be found in the

microscenes, the process of analysis of the Benefactive microscenes was not stimulated, as mentioned in Chapter 3 - Method. All the twenty seven articles which were collected for fifteen days in a row from the political section of the online version of The Washington Post were read, and all the possible Benefactive microscenes were analyzed: (i) with Benefactive predicators in their basic sense; and (ii) with predicators from other semantic domains towards the Benefactive. During this process, the Benefactive power microscenes were discarded, as well as those microscenes in which the Benefactive sense was backgrounded and other semantic domains were foregrounded, as already exemplified in the methodology.

Regarding the number of different predicators (i) there are 39 predicators which are basically benefactive and are in the Benefactive semantic domain: *fail, succeed, credit, grant, help, have, receive, save, benefit, sell, buy, pay, reward, take, profit, provide, charge, give, supply, cash, obtain, purchase, own, trade, can afford, spend, find, award, offer, lay off, protect, fund, donate, win, promote, get, employ, hire and earn*; (ii) and there are 11 predicators which emerge from other semantic domains, mostly Basic or Locative, but have the Benefactive sense foregrounded in these microscenes: *raise, cut, reap, improve, siphon off, make, funnel, reduce, increase, restore, limit.*

In all the 27 articles collected, benefactive predicators were found. However, as the main objective of this research is to analyze the proper benefactive microscenes – leaving out the microscenes in which the benefactive sense is backgrounded towards other domains or towards the power benefactive subdomain – as mentioned and explained already in Chapter 3, articles 4, 6, 7, 10, 14, 16 and 17, because of one of these two reasons, do not appear in the analyses. In Appendix 2, all the referred articles can be found.

In this chapter, two kinds of analyses are made: (i) one microscene of each basic benefactive predicator is analyzed; (ii) as well as one microscene of each of the other predicators which make a semantic move towards the Benefactive. However, after the examples and the analyses, in Figures 7 and 8, it can also be observed (i) how many microscenes were found from each predicator and (ii) the semantic representation of all of them. For a better understanding, the microscenes are all numbered and can be checked in Appendix 1, in the order they appear in the articles.

Considering that each microscene revolves around a predicator in association with its semantic roles, and the context, the examples selected in this chapter and in Appendix 1 cover not only the microscene which is being analyzed, but also the other microscenes surrounding it, which may give the reader a better understanding of the context macroscene they occur. However, the beginning of each microscene analyzed is marked by the abbreviation of the word microscene (MS) and the number, which is given in order of appearance in the articles, chronologically speaking, and in sequence, from **(MS1)** to **(MS164)**.

4.3 The Benefactive Microscenes with Benefactive Predicators in their Basic Sense

In this section, one example of each of the basic Benefactive predicators is analyzed within the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 2. There are 144 microscenes with basic Benefactive predicators; nevertheless, there are 39 different predicators. Taking this fact into consideration and in order not to be repetitive in the examples, only one example of each different Benefactive predicator in its basic sense is selected for the detailed analyses in this section. On the other hand, all the 144 microscenes were previously analyzed and their semantic representation, along with the

examples selected and analyzed, can be checked in Table 4 (pp. 55, 56) and Table 5 (pp. 66, 67). In the same way, all the Benefactive microscenes of each article in which they emerged are in Appendix 1.

The examples are organized following the order of appearance of the predicator in the chronological order of the articles, that is, from May 10th to May 24th, 2005.

(1) But the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit concluded today **(MS1)** the two groups had **failed** to show that the task force itself was made up of people other than federal officials.

In this microscene, the basic benefactive predicator *fail* is perceived as a process verb, which means in its basic sense “to prove deficient or lacking; perform ineffectively or inadequately”. In other words, the Beneficiary (B) is seen negatively because “the two groups” did not gain the benefit, which is represented by “to show that the task force itself was made up of people other than federal officials”, the Object (O). The semantic representation of this microscene is + [B, O].

(2) Addressing one of the largest crowds of his presidency, **(MS2)** Bush **credited** Georgia's Rose Revolution of 2003 with touching off a "freedom movement" that has spread to Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan and Lebanon.

In this benefactive microscene, the predicator *credit* is interpreted as a three-place predicator perceived agentively. It means “to say or believe that someone is responsible for a particular achievement”. In this case, ‘Bush’ is seen as the Agent (A), who is awarding/offering this benefit to “Georgia's Rose Revolution of 2003”, the Beneficiary (B), “with touching off a "freedom movement"”, the Object (O). The semantic representation is + [A, B, O].

(3) Four in five Pro-Government Conservatives say the government should do more **(MS81)** to **help** the needy...

The predicator *help* is considered basically Benefactive because it means “to make it possible or easier for someone to do something by doing part of their work or by giving them something they need”, perceived agentively as a three-place predicator. “The government” is the A which is considered deleted once it appears only in the previous microscene, responsible for giving a benefit, which is not expressed, so it is Object (O) deleted for “the needy”, who are the Beneficiaries (B). This way, +[*A, B, *O/A, O-del] is the semantic representation of this microscene.

(4) The next month, **(MS140)** Datatrac **received** a 10-year contract extension worth up to \$200 million, according to a company press release.

In this benefactive microscene, the predicator *receive* is perceived as a process and means “to take or acquire (something given, offered, or transmitted); get”. It is a two-place predicator and this microscene is semantically represented as + [B,O], where B is the company “Datatrac”, which is getting “a 10-year contract extension worth up to \$200 million”, the O.

(5) A perennial top Democratic target, Simmons based part of his reelection campaign last year on the contention that his position on the House Armed Services Committee would have **(MS16)** **saved** the submarine base.

In order to “rescue from harm, danger or loss”, in a way of keeping the possession of the “the submarine base” and in good state, “Simmons” and “his position” (A) and (O), benefited (B) “the submarine base” from this action. Thus, *save* is a three-place predicator, perceived agentively, and this benefactive microscene is semantically represented as + [A, B, *O/A=O-del].

(6) About four in 10 in each group said (**MS73**) they **have** household incomes of \$75,000 or more.

“To be in possession of” is the meaning of *have*, a basic Benefactive predicator perceived basically as stative, as in this example. Its semantic representation is + [B, Os], where Beneficiary (B) is “they”, who are in possession of “household incomes of \$75,000 or more”, which is representing the Object (Os⁹).

(7) (**MS20**) Oil-for-Food **Benefited** Russians, Report Says Iraq Sought to Influence U.N. Through Moscow.

The semantic representation of this benefactive microscene is + [A, B, *O/O-lex], once *benefit* is a three-place predicator that means “to bring advantages to someone or improve their lives in some way”, perceived agentively, where “Russians” are the B, “Oil-for-Food” the A, and “benefited” is lexicalized.

(8) Before long, it was also fashioning itself into a homeland security specialist. In its first three years under its new name, Accenture rose to 24th from 59th in the rankings of the government's prime information technology contractors, its contracts surging to \$427 million from \$81 million, according to Eagle Eye Publishers Inc., a private company (**MS146**) that **sells** data on federal contracts.

In this microscene, the Benefactive predicator is *sell*, which means, in its basic sense, “to exchange or deliver for money or its equivalent”. It is a three-place predicator once you sell something to someone. However, in this microscene not all the elements are expressed, then its semantic representation is + [*A, O, *B/A, B-del]. The A is “a private company”, but as it is not part of this microscene, it is considered deleted.

⁹ The “s” stands for stativity.

“Data” is the O, what the private company sells, and the B is deleted, once it is not explicit in the microscene to whom it sells data.

(9) Recently, (MS97) the corporation **bought** an entire block of run-down alley homes, demolished them and built more than 50 townhouses with garages.

Similarly, this microscene is also perceived agentively. The elements that compound the three-place predicator are not all expressed, though. “The corporation” is the Agent (A) of the predicator to *buy*, which in its basic sense is “to acquire in exchange for money or its equivalent; purchase”, “an entire block of run-down alley homes” is the O, what was bought. As when someone buys something, buys it from someone, the B is deleted. Thus, the semantic representation of this Benefactive microscene is + [A, *B, O/B-del].

(10) In addition, (MS31) the reports allege that Russian politician Vladimir Zhirinovsky, several Russian entities and a Houston-based oil trading company, Bayoil, “**paid** millions of dollars in illegal, under-the-table surcharges to the Hussein regime in connection with these oil transactions.”

This is another example of an action Benefactive predicator. It is also a three-place predicator and is semantically represented as + [A, B, O], where “Bayoil”, a Houston-based oil trading company is considered the A, once it acts by paying something to someone, which is “millions of dollars in illegal, under-the-table surcharges”, the O, and the B is “Hussein regime”, respectively.

(11) The report said Iraq sought to influence (MS25) and **reward** the Russian government because it sits on the powerful U.N. Security Council that oversaw sanctions against the Hussein government.

Reward means “to give something to someone because they have done something good or helpful”. This basic benefactive is a three-place predicator perceived agentively. In this specific microscene, the A is deleted (“Iraq”) once it does not appear within the microscene; the B is “the Russian government”, because it is the beneficiary of the praise; and the O is lexicalized in the predicator “give something as a reward”. Therefore, the semantic representation of it is + [*A, B, *O/A-del, O-lex].

(12) A CIA report last year said (**MS27**) that Hussein **granted** top political leaders from around the world the opportunity to buy Iraqi oil at a discount.

The predicator *grant* means “to consent to the fulfillment of” in its basic Benefactive sense. It is perceived agentively and it is a three-place predicator. “Hussein” is the Agent of the action, whose Beneficiary (B) is “top political leaders from around the world”. The O in the microscene is “the opportunity to buy Iraqi oil at a discount”. Hence, the semantic representation of this basic Benefactive microscene is + [A, B, O].

(13) The company arranged for a Russian entity to purchase the oil and, (**MS65**) without ever **taking** possession, sell it to Bayoil.

“To acquire in a game or competition; win: took the crown in horseracing” is the basic meaning of the benefactive predicator *take*. In this microscene, it is perceived agentively, and its semantic representation is + [*A,*B, O/A=B; A=B-del]. “A Russian entity”, the Agent (A), is being benefited from something, which is “to purchase the oil”, then it is, at the same time, the Beneficiary (B) of the action. This means that A and B are coreferential. However, once they are not part of this microscene, they are also considered deleted. The element “possession” is what it is gaining, having the ownership, then, it is the O.

(14) But the Senate report presents more detailed evidence, alleging that Russian officials took up the offer (MS30) and **profited** handsomely under the program.

Profit is a two-place Benefactive predicator perceived as a process. It means “to make a gain or profit”. In this microscene, the benefactor is “Russian officials”, deleted from the surface structure, and the predicator itself guarantees the idea of making a gain, which can be analyzed as an O lexicalized. Thus, + [*B, *O/B-del; O-lex] is the semantic representation of this basic Benefactive microscene.

(15) Rogers declined to be interviewed for this article. He said in a prepared statement: "While the long-term future of the cards is unknown, (MS142) they currently **provide** a vital security service along our borders."

If you *provide* something to someone, you “furnish; supply: provide food and shelter for a family”. This means that this is a three-place basically Benefactive predicator. As it is recognized agentively, its semantic representation is + [A, *B, O/B-del], where “they” is the A, “a vital security service along our borders” is the O, and the B is deleted.

(16) (MS38) The program **succeeded** in limiting Hussein's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction and improved humanitarian conditions for ordinary Iraqis.

The basic Benefactive predicator in this microscene is *succeed*, which means “to achieve something that you planned to do or attempted to do”. “The program” is the Beneficiary (B), which has been benefited positively “in limiting Hussein's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction and improved humanitarian conditions for ordinary Iraqis”, the O, interpreted as a non-agentive event. The microscene is semantically represented as + [B, O].

(17) Hussein eventually started **(MS47) charging** a kickback of 10 cents to 50 cents a barrel, which was deposited in secret bank accounts.

“To ask someone to pay an amount of money for something you are selling to them or doing for them” is the basic meaning of the Benefactive predicator *charge*. In this microscene, it is perceived agentively as a three-place predicator. The Agent (A), which is deleted, is asking someone to pay “a kickback of 10 cents to 50 cents a barrel”, the O. This ‘someone’ is the B, in the negative sense and it is deleted from the surface structure. Hence, the semantic representation of this benefactive microscene is + [*A, *B, O/A, B-del].

(18) In his role as a consultant, Kelman helped Accenture draft a document urging Williams's US-VISIT team **(MS151) to give** contractors great latitude in designing the system and to limit the number of bid competitors to "2 or 3" as a way to speed the process of choosing a victor.

In this basically Benefactive microscene, the predicator *give* means, in its primary sense, “to make a present of”. This three-place predicator has the A deleted, the O is “contractors” and the B is “great latitude in designing the system...”. The semantic representation of this microscene is + [*A, B, O/A-del].

(19) These individuals would then sell their rights at a profit of 3 cents to 30 cents a barrel to oil traders **(MS46) supplying** major refineries in the United States, Europe and Asia.

“To make available for use; provide” is the basic meaning of *supply*. It is considered a three-place predicator and is perceived agentively. The A in this microscene is “oil traders”. The Beneficiary (B) of this action predicator is “major refineries in the United States, Europe and Asia”, which will be provided by oil, the O,

which is deleted. Thus, the semantic representation of this microscene is + [A, B, *O/O-del].

(20) A second Senate report said that Zhirinovsky, a former presidential candidate who espouses an ultranationalist agenda, also received allocations (**MS57**) that he **cash**ed for profits of as much as \$8.7 million between 1997 and 2002.

“To exchange a check for its value in bills and coins” is the basic benefactive meaning for the predicator *cash*. What Zhirinovsky does in this microscene is exactly to get the allocations he received and exchange them for money. This means that “he” is the A and the B at the same time, considering that he has the “allocations” and he is benefited, because of the exchange, with “profits of as much as \$8.7 million between 1997 and 2002”, the O. The semantic representation of this microscene is + [A, *B, O/A=B].

(21) For instance, Bush said in his Jan. 28, 2003, State of the Union address that Hussein was working (**MS120**) to **obtain** "significant quantities" of uranium from Africa, a conclusion the president attributed to British intelligence and made a key part of his assertion that Iraq had an active nuclear weapons program.

In this Benefactive microscene, the predicator *obtain* emerges in its basic sense, perceived agentively, because the predicator is causativized (a to-phrase), expressing intention. It means “to get something you want or need, especially by going through a process that is difficult; acquire”. This microscene is semantically represented as + [A, *B, O/A=B]. The A and the B are coreferential and the O is ““significant quantities" of uranium”.

(22) When a foreign intelligence service questioned the procurement agent, he originally said he had never intended **(MS124)** to **purchase** the U.S. mapping software, but he refused to submit to a thorough examination, according to the president's commission.

Purchase is the basic Benefactive predicator in this microscene. It is found in its basic sense as “to obtain in exchange for money or its equivalent; buy”. It is a three-place predicator, causativized in this microscene. The A is deleted, the O is “the U.S. mapping software”, and the B is also deleted from the surface. This way, the semantic representation of this Benefactive microscene is + [*A, *B, O/A-del, B-del].

(23) Three in five Enterprisers say **(MS77)** they **own** a gun, while three-fourths of Liberals say they do not.

In this microscene, the benefactive predicator is *own*. It has as its basic meaning “to have or possess as property”, as a synonym of “have”. In the microscene “They own a gun”, “they” is the B and “a gun”, the O, perceived statively. Then, the semantic representation of it is + [B, Os].

(24) Enterprisers are the most likely to own **(MS75)** or **trade** stocks (53 percent), followed by the Upbeats (42 percent), Liberals (38 percent) and Social Conservatives (35 percent).

This is the only microscene in which the basic benefactive predicator *trade* emerges throughout the whole articles. In its basic sense, it means “to give in exchange for something else”, and it is perceived agentively. This means that it is a three-place predicator. In the microscene above, “stocks (53 percent)” is the O, while the A and the B are deleted. Therefore, the semantic representation of this Benefactive microscene is + [*A, *B, O/A-del, B-del].

(25) Four in five Pro-Government Conservatives say the government should do more to help the needy, even if that increases the government debt, while two in three Enterprisers say **(MS83)** the government **cannot afford** to do more.

If you “have the financial means for” buying, possessing something, you *can afford* it. In this microscene, “the government” is the B, once it does not have money or financial means “to do more”, the O, perceived statively. Therefore, the semantic representation of this benefactive microscene is + [B, Os].

(26) "There's no question we could end up **(MS132)** **spending** billions of dollars and end up with nothing," said Steven A. Camarota, the director of research at the Center for Immigration Studies, a nonprofit group that has been monitoring efforts to improve border controls.

In the microscene above, the benefactive predicator is *spend*. It means “to use money to pay for things” in its basic sense. It is recognized as an agentive verb and its semantic representation is + [*A, *B, O/A=B-del], where the A and the B are in the microscene, but deleted from the surface, and “billions of dollars” is the O.

(27) Here, the drug-addicted and the HIV-infected come in for quiet counseling sessions in a corner of the fluorescent-lighted sanctuary, or to let counselors know they have established some shred of normalcy in their chaotic lives by reconnecting with family, **(MS86)** **finding** an apartment or joining a church.

In the microscene “finding an apartment”, the benefactive sense emerges in its basic sense, considering *find* as “to get something”, in this case, “an apartment”. It is a basic process verb, but in this microscene intention is added, so it is causativized and has an A. “An apartment” is the O, while the A is also the B and both are deleted. This way, its semantic representation can be expressed as + [A,*B, O/A=B-del].

(28) **(MS91)** The federal government **awarded** more than \$2 billion in such grants in 2004 –nearly double the amount awarded in 2003.

In this microscene, the Benefactive predicator *award* emerges in its basic sense and means “to give someone a prize or other reward because they have achieved something”. It is perceived agentively, where the A is “the federal government” in and the O of this action is “more than \$2 billion in such grants”. The Benefactive does not appear in the surface, so it is deleted. The semantic representation is + [A, *B, O/B-del].

(29) Funding under the president's faith- and community-based initiative has gone up despite Congress's refusal to enact legislation that would allow faith-based groups to discriminate by religion when hiring staff, something Bush says should be allowed **(MS93)** as long as they **offer** their services to people of all faiths and do not use federal money to proselytize.

In this microscene, all the participants associated with the Benefactive predicator are realized. The three-place predicator *offer* means “to present for acceptance or rejection” in its basic sense. It is an action verb and its semantic representation is + [A, O, B], considering “they” the A, “their services” the O and “to people of all faiths” the B.

(30) All she knows is that without federal money, the corporation would have **(MS101)** to **lay off** some of its 10 staff members and stop much of its work.

“To terminate the employment of (a worker), especially temporarily” is the basic meaning of the benefactive predicator *lay off*. The microscene is recognized as basically benefactive in the negative sense, considering that “some of its 10 staff members”, the B, may be fired, lose their jobs. The A is “the corporation” and the O deleted, “to

terminate the employment”. The semantic representation is expressed as + [A, B, *O/O-del].

(31) Lawmakers also need to shield companies from legal liability (**MS129**) to **protect** them from workers potentially suing over investment losses.

In this microscene, the benefactive predicator is perceived agentively. *Protect* means, in its basic sense, “to keep from being damaged, attacked, stolen, or injured; guard”. In this sense, the lawmakers are making efforts in order to benefit the companies, so that they do not lose money if sued by their workers. Thus, the “lawmakers” are the A, but deleted, “them” is the B and “from workers potentially suing over investment losses” is the O. Hence, + [*A, B, O/A-del] is the semantic representation of this Benefactive microscene.

(32) and (33) The Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2005 would permit federal money (**MS108**) to **fund** research on stem cells taken from days-old embryos stored in freezers at fertility clinics (**MS109**) and **donated** by couples who no longer need them.

Both microscenes have benefactive predicators in their basic sense. In MS108, the predicator *fund*, which means “to provide money for paying off the interest or principal of (a debt),” is perceived agentively. Its semantic representation is + [*A, B, *O/A-del, O-lex], explaining that “federal money” is the A, but deleted from the surface, “research on stem cells taken from days-old embryos stored in freezers at fertility clinics” is the B and the O is lexicalized by the predicator, which means “to provide money”.

“To present as a gift to a fund or cause” is given as the basic meaning of the benefactive predicator *donate*, in MS109. In other words, the idea in this microscene is that stem cells which may be used for research would be taken from old embryos, which

are stored in freezers at fertility clinics and the couples who donated no longer need them. It is an action verb, even though it is expressed in the passive voice (pass), where “by couples” is the A, the Beneficiary (B) is deleted, and the O is considered lexicalized by the predicator *donate*. This way, the semantic representation of this benefactive microscene is + [A, *B, *O/B-del, O-lex; pass].

(34) (MS156) Accenture's team **won** the contract in May 2004. Company officials said the division working on US-VISIT is Accenture LLP, based in Northern Virginia.

In this benefactive microscene, the predicator *win* is perceived as a process. “To achieve victory or finish first in” is its basic sense. In this case, “Accenture's team” is the B and “the contract” is the O. The semantic representation of it is + [B, O].

(35) But I made it very clear to the Congress that the use of federal money, taxpayers' money, (MS113) to **promote** science which destroys life in order to save life is -- I'm against that.

In this microscene, the Benefactive predicator is *promote*. This is a basically two-place predicator, however it is perceived agentively in this microscene because the to-phrase is showing causativization. In its basic sense, *promote* means “to contribute to the progress or growth of; further”. In this case, and the A is deleted, the B is “science” and the O is lexicalized by the predicator. The semantic representation of this benefactive microscene is + [*A, B, *O/A-del, O-lex].

(36) Documents and interviews with people familiar with the program, called US-VISIT, show that government officials are betting on speculative technology while neglecting basic procedures to ensure (MS131) that taxpayers **get** full value from government contractors.

“To come into possession or use of; receive” is the basic meaning of the Benefactive predicator *get*. It is a basic process predicator; however, in this microscene intention is added to it by the context. Then, the A is causativized and represented by the “taxpayers”, who are gaining something, so they are also the B in the positive sense, constituting a coreferential role; and “full value” is what they are receiving, then, it is the O. Semantically represented, this microscene is + [A, *B, O/A=B].

(37) In 2001, the company renamed itself Accenture. **(MS144)** It **employed** 75,000 people in 47 countries and had revenue of more than \$11 billion.

In this benefactive microscene all the participants are expressed. The three-place Benefactive predicator is *employ*, which means “to engage the services of; put to work” in its basic sense, and is perceived agentively. The company Accenture, in the microscene represented by “it” is the A, the B is “75,000 people in 47 countries”, and the O is lexicalized by the predicator itself. The semantic representation of this microscene is + [A, B, *O/O-lex].

(38) Accenture also raised its profile **(MS147)** by **hiring** former government officials who had personal or professional ties to US-VISIT managers.

In its basic sense, *hire* can be defined as “to engage the services of (a person) for a fee; employ”. It is a basic Benefactive predicator, perceived agentively. This Benefactive microscene is semantically represented as + [*A, B, *O/A-del, O-lex]. This means that the Agent is deleted from the surface, the O is lexicalized by the predicator and the “former government officials” are the B.

(39) Schmitt, a former immigration service official **(MS161)** who **earns** \$114,344 a year, said she visits the US-VISIT offices in Rosslyn once every six weeks or so.

The basically Benefactive predicator in this microscene is *earn*. In its basic sense, it is defined as “to gain especially for the performance of service, labor, or work” It is a two-place predicator perceived statively. The participants of this microscene are “Schmitt, a former immigration service official”, who is lexicalized by “who” and represents the B of “\$114,344 a year”, the Os. Thus, this predicator is perceived statively and it is semantically represented as + [B, Os].

Table 4 illustrates all the Benefactive microscenes which were found in the articles collected. The microscenes which are marked in bold are the ones from the examples analyzed above, and the others are shown in Appendix 1. In the last column, it is possible to see the semantic representation of all the Benefactive microscenes with Benefactive predicators in their basic sense.

Table 4 Benefactive microscenes in their basic sense

	MICROSCENE	PREDICATOR	SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION
1	MS1, 3,18	fail	+ [B, O]
	MS159	fail	+[*A, *B, O/ A, B-del]
2	MS2	credit	+ [A, B, O]
3	MS4, 81 , 87, 112,163	help	+[*A, B, *O/A, O-del]
	MS5, 149, 150	help	+ [A, B, O]
	MS6	help	+ [*A, *B, O/A,B-del]
	MS15, 94, 126, 127, 157, 160	help	+ [*A, B, O/A-del]
	MS54	help	+[*A, *B, O/A=B-del]
	MS104, 163	help	+ [A, *B, O/B-del]
4	MS12, 17, 26, 55, 56, 61, 103, 140	receive	+ [B,O]
	MS52	receive	+ [*B,O/B-del]
5	MS16	save	+ [A, B, *O/A=O-del]
6	MS19, 59, 71, 72, 73, 76 , 107, 121, 122,138, 143, 148	have	+ [B, Os]
	MS119, 139, 145	have	+[*B, Os/B-del]
7	MS20, 88	benefit	+ [A, B, *O/O-lex]
8	MS22, 36, 146	sell	+ [*A, O, *B/A, B-del]
	MS45	sell	+ [A, O, B]

	MS66	sell	+ [*A, O, B/A-del]
	MS98	sell	+ [A, *B, *O/B, O-del]
	MS135	sell	+ [*A, B, *O/A, O-del, pass]
9	MS23, 158	buy	+ [*A, *B, *O/A, B, O-del]
	MS97	buy	+ [A, *B, O/B-del]
	MS123	buy	+ [*A, B, O/A-del]
	MS28, 32, 37, 44, 51, 62, 84, 96	buy	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
10	MS24, 68, 134	pay	+ [*A, B, O/A-del, pass]
	MS31, 67	pay	+ [A, B, O]
	MS110	pay	+ [A, *B, *O/B, O-del]
	MS128	pay	+ [A, *B, O/B-del]
11	MS25	reward	+ [*A, B, *O/A-del, O-lex]
12	MS27, 50	grant	+ [A, B, O]
13	MS29	take	+ [A, *B, O/A=B]
	MS33	take	+ [A, B, O]
	MS65	take	+ [*A, *B, O/A=B-del]
14	MS30, 49	profit	+ [*B, *O/B-del; O-lex]
15	MS34	provide	+ [*A, B, O/A-del, pass]
	MS35, 48	provide	+ [*A, B, O/A-del]
	MS40, 70, 125	provide	+ [A, B, O]
	MS60	provide	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
	MS95, 137, 142	provide	+ [A, *B, O/B-del]
16	MS2, 38	succeed	+ [B, O]
	MS78	succeed	+ [*B, *O/B, O-del]
17	MS42	charge	+ [*A, B, O/A-del]
	MS47	charge	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
18	MS43, 151	give	+ [*A, B, O/A-del]
19	MS46	supply	+ [A, B, *O/O-del]
20	MS57	cash	+ [A, *B, O/A=B]
21	MS58	obtain	+ [A, *B, O/A=B]
	MS118	obtain	+ [*A, B, O/A-del]
	MS120	obtain	+ [*A, *B, O/A=B-del]
	MS136	obtain	+ [A, *B, O/A=B]
22	MS63	purchase	+ [A, *B, O/B-del]
	MS64, 124	purchase	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
23	MS74	own	+ [B, *Os/Os-del]
	MS77	own	+ [B, Os]
24	MS75	trade	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
25	MS83	can afford	+ [B, Os]
26	MS85	spend	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
	MS132	spend	+ [*A, *B, O/A=B-del]
	MS133	spend	[A, *B, *O/A=B, O-del]
27	MS86	find	+ [A, *B, O/A=B-del]
28	MS91	award	+ [A, *B, O/B-del]
	MS92, 154	award	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del, pass]
	MS130	award	+ [A, B, O]
	MS153	award	[*A, *B, O/A, B-del]

29	MS93, 117	offer	+ [A, O, B]
30	MS101	lay off	+ [A, B, *O/O-del]
31	MS105, 141	protect	+ [A, B, *O/O-del]
	MS109, 162	protect	+ [*A, B, O/A-del]
32	MS108, 114	fund	+ [*A, B, *O/A-del, O-lex]
33	MS109, 116	donate	+ [A, *B, *O/B-del, O-lex, pass]
34	MS111	win	+ [A, B, O]
	MS155, 156	win	+ [B, O]
35	MS113	promote	+ [*A, B, *O/A-del, O-lex]
36	MS131	get	+ [A, *B, O/A=B]
	MS164	get	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
37	MS144	employ	+ [A, B, *O/O-lex]
38	MS147	hire	+ [*A, B, *O/A-del, O-lex]
39	MS161	earn	+ [B, Os]

The number of microscenes detected with Benefactive predicators in their basic sense is significant if we take into consideration that they are taken from 27 articles and totalize a number of 144 (a hundred and forty-four) Benefactive microscenes in the basic sense. In the same way, the number of different Benefactive predicators in their basis sense is relevant – 39 (thirty-nine). And more than that, it may be affirmed that there is also a high density of Benefactive predicators in the genre chosen to be analyzed. It is also clear in Table 4 that 24 (twenty-four) different Benefactive predicators out of these 39 (thirty-nine) appear in more than one Benefactive microscene and 19 (nineteen) out of these 24 (twenty-four) have, at least, two different semantic representations, with partially covert roles (deletable) and/or totally covert roles (coreferential or lexicalized). Being more specific, the Benefactive is deleted (B-del) in 50 (fifty) out of 143 (a hundred and forty-three) Benefactive microscenes and it is coreferential in 11 (eleven) microscenes (A=B) and in 13 (thirteen) of them, the A and the B are deleted (A, B-del); however, within those 11 (eleven) Benefactive microscenes, it is at the same time coreferential in 5 (five) of them (A=B-del). The Benefactive has not appeared lexicalized, though.

In addition to that, the A (Agent), B (Benefactive) and the O (Object) are captured in the surface structure in only 17 (seventeen) Benefactive microscenes out of the 143 (a hundred and forty-three). This means that in 34 (thirty-four) of them the microscenes are not perceived agentively and in 110 (a hundred and ten) they have partially covert roles and/or totally covert roles. This may show us that there is a tendency in using the partial or total absence of essential cases in the surface structure of a microscene, rising up the hypothesis that it is possible to capture such elements from the deep structure which is spread out in the context, that is, from the macroscene.

And in the same sense, it can be considered a curious fact that the basic Benefactive predicator “give” appears only in two Benefactive microscenes once it is a very much used predicator in the daily language.

4.4. The Benefactive Microscenes with predicators from other domains towards the Benefactive

In this section of the chapter, 11 Benefactive microscenes with different predicators which move from other semantic domains towards the Benefactive are analyzed, out of the 20 Benefactive microscenes from the data collected.

The following examples will cover the 11 different predicators which made such metaphorical move towards the Benefactive.

(1) A unified Democratic Party who's screaming (**MS11**) about **cutting** benefits, and a small but vocal group in his own party who are basically yelling about the same thing."

In this microscene, the predicator *cut* means “to penetrate with a sharp edge; strike a narrow opening in”. According to UFSC’s Case Model (Nicolacópulos, 1997, p. 60), this predicator is classified as an action Basic predicator. However, in this microscene, it is clearly observed that the Democratic Party’s intention is not to use any

sharp instrument to divide the benefits into pieces. This means that such meaning is backgrounded in this microscene. The semantic move is towards the Benefactive, which is foregrounded, and the microscene “about cutting benefits” needs to be understood agentively, because it is causativized, having the sense of “reducing the benefits”. The metaphorical move which occurs with *cut* is represented as $O \rightarrow B$, and its semantic representation as a Benefactive microscene is + [*A, *B, O/A, B-del], where the B is deleted and the “benefits”, is the O.

(2) In October 2001, with the White House divided over the steps necessary to preserve Social Security, then-economic adviser R. Glenn Hubbard presented President Bush the stark choices that he believed Bush had to make: **(MS8)** raise revenue or cut promised benefits.

In the microscene above, the basically Locative predicator makes a semantic move towards the Benefactive ($L \rightarrow B$). In its basic sense, raise means “to move to a higher position; elevate”. Nevertheless, in this microscene this meaning is backgrounded and the predicator, which is usually perceived as a two-place process verb, is causativized. Then, it is perceived agentively here and its Benefactive sense of “increasing the price, cost or amount of something”, in this case, “the revenue” is foregrounded. Therefore, the A is deleted from the surface (the president of the United States), the O is “the revenue” and the B is deleted, too (from the government). The semantic representation if it is + [*A, *B, O/A, B-del].

(3) **(MS21)** Top Kremlin operatives and a flamboyant Russian politician **reaped** millions of dollars in profits under the U.N. oil-for-food program by selling oil that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein allowed them to buy at a deep discount, a Senate investigation has concluded.

Similarly to example (2), there is a semantic move from the O towards the B (O → B) in this microscene. The predicator *reap* means “to cut (grain or pulse) for harvest with a scythe, sickle, or reaper” in its basic sense. The meaning which is foregrounded here is the one of ‘getting, obtaining for their benefit, money’. It is perceived an agentive Benefactive predicator, where “Top Kremlin operatives and a flamboyant Russian politician” are the A and the B, coreferential, and “millions of dollars in profits” the O. The semantic representation of this microscene is + [A, *B, O/A=B].

(4) The program succeeded in limiting Hussein's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction (**MS39**) and **improved** humanitarian conditions for ordinary Iraqis.

“To raise to a more desirable or more excellent quality or condition; make better” is the basic sense of the Basic predicator, *improve*. The idea of change undertaken by this semantic domain can not cover the whole meaning which is foregrounded in this specific microscene. This way, there is a semantic move towards the Benefactive (O → B). The ordinary Iraqis were actually benefited in the positive sense because the humanitarian conditions were raised to a better condition. Thus, *improve* is perceived agentively and its semantic representation is + [*A, O, B/A-del]. “The program” is the A, but it is deleted from the surface of this microscene, the O is the “humanitarian conditions”, and the B is the “ordinary Iraqis”.

(5) But it provided an economic lifeline for Hussein, (**MS41**) who **siphoned off** more than \$2 billion in illicit profits by charging kickbacks to companies that traded with Baghdad, U.S. investigators have said.

The predicator in this microscene is *siphon off*. It is defined in its basic sense as a Locative predicator and it means “to draw off or convey through or as if through a siphon”. It is usually related to transfer of liquids from one place to another, but in this

microscene it is referring to ‘transfer of an amount of money which benefited a particular individual’. That is why the benefactive meaning is foregrounded and the predicator *siphon off* is perceived agentively. “Hussein” is the A and the B, because he causes the action and is the person who is benefited by it, but as it is expressed by “who” in the microscene, it is considered lexicalized as well as coreferential, and “more than \$2 billion in illicit profits” is the O, the amount of money in his property now. This microscene is semantically represented as + [*A, *B, O/A=B-lex].

(6) The report said the pair hired companies to handle the transactions and estimated (MS53) that they **made** profits of almost \$3 million total between 1999 and 2003.

The predicator *make* is perceived in example (6) as a process verb. Its basic sense is “to cause to exist or happen; bring about; create”. Nevertheless, in this microscene this meaning is backgrounded and the Benefactive is foregrounded (A → B). In other words, to make profits means to get money, earn a specific quantity of money from financial or commercial transactions. Then, “they” is the Beneficiary (B) of this process, while “profits” is and “of almost \$3 million total” are the O. The semantic representation of it is + [B, O, O].

(7) In April, a federal grand jury in New York indicted Chalmers, his two companies -- Bayoil USA Inc. and Bayoil Supply & Trading Ltd. -- and two foreign associates on charges (MS69) that they **funneled** millions of dollars in kickbacks through a foreign front company to an Iraqi-controlled bank account.

Funnel is the predicator in this microscene. In its basic sense it means “to cause to move through or as if through a funnel”. This definition denotes that it is a Basic predicator. However, in this microscene, the Benefactive sense is foregrounded (O → B). To funnel millions of dollars does not mean here to pass the bills ‘through a funnel’,

but the idea of transfer of property and location of something concrete, which is the amount of money involved and that benefits the A of this microscene. This benefactive predicator now is perceived agentively. “They” is the A, “millions of dollars in kickbacks” is the O and the Beneficiary (B) is “to an Iraqi-controlled bank account”. Therefore, the semantic representation of this microscene is + [A, O, B].

(8) A bare majority of Enterprisers favor cutting taxes over **(MS80) reducing** the budget deficit, while the other two groups in the GOP coalition say budget-cutting should be a higher priority.

In this microscene the predicator is *reduce*. It means “to bring down, as in extent, amount, or degree; diminish”. This idea of making something smaller or less in size, amount or importance is a process that carries out a change. Hence, *reduce* is prototypically a Basic predicator. In this microscene, though, the meaning foregrounded is the Benefactive in the negative sense, because such process is causing a loss to the enterprisers. This way, with this semantic move from O → B, the microscene can be semantically represented by + [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]. “The budget deficit is the O and the A is “the government”, which is deleted from the surface of this microscene, and the B is also deleted, because people reduce something from someone/something else, a three-place predicator.

(9) **(MS89)** "But if you don't substantially **increase** the resources that are available, this is going to increase the competition for available funds."

Similarly to *reduce*, *increase* is typically considered a processual predicator in the Basic semantic domain. It means “to make greater or larger” when it is in its basic sense, but in this microscene it makes a semantic move towards the Benefactive (O → B). This process of increasing “the resources that are available” will benefit the ones

who need them. The Benefactive sense is foregrounded and the A is “you”, “the resources that are available” is the O, while the B is deleted. The semantic representation is + [A, *B, O/B-del].

(10) (MS90) While congressional budget makers have promised to **restore** some of the funding, they also have agreed to the president's tax cuts and overall spending targets, meaning there will be stiff competition for a shrinking pot of money.

As in examples (8) and (9), there is a semantic move from O → B in this microscene. “To bring back into existence or use; reestablish” is the process provoked by the predicator *restore*. When what is to be restored is “some of the funding”, that is, the money that benefits projects, people, institutions, the Benefactive meaning is foregrounded in the microscene. Then, a metaphorical movement from O → B is clearly noticed and, as it is a to-phrase, the A is deleted, the B is “some of the funding”. Hence, the semantic representation of this microscene is + [*A, B/A-del].

(11) After taking several weeks in 2001 to educate himself on the issue and to wrestle with the moral implications, Bush went on national television to announce (MS115) that he was **limiting** federally funded research to existing embryonic stem cell lines.

Limit, in this microscene, is a basically Locative predicator that makes a semantic move towards the Benefactive (L → B). If “he was limiting federally funded research”, he was not giving the money for the research to be accomplished. The basic definition of *limit* is “to confine or restrict within a boundary or bounds”; however, in this microscene the Benefactive meaning is foregrounded because of the other participants. Then, it is perceived agentively as a three-place predicator. “He” is the A, “federally funded research” is the O, and “to existing embryonic stem cell lines” is the B. Semantically represented, this microscene is + [A, B, O].

Similarly to section 4.3, all of the 20 microscenes are displayed in Table 5, so that their semantic representations can be checked and they are all exemplified in Appendix 1. It shows all the microscenes in which a metaphorical move occurred and was detected throughout the articles, besides the number of the microscenes. The microscenes which are marked in bold are the ones from the examples analyzed above. The semantic representation in the last column shows the metaphorical move made by the predicator from another semantic domain towards the Benefactive, which has its sense foregrounded.

Table 5 Microscenes from other semantic domains towards the Benefactive

	MICROSCENES	PREDICATOR	SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION
1	MS7, 9, 10, 11 , 13, 79	cut (O → B)	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
	MS14	cut (O → B)	+ [A, B, O]
2	MS8	raise (L → B)	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
3	MS21	reap (O → B)	+ [A, *B, O/A=B]
4	MS39	improve (O → B)	+ [*A, O, B/A-del]
5	MS41	siphon off (L → B)	+ [*A, *B, O/A=B-lex]
6	MS53	make (A → B)	+ [B, O, O]
7	MS69 , 106	funnel (L → B)	+ [A, O, B]
	MS106	funnel (L → B)	+ [*A, B, O/A-del]
8	MS80	reduce (O → B)	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]
9	MS82, 89	increase (O → B)	+ [A, *B, O/B-del]
10	MS90	restore (O → B)	+ [*A, B/A-del]
11	MS115	limit (L → B)	+ [A, B, O]
	MS152	limit (L → B)	+ [*A, *B, O/A, B-del]

Table 5 shows that only one Benefactive microscene is perceived as a process, while the other 19 (nineteen) are perceived Agentively. In 12 (twelve) of them the Benefactive is deleted (partially covert role) and in only 1 (one) Benefactive microscene there is a coreferential role in the surface structure (A=B); in other words, 10% of them. Similarly, in Table 4, 13.09% are coreferential.

On the other hand, “siphon off”, which appears in one Benefactive microscene and it is a basic Locative predicator, represents the only example of the Benefactive lexicalized (B-lex), not disregarding the fact that it is coreferential too (A=B).

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

5.1 Final Considerations, Limitations and Suggestions

The corpus of this study is composed by 27 articles taken from The Washington Post newspaper in its version online. In 19 articles (70,37%) Benefactive microscenes were found and analyzed. Thus, only in 8 articles (29,63%) no Benefactive microscenes emerged with their sense foregrounded. This does not mean that in these 8 articles basically Benefactive predicators did not appear. In fact, they emerged in all of them; however, in the microscenes they rise, they make a metaphorical move towards other domains, such as Experiential and Comitative or towards a subdomain, namely, power-Benefactive (Weickert & Nicolacópulos, 2005).

A total of 164 microscenes in the Benefactive semantic domain were found in the 27 articles collected. 144 microscenes out of 164 had predicators in their basic Benefactive sense, representing 87,80% of the total number of microscenes; while 20 microscenes out of these 164 total number of benefactive microscenes emerged from other semantic domains towards the Benefactive, representing 12,19%.

From these findings, it is possible to argue that in the political articles of this newspaper the density of Benefactive predicators is high, once they are naturally used, because they encompass the idea of gaining and losing, power, possession, transferring of property or power, typically Benefactive. For instance, there were articles with a considerable number of Benefactive microscenes, such as articles 8 (8 MS), 12 (48 MS), 13 (15 MS), 15 (21 MS), 23 (9 MS), and 25 (32 MS) – see Appendix 1, that reinforce this argument.

Regarding the types of verbs – state, process or action – encountered in the corpus investigated –, the majority was action verbs, or at least, because of causativization, assumed this characteristic within the microscene.

In 125 microscenes, 42 predicators were perceived agentively: *cut, raise, reap, improve, siphon off, funnel, reduce, increase, restore, limit* (all of these came from another semantic domain), *fail, credit, help, save, benefit, sell, buy, pay, reward, grant, spend, find, award, take, provide, charge,, give, supply, cash, obtain, purchase, trade, offer, lay off, protect, fund, donate, win, promote, get, employ, and hire* (basically Benefactive predicators). Considering this in terms of numbers, we will have 76.22% of the microscenes with Benefactive predicators perceived agentively.

The predicators *make, fail, receive, profit, succeed* and *win* emerged as process verbs in 20 Benefactive microscenes. This represents 12.19% of the total. The other 11.59% of the predicators are perceived statively, in 19 microscenes – *have, own, can afford* and *earn*.

In this study, it is also possible to assure that almost all the predicators (10 out of 11) which move towards the Benefactive are recognized agentively in the microscenes present in these articles. Similarly, most basically Benefactive predicators (32 out of 39) are perceived agentively in these Benefactive microscenes. Nevertheless, there are two basically Benefactive predicators, *fail* and *win*, which are basically process verbs, that are perceived agentively because they are causativized in MS159 and MS111, respectively.

Another significant aspect noticed during the analysis is the enormous quantity of the predicator *have* throughout the articles (more than 70 appearances). Even though it only emerged as a Benefactive predicator in 15 microscenes, it is possible to see its presence in all the articles. Nevertheless, the reason why it was not analyzed was

because of (i) its semantic moves towards another subdomain; (ii) its metaphorical moves towards other semantic domains; (iii) its presence as a modality constituent, a modal verb, for instance or as an auxiliary verb, also a modality constituent. The following microscenes illustrate these situations respectively:

(i) Therefore, the court said, the government watchdog organization and the environmental advocacy group could not prove the vice president **had** a duty to disclose the membership and the notes of those task force meetings.

The example above shows the presence of this predicator in a power context, thus, *have* makes a metaphorical move towards de Benefactive subdomain, power-Benefactive ($B \rightarrow pB$).

(ii) Bolton told the committee in a written statement that he was overseas at the time and **had** "no recollection" of it.

In example (2), the basically Benefactive predicator has its basic sense backgrounded and the Experiential foregrounded. ($B \rightarrow E$)

(iii) a. Despite furious attempts at compromise, lawmakers **have** yet **to** reach an agreement that would avert the looming confrontation.

In this example, the predicator *have* is perceived as a modal verb, as a synonym of *must*, giving the idea of obligation. Thus, it is not part of the propositional part of the microscene.

(iii) b. "But there is no evidence that he **has** broken laws or engaged in serious ethical misconduct."

In this case, *have* is working as an auxiliary verb of the present perfect tense, so it is also part of the modality of the microscene.

Once the purpose here was to analyze only the proper Benefactive microscenes, the microscenes as the above were not considered in the results. At the same time, this might be a suggestion for further research, in which the semantic moves from the Benefactive towards other semantic domains were not analyzed and may be investigated.

In this sense, considering that the genre chosen to compose the corpus of this study is the political field and involves the power of institutions and the authority people in certain positions have, many Benefactive power microscenes were noticed. It is probably because it is more likely for a Benefactive predicator move to its subdomain 'power Benefactive' than others. Some examples are shown bellow.

(5) Bush thanked Saakashvili for **contributing** troops to Iraq and Afghanistan and promised to help Georgia meet its goal of joining the NATO alliance.

The predicator *contribute* is basically Benefactive, but in example (5), considering the participants in the context, the power-Benefactive sense is foregrounded ($B \rightarrow pB$).

(6) For a night at least, politics did seem to **take** a back seat to comity and cooperation. Whether the center can continue to hold is far less clear.

In this microscene, the predicator *take* makes a metaphorical move towards the power-Benefactive too, once "to take a back seat" is not related to get something nor a place, but the meaning foregrounded is that "politics" has power over a decision making situation ($B \rightarrow pB$).

Similarly, because of the objectives of this study, such examples were not considered in the conclusions; however, they may contribute for further research on this Benefactive subdomain, namely power-Benefactive.

And finally, it is possible to conclude, as already mentioned in Chapter 4 (p. 56),

“This may show us that there is a tendency in using the partial or total absence of essential cases in the surface structure of a microscene, rising up the hypothesis that it is possible to capture such elements from the deep structure which is spread out in the context, that is, from the macroscene, perceived in a semantic-pragmatic perspective.” (Bonfanti, 2006)

This semantic-pragmatic perspective, which has its roots in Nicolacópulos’s (1992) work, *The Holistic Case*, and afterwards in Nicolacópulos’s (1995) *Modelo Casual da UFSC*, later on developed by Oliveira (1999) in *Cenas Benefactivas e Movimentos Semânticos no Contexto da Linguagem Jornalística*, by Rocha (2003) and recently by Weickert & Nicolacópulos (2005), has brought to Case Grammar Theory an important contribution in this field of study, being proved in this research by the amount of Benefactive microscenes which are only perceived with the light of this perspective, once in 123 (a hundred and twenty-three) out of 164 (a hundred and sixty-four) Benefactive microscenes in this study are semantically represented as coreferential and/or deleted roles, that is, they cannot be captured by the surface structure of the microscene. It is the macroscene that encompasses the meaning foregrounded in particular microscenes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

ARTICLE 1

Appeals Court Dismisses Cheney Suit Administration Not Required to Divulge Energy Meeting Records

By Carol D. Leonnig
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, May 10, 2005; 2:57 PM

But the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit concluded today **(MS1)** the two groups had **failed** to show that the task force itself was made up of people other than federal officials.

ARTICLE 2

Bush Hails Georgia as Inspiration for Democracy

By Peter Baker

Washington Post Staff Writer

Tuesday, May 10, 2005; 11:12 AM

TBILISI, Georgia

Addressing one of the largest crowds of his presidency, **(MS2)** Bush **credited** Georgia's Rose Revolution of 2003 with touching off a "freedom movement" that has spread to Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan and Lebanon.

(MS3) Moscow has **failed** to fulfill a 1999 agreement to withdraw its 3,500 troops.

Bush thanked Saakashvili for contributing troops to Iraq and Afghanistan and promised **(MS4)** to **help** Georgia meet its goal of joining the NATO alliance.

ARTICLE 3

Party Leaders Seek Showdown Over Bush's Judicial Nominees

By Charles Babington

Wednesday, May 11, 2005;

Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) suggested **(MS5)** that exploring compromises may **help** Frist gain the votes he will need to outlaw judicial filibusters.

ARTICLE 5

Committee Sends Bolton Vote to Senate Foreign Relations Panel Withholds Recommendation of U.N. Nominee

By William Branigin
Washington Post Staff Writer
Thursday, May 12, 2005; 4:00 PM

And he noted that the nominee "has the confidence of the president and the secretary of state," who want him to "do a specific job" at the United Nations **(MS6)** and **help** promote a reform agenda there.

ARTICLE 8

GOP Battles Public Displays of Division on Social Security Republicans on House Panel Debate Size of Proposed Private Accounts, (MS7) Need to Cut Future Benefits

By Jonathan Weisman
Washington Post Staff Writer
Friday, May 13, 2005; Page A09

In October 2001, with the White House divided over the steps necessary to preserve Social Security, then-economic adviser R. Glenn Hubbard presented President Bush the stark choices that he believed Bush had to make: **(MS8) raise** revenue **(MS9)** or **cut** promised benefits.

"There are no free lunches," countered Robert C. Pozen, a Massachusetts investment executive **(MS20)** whose plan to **cut** scheduled Social Security benefits has been embraced by Bush.

A unified Democratic Party who's screaming **(MS11)** about **cutting** benefits, and a small but vocal group in his own party who are basically yelling about the same thing."

Ryan's would establish accounts as large as 10 percent of wages, **(MS12)** then guarantee that beneficiaries would **receive** at least the Social Security benefit level currently promised.

In his written testimony yesterday, Hunter warned the committee that "American workers . . . will become confused and then suspicious and eventually rebellious when they hear politicians on the one hand confirm their own sense that Social Security is a bad deal but then turn around and lecture them on the need **(MS13)** to **cut** promised future benefits even more."

On Wednesday, White House National Economic Council Director Allan B. Hubbard told the Associated Press **(MS14)** that Bush's benefit plan would **cut** promised survivor benefits for middle- and upper-income children and widows in the future, although he said those cuts may be made up in investment gains from private accounts.

ARTICLE 9

The Political Fallout Legislators Scramble to Reassure Constituents

By Mike Allen and Jonathan Weisman
Washington Post Staff Writers
Saturday, May 14, 2005; Page A01

A perennial top Democratic target, Simmons based part of his reelection campaign last year on the contention that **(MS15)** his position on the House Armed Services Committee would have **helped (MS16) save** the submarine base.

ARTICLE 11

L.A. Blacks Leaning Toward Latino Mayoral Hopeful

By Amy Argetsinger and Kimberly Edds
Washington Post Staff Writers
Sunday, May 15, 2005; Page A07

When Villaraigosa, a Democrat and former state Assembly speaker, made his first run for the job four years ago, **(MS17)** he **received** barely 20 percent of the black vote.

Hahn said **(MS18)** the chief had **failed** to prevent a major corruption scandal.

"I don't think the city is ready" for a Latino mayor, he said. "Everywhere you go, from the hot dog stands to the service stations, **(MS19)** Hispanics **have** the jobs."

ARTICLE 12

(MS20) Oil-for-Food Benefited Russians, Report Says Iraq Sought to Influence U.N. Through Moscow

By Justin Blum and Colum Lynch
Washington Post Staff Writers
Monday, May 16, 2005; Page A01

(MS21) Top Kremlin operatives and a flamboyant Russian politician **reaped** millions of dollars in profits under the U.N. oil-for-food program (MS22) by **selling** oil that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein allowed them (MS23) to **buy** at a deep discount, a Senate investigation has concluded.

The allegations – (MS24) which also include descriptions of kickbacks **paid** to Hussein -- are detailed in hundreds of pages of reports and documents made public last night by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations in advance of a hearing tomorrow.

The report said Iraq sought to influence (MS25) and **reward** the Russian government because it sits on the powerful U.N. Security Council that oversaw sanctions against the Hussein government.

Yevgeniy V. Khorishko, a spokesman for the Russian Embassy in Washington, said (MS26) it had **received** the Senate reports but could not yet discuss the findings.

A CIA report last year said (MS27) that Hussein **granted** top political leaders from around the world the opportunity (MS28) to **buy** Iraqi oil at a discount.

But the Senate report presents more detailed evidence, alleging (MS29) that Russian officials **took** up the offer (MS30) and **profited** handsomely under the program.

In addition, (MS31) the reports allege that Russian politician Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, several Russian entities and a Houston-based oil trading company, Bayoil, "**paid** millions of dollars in illegal, under-the-table surcharges to the Hussein regime in connection with these oil transactions."

U.S. officials say Hussein used illicit proceeds from oil sales (MS32) to **buy** weapons, among other things.

Iraq's U.N. ambassador, Feisal Amin Istrabadi, said Russia was one of dozens of countries (MS33) that **took** advantage of Iraq's oil wealth.

(MS34) The documents were **provided** to reporters Friday on the condition that articles about them not be published until today.

These are the latest allegations dealing with the scandal-plagued U.N. program established in December 1996 (MS35) to **provide** Iraq a partial exemption from international economic sanctions, allowing it (MS36) to **sell** oil (MS37) to **buy** food, medicine and humanitarian goods.

(MS38) The program **succeeded** in limiting Hussein's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction (MS39) and **improved** humanitarian conditions for ordinary Iraqis.

(MS40) But it **provided** an economic lifeline for Hussein, (MS41) who **siphoned off** more than \$2 billion in illicit profits (MS42) by **charging** kickbacks to companies that traded with Baghdad, U.S. investigators have said.

Under the program, Iraq bypassed traditional oil traders, (MS43) **giving** influential businessmen, politicians, dignitaries and terrorist groups the right (MS44) to **buy** millions of barrels of oil, U.S. investigators have said.

(MS45) These individuals would then **sell** their rights at a profit of 3 cents to 30 cents a barrel to oil traders (MS46) **supplying** major refineries in the United States, Europe and Asia.

(MS47) Hussein eventually started **charging** a kickback of 10 cents to 50 cents a barrel, which was deposited in secret bank accounts.

The Senate documents quote an unidentified senior official in Hussein's government as saying (MS48) "the whole point" of **providing** the allocations to individuals was to allow them (MS49) to **profit** personally.

One of the new Senate reports said (MS50) Hussein **granted** oil allocations --the opportunity (MS51) to **buy** discounted oil -- to a group identified as the Russian Presidential Council, made up of advisers appointed by the Russian president to devise presidential policy, draft presidential decrees and coordinate policy among agencies.

Two people were listed (MS52) as **receiving** allocations on the council's behalf -- Alexander Voloshin, the highly influential chief of staff to Putin and Yeltsin, who also headed the council, and Voloshin's friend and confidant Sergey Issakov.

The report said the pair hired companies to handle the transactions and estimated (MS53) that they **made** profits of almost \$3 million total between 1999 and 2003.

Voloshin managed Putin's first campaign (MS54) and **helped** to create the pro-Kremlin Unity Party.

The report said (MS55) the party also **received** oil allocations, along with the country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party.

A second Senate report said (MS56) that Zhirinovsky, a former presidential candidate who espouses an ultranationalist agenda, also **received** allocations (MS57) that he **cashed** for profits of as much as \$8.7 million between 1997 and 2002.

(MS58) Senate investigators **obtained** letters signed by Zhirinovsky that discussed the oil allocations and documents from Iraq's oil ministry that linked him and his political party, the Liberal Democratic Party, to the allocations.

A spokeswoman for Zhirinovsky said he did not have any immediate comment and would respond (MS59) after he **has** an opportunity to read the report.

The Senate documents said Hussein personally approved the Russian oil allocations to curry favor **(MS60)** or **provide** "compensation for support."

The oil transactions involved a complex web of financial arrangements and middlemen, **(MS61)** all of whom **received** a piece of the profits.

The company had conducted **(MS62)** an "aggressive campaign" to **buy** Iraqi oil under the oil-for-food program, but its efforts were stymied by a Hussein policy forbidding direct contracting with U.S. or British companies.

Iraq also required the company **(MS63)** that **purchased** the oil to be in the same country as the recipient of the allocation.

The company arranged for a Russian entity **(MS64)** to **purchase** the oil and, **(MS65)** without ever **taking** possession, **(MS66)** **sell** it to Bayoil.

A letter from Bayoil described **(MS67)** how the company **paid** an "agreed premium" to Zhirinovsky for his allocation.

The report also described Iraqi documents showing that surcharges, or kickbacks, **(MS68)** amounting to more than \$4 million were **paid** to Iraq in connection with Zhirinovsky's transactions.

In April, a federal grand jury in New York indicted Chalmers, his two companies -- Bayoil USA Inc. and Bayoil Supply & Trading Ltd. -- and two foreign associates on charges **(MS69)** that they **funneled** millions of dollars in kickbacks through a foreign front company to an Iraqi-controlled bank account.

ARTICLE 13

Disparate Coalitions Now Make Up Two Parties, Study Finds

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer
Monday, May 16, 2005; Page A15

(MS70) These studies have **provided** a guide to the changing shape of American politics, the strength of the major political parties, the stability -- or fragility -- of their coalitions and how issues unite or divide the country.

As recent presidential elections made clear, **(MS71)** Democrats **have** their own economic elite as part of their core constituency, **(MS72)** and Republicans **have** their own cadre of down-scale supporters.

About four in 10 in each group said **(MS73)** they **have** household incomes of \$75,000 or more.

(MS74) Enterprisers are the most likely to **own (MS75)** or **trade** stocks (53 percent), followed by the Upbeats (42 percent), Liberals (38 percent) and Social Conservatives (35 percent).

Looked at from the other end of the income scale, **(MS76)** nearly half of Pro-Government Conservatives **have** incomes of \$30,000 or below, about the same as the Disadvantaged Democrats.

Three in five Enterprisers say **(MS77)** they **own** a gun, while three-fourths of Liberals say they do not.

Three-fourths of the Pro-Government Conservatives agreed that people can get ahead by working hard, and four-fifths agreed that everyone has the power **(MS78)** to **succeed**.

A bare majority of Enterprisers favor **(MS79)** **cutting** taxes over **(MS80)** **reducing** the budget deficit, while the other two groups in the GOP coalition say budget-cutting should be a higher priority.

Four in five Pro-Government Conservatives say the government should do more **(MS81)** to **help** the needy, **(MS82)** even if that **increases** the government debt, while two in three Enterprisers say **(MS83)** the government **cannot afford** to do more.

ARTICLE 15

Two Fronts in the War on Poverty Bush Seeks More Aid for Church Groups; Others Face Uncertainty

By Michael A. Fletcher
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, May 17, 2005; Page A01

The cards are from agents looking **(MS84)** to **buy** homes, a small but promising sign that the organization's work is making a difference in this tough corner of west Baltimore.

Just a mile away at Sacred Zion Full Gospel Baptist Church, **(MS85)** federal money is **spent** on, as President Bush might say, changing hearts.

Here, the drug-addicted and the HIV-infected come in for quiet counseling sessions in a corner of the fluorescent-lighted sanctuary, or to let counselors know they have established some shred of normalcy in their chaotic lives by reconnecting with family, **(MS86)** **finding** an apartment or joining a church.

Administration officials say that faith-based groups are often less expensive and more effective **(MS87)** in **helping** the needy, a contention that traditional service providers challenge.

"By any account, the administration's initiative has made it easier for a broader range of faith-based programs to apply for federal funds, and we appreciate that," said Douglas Rice, director of housing and community development policy for Catholic Charities USA, **(MS88)** whose local affiliates have **benefited** from the shift.

(MS89) "But if you don't substantially **increase** the resources that are available, this is going to increase the competition for available funds."

(MS90) While congressional budget makers have promised to **restore** some of the funding, they also have agreed to the president's tax cuts and overall spending targets, meaning there will be stiff competition for a shrinking pot of money.

(MS91) The federal government **awarded** more than \$2 billion in such grants in 2004 – **(MS92)** nearly double the amount **awarded** in 2003.

Funding under the president's faith- and community-based initiative has gone up despite Congress's refusal to enact legislation that would allow faith-based groups to discriminate by religion when hiring staff, something Bush says should be allowed **(MS93)** as long as they **offer** their services to people of all faiths and do not use federal money to proselytize.

"That doesn't make any sense, to tell a faith-based provider that they cannot practice the religion that inspires them in the work of compassion," said Bush, a Methodist who credits his religious faith **(MS94)** for **helping** him stop drinking and handle the demands of his job.

While the anti-poverty groups are confronted with an uncertain future, church-based organizations **(MS95)** that often **provide** similar services but often have less experience are flourishing.

But the neighborhood has fallen on hard times. Along some of its narrow "alley streets," drug users line up **(MS96)** to **buy** their hits as if heroin and cocaine were legal.

Recently, **(MS97)** the corporation **bought** an entire block of run-down alley homes, demolished them and built more than 50 townhouses with garages.

(MS98) They **sold** for \$37,000 to \$57,000, although the construction cost more than double that.

Recently, **(MS99)** a two-family home in the neighborhood **sold** for \$212,000 -- a once unheard-of sum.

With Republicans controlling Congress and the White House, **(MS100)** it also does not **help** that in many urban areas, community development corporations such as Druid Heights are identified with Democratic politics.

All she knows is that without federal money, the corporation would have **(MS101)** to **lay off** some of its 10 staff members and stop much of its work.

(MS102) "They **helped** me realize that there are some great needs going unaddressed by the body of Christ."

(MS103) The program has **received** a big boost with the expansion of federal religion-based funding.

ARTICLE 18

Gloves Off As Senators Start Debate On Judges Fiery Words on Filibusters, But Also Talks on a Deal

By Shailagh Murray and Charles Babington
Washington Post Staff Writers
Thursday, May 19, 2005; Page A01

Activist groups on the left and right have grown increasingly intent **(MS104)** on **helping** to shape the judiciary in recent years, as rulings on abortion, school prayer and other topics have stirred controversy.

Democrats responded by saying the filibuster is a hallowed tool **(MS105)** that **protects** minority rights.

ARTICLE 19

House Bill to Ease Stem Cell Curbs Gains Momentum

By Ceci Connolly and Rick Weiss
Washington Post Staff Writers
Thursday, May 19, 2005; Page A02

Emboldened advocates of lifting current limits on embryonic stem cell research appear within reach of a breakthrough victory in the House as early as next week, a vote that would put fresh pressure on the Senate and White House **(MS106)** to **funnel** significant federal money into the emerging field.

House backers of legislation that would loosen restrictions imposed by President Bush in 2001 say **(MS107)** they **have** 201 co-sponsors and enough private commitments to put them at or over the 218 votes needed to pass -- a prospect that has so bitterly divided the GOP that two Republicans nearly came to blows on the House floor Monday night.

The Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2005 would permit federal money **(MS108)** to **fund** research on stem cells taken from days-old embryos stored in freezers at fertility clinics **(MS109)** and **donated** by couples who no longer need them.

The upcoming vote has created a rare split in the Republican Party. Rep. David Joseph Weldon (R-Fla.), a physician who opposes the bill, said **(MS110)** his moderate colleagues **paid** for polling in some GOP congressional districts to show that opposing the bill may not go over well with constituents.

(MS111) Advocates are **winning** support from some antiabortion leaders with the argument that "cells in a Petri dish" that would otherwise be discarded are not comparable to a fetus that "would become a person in the normal course of events," said John C. Danforth, an ordained minister and former Republican senator who served as Bush's ambassador to the United Nations.

ARTICLE 20

First Lady Begins Mideast Trip

By Jim VandeHei
Washington Post Staff Writer
Friday, May 20, 2005; 1:09 PM

More broadly, Laura Bush's mission is **(MS112)** to **help** repair the U.S. image in Arab nations, which experts say remains damaged not only by the prison scandal and recent flap over a retracted Newsweek article, but also hostilities over the Iraq war and perceptions of an imperialist and religiously motivated United States trying to impose its views on the world.

ARTICLE 21

President Vows Veto On Stem Cell Research Bipartisan Measure Seeks to Ease Curbs

By Peter Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer
Saturday, May 21, 2005; Page A06

But I made it very clear to the Congress that the use of federal money, taxpayers' money, **(MS113)** to **promote** science which destroys life in order to save life is -- I'm against that.

"We are happy to see the president defending a culture of life at all stages and refusing to allow further taxpayer money **(MS114)** to **fund** the unethical science of embryonic stem cells," said Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council.

After taking several weeks in 2001 to educate himself on the issue and to wrestle with the moral implications, Bush went on national television to announce **(MS115)** that he was **limiting** federally funded research to existing embryonic stem cell lines.

But it would allow research using embryos stored at fertility clinics **(MS116)** and **donated** by couples who no longer need them.

(MS117) Blood cells from umbilical cords **offer** some prospects for research, but not as much as embryonic stem cells, according to scientists.

ARTICLE 23

Prewar Findings Worried Analysts

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, May 22, 2005; Page A26

These included claims that Iraq was trying **(MS118)** to **obtain** uranium in Africa for its nuclear program, **(MS119)** **had** mobile labs for producing biological weapons, ran an active chemical weapons program and possessed unmanned aircraft that could deliver weapons of mass destruction.

For instance, Bush said in his Jan. 28, 2003, State of the Union address that Hussein was working **(MS120)** to **obtain** "significant quantities" of uranium from Africa, a conclusion the president attributed to British intelligence and made a key part of his assertion **(MS121)** that Iraq **had** an active nuclear weapons program.

The next day, Bush told the world: "We know **(MS122)** that Iraq, in the late 1990s, **had** several mobile weapons labs . . . designed to produce germ warfare agents and can be moved from place to a place to evade inspectors."

The basis for that analysis was a single report that an Iraqi general in late 2000 or early 2001 indicated interest **(MS123)** in **buying** autopilots and gyroscopes for Hussein's UAV program.

When a foreign intelligence service questioned the procurement agent, he originally said he had never intended **(MS124)** to **purchase** the U.S. mapping software, but he refused to submit to a thorough examination, according to the president's commission.

He added: "Secretly, and without fingerprints, **(MS125)** he could **provide** one of his hidden weapons to terrorists, **(MS126)** or **help** them develop their own."

ARTICLE 24

Automatic Signup In 401(k)s Backed Provision Eyed for Social Security Bill

By Jonathan Weisman
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, May 22, 2005; Page A05

House Ways and Means Chairman Bill Thomas (R-Calif.) will include a provision in his Social Security legislation (**MS127**) to **help** employers make enrollment in 401(k) plans automatic unless workers choose to opt out, according to congressional staff and knowledgeable lobbyists.

According to two lobbyists familiar with the discussions, Thomas has suggested to life insurance interests that he would back incentives for employers to convert 401(k) balances to private annuities (**MS128**) that would **pay** out slowly over a worker's retirement.

To expand automatic enrollment, Congress needs to preempt some state labor laws, which many companies interpret as preventing the practice, Orszag said. Lawmakers also need to shield companies from legal liability (**MS129**) to **protect** them from workers potentially suing over investment losses.

ARTICLE 25

U.S. Border Security at a Crossroads Technology Problems Limit Effectiveness of US-VISIT Program to Screen Foreigners

By Robert O'Harrow Jr. and Scott Higham
Washington Post Staff Writers
Monday, May 23, 2005; Page A01

Pressing to meet that goal, **(MS130)** the Homeland Security Department last year **awarded** one of the most ambitious technology contracts in the war on terror -- a 10-year deal estimated at up to \$10 billion -- to the global consulting firm Accenture.

Documents and interviews with people familiar with the program, called US-VISIT, show that government officials are betting on speculative technology while neglecting basic procedures to ensure **(MS131)** that taxpayers **get** full value from government contractors.

"There's no question we could end up **(MS132)** **spending** billions of dollars and end up with nothing," said Steven A. Camarota, the director of research at the Center for Immigration Studies, a nonprofit group that has been monitoring efforts to improve border controls.

(MS133) Although the government has already **spent** or budgeted about \$1 billion for the US-VISIT program, the new system is being built on top of aging computer databases and software that government scientists concluded two years ago are out of date, poorly coordinated and ineffective.

Among them is a fingerprint system that does not use the government's state-of-the-art biometric standard. As a consequence, millions of dollars are budgeted this year for upgrades, according to budget documents.

(MS134) The contractor is **paid** for specific tasks along the way, even if the overall system ultimately does not work.

Tightening the Borders

The US-VISIT program office, officially known as the United States Visitor and Immigrant Status Indicator Technology, started in July 2003. The network it is trying to build **(MS135)** is being **sold** to the public by homeland security officials as the ultimate solution to the nation's chronic border problems.

(MS136) Copies of an Accenture presentation to US-VISIT officials **obtained** by The Washington Post describe a futuristic surveillance and intelligence network.

Those who pass will be allowed into the country and then checked when they leave to make sure they did not overstay their visit. US-VISIT must accomplish its mission without impeding commerce or tourism, according to its mission statement.

Tightening the Borders

(MS137) Using all 10 prints **provides** better matching capabilities and interoperability with other databases, the scientists said in their 2003 report.

(MS138) IDENT **has** fingerprints on 15,000 suspected terrorists and their alleged associates and about 1 million known criminals or deportees overall; the FBI keeps fingerprint records on 47 million people.

Last fall, Stanford University researcher Lawrence M. Wein testified before Congress that US-VISIT, using IDENT, (MS139) **had** no more than a 53 percent chance of catching a terrorist who had altered his or her fingerprints, even if that person was on a terrorist watch list.

The next month, (MS140) Datatrac **received** a 10-year contract extension worth up to \$200 million, according to a company press release.

A congressional aide said Rogers did not weigh in on Datatrac's behalf over the contract extension but considered it a "victory" (MS141) because of the jobs it **protected** in the district Rogers represents.

Rogers declined to be interviewed for this article. He said in a prepared statement: "While the long-term future of the cards is unknown, (MS142) they currently **provide** a vital security service along our borders."

'Industry Day'

(MS143) Each **had** more than a dozen potential subcontractors.

In 2001, the company renamed itself Accenture. (MS144) It **employed** 75,000 people in 47 countries (MS145) and **had** revenue of more than \$11 billion.

Before long, it was also fashioning itself into a homeland security specialist. In its first three years under its new name, Accenture rose to 24th from 59th in the rankings of the government's prime information technology contractors, its contracts surging to \$427 million from \$81 million, according to Eagle Eye Publishers Inc., a private company (MS146) that **sells** data on federal contracts.

Accenture also raised its profile (MS147) by **hiring** former government officials (MS148) who **had** personal or professional ties to US-VISIT managers.

As chief of procurement policy for the Clinton administration, (MS149) he **helped** create rules that eased the outsourcing of government work to private companies.

In his role as a consultant, (MS150) Kelman **helped** Accenture draft a document urging Williams's US-VISIT team (MS151) to **give** contractors great latitude in designing the system (MS152) and to **limit** the number of bid competitors to "2 or 3" as a way to speed the process of choosing a victor.

Williams, who was one of several officials responsible (MS153) for **awarding** the contract, recently said he was unaware of Kelman's role.

Two months later – **(MS154)** and four months before the contract was **awarded** -- Accenture's team moved into the 13th-floor of a Rosslyn office building, just below the floors occupied by US-VISIT officials.

"The space came available, and someone on the team saw it and realized this would be convenient space **(MS155)** if we eventually **won** the project," said Taylor, the Accenture spokeswoman.

(MS156) Accenture's team **won** the contract in May 2004. Company officials said the division working on US-VISIT is Accenture LLP, based in Northern Virginia.

Williams said Accenture officials are playing an important role in shaping the vision for US-VISIT **(MS157)** by **helping** him and his team understand **(MS158)** how to **buy** and organize such a complex system.

Oversight From Afar

In 2004, another GAO analysis said the government's US-VISIT team had not moved quickly enough on its earlier findings, chiding the government **(MS159)** for **failing** to correct "fundamental limitations in the program office's ability to manage US-VISIT."

He added: "Secretly, and without fingerprints, he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists, **(MS160)** or **help** them develop their own."

Schmitt, a former immigration service official **(MS161)** who **earns** \$114,344 a year, said she visits the US-VISIT offices in Rosslyn once every six weeks or so.

ARTICLE 26

Breakthrough Pact Unlikely To End Battle

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, May 24, 2005; Page A01

The 14 members of the group said they were motivated by their desire **(MS162)** to **protect** the institution of the Senate from what they believed would be a terribly disruptive act.

Byrd invoked Benjamin Franklin last night and said **(MS163)** the group of 14 had **helped** preserve the republic.

ARTICLE 27

Senate Panel Set to Debate Patriot Act

By Dan Eggen
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, May 24, 2005; Page A15

Legislation proposed by committee Chairman Pat Roberts (R-Kan.) would allow the FBI to subpoena records in intelligence probes without the approval of a judge or grand jury and would make it easier for the bureau (**MS164**) to **get** copies of mail, according to committee aides and a draft copy of the bill.

APPENDIX 2

ARTICLE 1

Appeals Court Dismisses Cheney Suit Administration Not Required to Divulge Energy Meeting Records

By Carol D. Leonnig - Washington Post Staff Writer

Tuesday, May 10, 2005; 2:57 PM

A federal appeals court today dismissed a long-running lawsuit that had sought to force Vice President Cheney to turn over records of closed-door meetings his office held in 2001 to craft the administration's energy policy. The decision was a major legal and political victory for the White House.

The unanimous ruling accedes to the Bush administration's argument that forcing the executive office to produce details of internal discussions about how it shapes policy is unnecessarily intrusive and violates the president's constitutional powers.

In separate lawsuits filed five years ago, which were later joined as one, Judicial Watch and the Sierra Club claimed that members of large energy corporations and industry groups effectively became members of Cheney's energy task force and helped write the administration's policy that is now before Congress.

But the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit concluded today the two groups had **(MS1)failed** to show that the task force itself was made up of people other than federal officials. Therefore, the court said, the government watchdog organization and the environmental advocacy group could not prove the vice president had a duty to disclose the membership and the notes of those task force meetings. The opinion cited the declarations of two senior administration officials as key to their decision.

"The only individuals the President named to the (task force) were federal officials; only federal officials signed the final report," Judge A. Raymond Randolph wrote for the court. He noted that one of Cheney's deputy assistants for energy policy, Karen Knutson, reported in an affidavit that industry members did participate in smaller stakeholder meetings but these "were simply forums to collect individual views rather than to bring a collective judgment to bear."

The decision today by the full court for the District of Columbia Circuit is unusual for two reasons, according to law professors and attorneys involved in the case.

First, it's unanimous, an atypical result for a court whose members hold a wide spectrum of views on government regulation and the breadth of executive powers. Second it accepts largely as fact the assertions of two senior administration officials, without allowing the opposing side to challenge or question them.

The legal campaign to reveal the details of how Cheney's energy task force operated has had a complicated history. First, a federal district court judge rejected several of the suit's claims but said he would allow the plaintiffs to seek some documents from the vice president's office about the energy task force. The government eventually appealed to the court of appeals, which ruled in a divided opinion in September 2003 that the White House could possibly protect the materials from public view, but the administration needed to do so by citing executive privilege, a step it had not taken.

The government appealed to the Supreme Court, which last June sent the case back to the appeals court. The high court found the district court judge's original plan for allowing the groups to seek documents about the energy task force was overly broad, and it also explicitly directed the appeals court to consider "the weighty separation-of-powers objections" of the government and to reexamine whether the groups' complaint should be dismissed.

David Bookbinder, a lead attorney on the case for the Sierra Club, said today's appeals court decision keeps the public in the dark about White House operations. He said the two groups will decide in coming days whether to appeal the decision.

"As a policy matter, we see the Bush administration has succeeded in its efforts to keep secret how industry crafted the administration's energy policy," he said. "As a legal matter, it's a defeat for efforts to have open government and for the public to know how their elected officials are conducting business."

ARTICLE 2

Bush Hails Georgia as Inspiration for Democracy

By Peter Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, May 10, 2005
TBILISI, Georgia, May 10

President Bush hailed this rugged former Soviet republic Tuesday as a model for democratic revolution around the world, cheered on by a sea of flag-waving Georgians flooding this capital's Freedom Square in a sequel to the government-toppling protests of 18 months ago.

Addressing one of the largest crowds of his presidency, **(MS2)** Bush **credited** Georgia's Rose Revolution of 2003 with touching off a "freedom movement" that has spread to Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan and Lebanon. Georgia's experience, he said, even helped rouse Iraqis to the polls in January to choose their first democratic government in a half century.

"You are making many important contributions to freedom's cause, but your most important contribution is your example," Bush said, rattling off the places that have followed Georgia's lead in recent months. "Your courage is inspiring democratic reformers and sending a message that echoes across the world -- freedom will be the future of every nation and every people on Earth."

In stopping here on his way home from Moscow on the final leg of a five-day European trip, Bush became the first U.S. president to visit this tiny impoverished country of 4.7 million tucked in the Caucasus Mountains. With the paint still drying from a massive makeover of down-and-out Tbilisi, the reception Bush received exhilarated White House aides. While Bush is viewed ambivalently, or worse, in many European countries, Georgia embraced him with unabashed exuberance.

The crowd that gathered in Freedom Square and spilled over into downtown streets numbered at least in the tens of thousands; Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili estimated 150,000 showed up, and the White House put it at 250,000. Under sunny skies, Georgians waited hours for Bush to arrive, some of them dressed in red, white and blue to form a human U.S. flag while others wore red and white for a counterpart Georgian flag.

Bush's presence was a huge boost to Saakashvili, the 37-year-old architect of street protests that brought down the discredited government of Eduard Shevardnadze.

"For the Georgian people, this is really a sign of strong solidarity with them," Foreign Minister Salome Zourabichvili said in an interview. "It's one thing to know it. It's another thing to see it."

But it also irritated Russia, which views recent revolutions along its borders with suspicion that the United States is trying to extend its influence in Moscow's orbit. When Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov learned of the itinerary weeks ago, he fired off a blistering letter of complaint to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

Bush took another gentle jab at Russian President Vladimir Putin during his speech and a news conference Tuesday when he endorsed Saakashvili's plans to peacefully reincorporate the pro-Russian breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia while granting them considerable autonomy.

"The sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia must be respected," Bush said in an implicit reference to Moscow's longstanding support for the separatists.

Bush also volunteered to help mediate a bitter dispute over Russia's two remaining Soviet-era military bases in Georgia. **(MS3)** Moscow has **failed** to fulfill a 1999 agreement to withdraw its 3,500 troops. Saakashvili has insisted they leave by 2008, but Moscow has balked, prompting the Georgian president to boycott Russia's 60th anniversary celebration of the end of World War II.

At the same time, in a message calibrated to please Russia, Bush warned Georgia to respect the rights of its minority Abkhaz and Ossetian populations. In private, senior U.S. officials said before the trip, Bush planned to urge Saakashvili not to take provocative actions in the separatist regions.

In a joint press conference before his speech, Bush said that "a truly democratic society is one that honors and respects minorities." He also made the point in a roundtable discussion with civil society leaders at the Georgian Parliament. "In my own country, we have struggled with this issue throughout our history, and yet, we're constantly reminding ourselves of the need to respect minorities," Bush said as the meeting began.

Saakashvili pledged in the press conference, "We will peacefully resolve our disputes with our long-suffering South Ossetian and Abkhaz citizens and the territories. We will widen and deepen our democratic reforms to better the lives of Georgians."

Bush thanked Saakashvili for contributing troops to Iraq and Afghanistan and promised **(MS4)** to **help** Georgia meet its goal of joining the NATO alliance.

Educated in the United States at Columbia University Law School and George Washington University, Saakashvili rocketed to international attention in November 2003 when he mobilized tens of thousands of demonstrators to protest fraudulent elections. His campaign culminated when he burst into parliament with a red rose and demanded Shevardnadze's resignation. Saakashvili was subsequently elected president - - with Shevardnadze's vote -- and set about remaking a country on the verge of collapse, where electricity often did not work, pensioners by on \$7 a month and the government was suffused with corruption.

Saakashvili's energy and optimism have made him a favorite in Washington, and Bush clearly has been taken with him. The president told interviewers before leaving Washington that he decided to make the trip in part because of Saakashvili's enthusiasm in inviting him.

Yet while still broadly popular at home, Saakashvili has stirred growing criticism with a brash and impetuous manner. The same thirst for radical change and candor that appeal to many strike others as needlessly confrontational. Some critics complain he has accumulated power at the expense of the opposition and media. To discourage the notion of one-man rule, Bush made a point of meeting with parliament speaker Nino Burdzhaniadze, who, while allied with Saakashvili, remains an independent political figure in her own right.

But Bush's main goal was to highlight the birthplace of the democracy movement that he has adopted as a mission for his second term.

"As you build freedom in this country, you must know that the seeds of liberty you are planting in Georgian soil are flowering across the globe," Bush told the crowd. "I have come to thank you for your courage."

Saakashvili said Bush's visit would embolden other would-be revolutionaries.

"Georgia provides a living example that democracy can work in this part of the world . . . and I think that's the message President Bush is sending to the outside world by coming here," he told reporters.

Among those watching from Freedom Square on Tuesday was Anatol Lyabedzka, chairman of the United Civic Party of Belarus, a former Soviet republic to the west of Russia still ruled by a neo-Stalinist former collective farmer. Many in the marginalized

opposition there have taken hope from Georgia and Ukraine, hoping the same wave will wash through their country next.

Lyabedzka and a colleague held up a large handwritten banner that said "Freedom Belarus," a sign drawn during the morning at the office of the International Republican Institute, a U.S.-funded group promoting democracy. Lyabedzka planned to meet with Saakashvili on Tuesday evening to garner support for the Belarusian cause. Lyabedzka, whose allies met with Rice recently, said Bush's visit here would bolster his efforts back home in Minsk.

"It means that yesterday Tbilisi, today Kiev, tomorrow Minsk," he said. "It means that this is a serious struggle against dictatorship and for democracy."

ARTICLE 3

Party Leaders Seek Showdown Over Bush's Judicial Nominees

By Charles Babington

Wednesday, May 11, 2005

The Senate's Republican and Democratic leaders called yesterday for a prompt showdown in the impasse over judicial nominations, a move that would undercut moderates' efforts to find a compromise to the long-running dispute. Both parties' leaderships are wary of a bipartisan bid by a few centrists to find a middle ground that would force GOP and Democratic leaders to accept options they have called intolerable. Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) has said the ability to filibuster judicial nominees, now or in the future, must end. Minority Leader Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.), meanwhile, has said the right to filibuster must remain intact and President Bush must withdraw three of his most contentious appellate court nominees. Neither man could claim victory under compromises being promoted by Sen. Ben Nelson (D-Neb.), among others. Nelson said that the details of his plan remain fluid, but that it would leave the filibuster rules intact while confirming more of Bush's nominees than Reid has said his party can accept. Nelson said senators would have to pledge to use filibusters only in "extreme or extraordinary cases." But Republicans said Democrats have a history of labeling mainstream conservatives as extremists. Reid and Frist said they remain open to a possible compromise. But both men rejected elements of Nelson's plan yesterday and signaled that they want a showdown vote on the filibuster issue -- often called "the nuclear option" -- as early as next week, if not Friday. Frist, noting that four of the controversial nominations could be called to the Senate floor anytime, told reporters "the suggestion has been made, let's go straight through the executive calendar and deal with them one by one. And I think it's time to do that." Reid said Democrats "are prepared for a vote on the nuclear option." Nelson said in an interview that his biggest challenge is to find a compromise "without undermining the leaders in both caucuses." If a handful of Democrats broke with Reid, Nelson said, they could confirm some or all of the seven appellate court nominees thwarted by filibusters in Bush's first term and still awaiting action. And if three more Republicans join the three who have vowed to oppose Frist's effort to ban filibusters of judicial nominees, the GOP leader would not have the 51 votes he needs to change the rule. But with party leaders and outside interest groups pressuring senators to stick with their caucuses, Nelson said, it may prove impossible to pass his proposal. If Republicans leave the right to filibuster judges intact, Reid has said, his caucus will let them pick one appellate court nominee for a non-filibustered confirmation from a group the Democrats have strongly criticized: Janice Rogers Brown of California, William G. Myers III of Idaho, Priscilla Richman Owen of Texas and William H. Pryor Jr. of Alabama. Frist rejected the offer again yesterday, saying this "is a matter of principle, and the principle is this fairness of an up-or-down vote" for all nominees. Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) suggested **(MS5)** that exploring compromises may **help** Frist gain the votes he will need to outlaw judicial filibusters. Moderate GOP senators, Lott told radio talk show host Tony Snow, "have to feel assured that every avenue has been explored. . . . If every effort has been made and fails, then they will be there" when Frist calls for the showdown vote.

ARTICLE 4

Bolton Office E-Mails Spotlight Tensions

By Glenn Kessler

Wednesday, May 11, 2005

Opponents of John R. Bolton's nomination to become U.N. ambassador yesterday distributed recently declassified e-mails to focus attention on a 2002 dispute between Bolton's office and the State Department's intelligence bureau over a CIA analysis. Democrats say the e-mails are part of a pattern of intimidation and twisting of intelligence during Bolton's tenure as undersecretary for arms control. But Republicans say a relatively minor conflict has been blown out of proportion. The evidence collected by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, including numerous interviews with participants in the matter, does not conclusively link Bolton to the incident. Bolton told the committee in a written statement that he was overseas at the time and had "no recollection" of it. Frederick Fleitz, his chief of staff, told investigators in a contentious interview last Thursday that he did not discuss the matter with Bolton before sending an e-mail saying he was writing "on behalf of U/S Bolton" to express his displeasure with the bureau, according to a transcript. The debate centered on an important policy issue early in President Bush's first term -- the effectiveness of China's missile export controls. The CIA analysis in question, written in August 2002, concluded that the export controls were deficient. This supported Bolton's thinking. He was headed overseas and had not read the report, but he asked Fleitz to have it sent to then-Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage, Bolton told the committee. But Fleitz was furious to later discover that the intelligence bureau attached a cover sheet to the analysis before sending it to Armitage, essentially taking the opposite position -- that the export controls were a step in the right direction. This appeared to support Armitage's view. Randall G. Schriver, Armitage's chief of staff, later called the intelligence bureau to praise its memo, "which he said D [Armitage] agreed with," according to an internal intelligence bureau e-mail recounting the dispute. Fleitz is a career CIA agent on loan to Bolton's office, and the CIA analysis was produced by his professional home, the CIA's weapons proliferation center. In his interview last week, he suggested this link gave him a personal stake in how the analysis was treated. Democrats have speculated that Bolton, through Fleitz, ordered up an analysis to suit his preferences, though they have found no proof of that. In his e-mail, to a top official in the intelligence bureau, Fleitz referred to a dispute three months earlier with the intelligence bureau over an alleged Cuban bioweapons program. "Actions of this type cannot help but undermine the bond of trust between" Bolton's office and the intelligence bureau, he wrote, suggesting that Bolton's office might seek to bypass the intelligence bureau in the future. Fleitz also visited the intelligence bureau "to share his feelings about our memo," according to the bureau e-mail, which had a sarcastic tone. Fleitz, according to the e-mail, said "it was unprofessional . . . to criticize the 'carefully vetted' work of 'experts' in the IC," or intelligence community. The writer of the e-mail, whose name was censored, reported that Fleitz was told that the CIA analysis itself had not been fully blessed by the intelligence community, "and would have come out differently if it had been." In the blowup over the Cuba intelligence, Bolton summoned Christian Westermann, an intelligence bureau analyst, to his office for what Westermann described as a tongue-lashing. Westermann, in an interview last Wednesday that was released yesterday, told investigators the experience created a "difficult work climate" and left him "approaching issues so that I didn't step on a land mine." Democrats say the two

incidents, combined with Bolton's role in seeking the reassignment of the national intelligence officer for Latin America, point to an unacceptable pattern of trying to twist intelligence to suit policy objectives. But Republicans say it is part of the normal give-and-take during a contentious policy debate. Fleitz told the committee staff that he viewed the dispute as a "minor matter." After he sent his e-mail, the intelligence bureau "never responded to me, and I never raised it again, and I forgot about it," he said, adding that he does not remember discussing it with Bolton. State Department officials said Bolton, in contrast to some other undersecretaries, was known for empowering his special assistants to throw their weight around, which caused tensions within the State Department. Fleitz said he wanted the intelligence bureau to know it "should have checked on the analytic assumptions before attaching the rebuttal." The bureau supervisor -- whose name was not disclosed in her interview last Wednesday -- said that "in the intelligence community, there are lots of disagreements among analysts and agencies about how individual analysts or individual agencies interpret facts," according to a transcript. But she said it was the only case she knew of in her 27 years in the bureau in which analysts were told not to include their views on material they transmit. But Neil Silver, a director of an office in the bureau, told investigators last Thursday that the analyst who wrote the counter-memo "had a pretty thick skin" and did not have "any second doubts or regrets" about his actions. "It had no effect whatever in how we would decide to do our work," he said.

ARTICLE 5

Committee Sends Bolton Vote to Senate Foreign Relations Panel Withholds Recommendation of U.N. Nominee

By William Branigin
Washington Post Staff Writer
Thursday, May 12, 2005; 4:00 PM

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee today sent to the full Senate President Bush's controversial nomination of John R. Bolton to be ambassador to the United Nations, but the panel withheld a favorable recommendation at the urging of a key Republican member.

In a straight party-line vote, the committee voted 10-8 to forward the nomination without a recommendation after more than five hours of debate.

The unusual move came at the suggestion of Sen. George V. Voinovich (R-Ohio), who voiced opposition this morning to nomination of Bolton but said he deserved an "up-or-down vote" on the Senate floor. Voinovich made it clear he would vote to send the nomination out of the committee only if the panel agreed not to recommend Bolton.

"I have come to the determination that the United States can do better than John Bolton" at the United Nations, Voinovich told the committee.

Other Republicans came to Bolton's defense, saying the case against him was overblown.

As the hearing ended, committee chairman Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) said he was taking Voinovich's advice and that "the vote will be to report the nomination without recommendation."

Moments before the vote, the ranking Democrat on the committee, Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware, said that in view of the committee's move to withhold a recommendation on Bolton, the interests of the president and the nation "will be better served by Mr. Bolton's nomination being pulled down." He said he did not expect this to happen, but that there is precedent for doing so.

"It doesn't appear that Mr. Bolton has the confidence of the majority of this committee, and I suggest it may be worth the president's interest to take note of that," Biden said.

After poring over hundreds of pages of testimony and meeting twice with Bolton, who is currently undersecretary of state for arms control and international security, Voinovich said this morning he had concluded that the nominee would not be able to conduct the public diplomacy needed to improve the U.S. reputation around the world, help combat terrorism and achieve reforms at the United Nations.

Voinovich cited officials who have described Bolton as a bully who abused subordinates, would not tolerate dissent and fostered "an atmosphere of intimidation" in the State Department. The senator said arrogance and bullying are among "the very characteristics we are trying to dispel in the world community." Installing Bolton at the United Nations would "send a contradictory and negative message to the world community," Voinovich said.

"This is not the behavior that should be endorsed as the face of the United States to the world community in the United Nations," Voinovich said. In fact, he said, Bolton is "the poster child of what someone in the diplomatic corps should not be."

Voinovich said he did not want to "impose my judgment" on the rest of his Senate colleagues and that "we owe it to the president to give Mr. Bolton an up-or-down vote" in the full Senate.

Clarifying his voting intentions, Voinovich subsequently told reporters that he would vote against the nomination on the Senate floor, Washington Post staff writer Charles Babington reported.

Once the nomination reaches the floor, it is likely to be approved, since the Democrats are unlikely to be able to attract enough Republican defectors to defeat a choice still strongly backed by President Bush, Senate sources said.

The controversial nomination was endorsed by Lugar, the committee chairman, who said in an opening statement that the panel's extensive hearings and inquiries had not produced evidence that "supports a disqualification of the president's nominee."

"Secretary Bolton's actions were not always exemplary," Lugar said. "On several occasions, he made incorrect assumptions about the behavior and motivations of subordinates. At other times, he failed to use proper managerial channels or unnecessarily personalized internal disputes. The picture is one of an aggressive policymaker who pressed his missions at every opportunity and argued vociferously for his point of view. In the process, his blunt style alienated some colleagues. But there is no evidence that he has broken laws or engaged in serious ethical misconduct."

Lugar added, "I have no doubts that Secretary Bolton is extremely well qualified." And he noted that the nominee "has the confidence of the president and the secretary of state," who want him to "do a specific job" at the United Nations (MS6) and help promote a reform agenda there.

Lugar said the allegations against Bolton were largely "unsubstantiated" and that many "have proven to be groundless or, at worst, overstated."

The chairman said, "With regard to the most serious charge -- that Secretary Bolton sought to improperly manipulate intelligence -- the insights we have gained do not support the conclusion. He may have disagreed with intelligence findings, but in the end, he always accepted the final judgment of the intelligence community, and always delivered speeches in their cleared form."

Biden, the committee's top Democrat, said Bolton's patterns of conduct "disqualify him from this job."

Biden said it was not in the national interest to have "a bully" and "a lousy leader" at the helm of the U.S. mission to the United Nations.

"He's the wrong choice," Biden said. "We can do a lot better."

Sen. George Allen (R-Va.) strongly disputed the characterizations of Bolton and said the main point that has been lost in the debate over him is "the desperate need for reform in the United Nations."

"Rather than worry about people whose sensibilities are easily offended," Allen said, the committee should focus its scrutiny on the United Nations itself and on holding the U.N. system accountable for the more than \$2 billion in annual U.S. contributions.

Citing corruption including the U.N. oil-for-food scandal and a record of voting major human rights violators onto the U.N. Human Rights Commission, Allen said that under such circumstances "it is difficult for our citizens to see the United Nations as anything but a waste of our tax dollars. . . ."

ARTICLE 6

Pryor Nomination Moves to Full Senate Democrats Have Vowed to Block Vote on Judicial Appointment

By Michael A. Fletcher
Washington Post Staff Writer
Thursday, May 12, 2005; 4:06 PM

The Senate continued its march toward a historic partisan showdown today, as the Republican-controlled Judiciary Committee approved another of President Bush's controversial nominees to a federal appeals court despite vows from Democrats to block the nomination with a filibuster.

The committee, voting 10 to 8 along party lines, endorsed former Alabama Attorney General William H. Pryor Jr., 41, for a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th District in Atlanta. Pryor's nomination to the appeals court during Bush's first term was blocked by Senate Democrats, who consider his conservative views too extreme for a lifetime appointment to the appellate court. Bush later named Pryor to the court in a temporary appointment during a congressional recess, but Pryor must receive approval from the full Senate by the end of the year for a lifetime appointment.

Today's vote continued the Senate on a course toward a parliamentary collision that threatens to paralyze the lawmaking body. Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) has promised to change Senate rules to ban filibusters for judicial nominees, clearing the way for them to be confirmed by a simple majority vote rather than the 60 votes needed to end a filibuster. If Frist follows through on the threat to invoke what has been dubbed the "nuclear option," Democrats have vowed to retaliate by employing other parliamentary maneuvers that would bring the Senate to a virtual halt.

"We stand here on the precipice of a constitutional crisis," said Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.), who called the committee vote "a stage-setter for an attempt to undo what the Senate has been about for over 200 years."

Despite furious attempts at compromise, lawmakers have yet to reach an agreement that would avert the looming confrontation. Bush has said repeatedly that his nominees deserve an "up or down vote," and he has renominated seven appeals court judges previously blocked by Democrats.

Analysts on both sides believe they can win the public relations battle that would accompany the fight. Many Republicans said voters will punish Democrats if they bog down the Senate and kill important legislation. Democrats, meanwhile, believe Republicans will be blamed for a power grab that shatters Senate tradition if they choose to eliminate the filibuster.

With the Judiciary Committee's approval of Pryor, four Bush appeals court nominees previously blocked by Democrats are now again pending before the full Senate. They are California Supreme Court Justice Janice Rogers Brown, Texas Supreme Court Justice Priscilla R. Owen and William G. Myers III, a former Interior Department lawyer and mining lobbyist.

Frist has said that he could move forward with some of the nominations as soon as next week, and he has rejected Democratic offers to approve some of the nominees if he chooses not to move forward on others.

The battle over the judges has been joined by religious conservatives and business interests on the right, and civil rights and pro-choice groups on the left, testament to the courts' pivotal role in determining the course of some of the nation's most contentious

cultural issues, including the availability of abortion, the use of race-conscious affirmative action and the role of religion in public life.

Pryor's nomination has been opposed by many civil rights and abortion rights groups, who say that his strong belief in favor of states' rights and passionate opposition to abortion would shape his jurisprudence. "Mr. Pryor is not a nominee within the legal mainstream," said Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

Pryor's supporters, however, say he has proved time and again his support of civil rights and his allegiance to the rule of law, even when it conflicts with his personal opinions. "He has political views, but his overriding view is that the law is pre-eminent and should be enforced," said Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.).

The committee delayed votes on two other controversial appeals court nominees, North Carolina judge Terrence W. Boyle and White House staff secretary Brett Kavanaugh.

ARTICLE 7

Divided Panel Sends Bolton Nomination To Full Senate

By Glenn Kessler

A bitterly divided Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted along party lines yesterday to send the nomination of John R. Bolton to become U.N. ambassador to the full Senate without any endorsement. Republicans agreed to the rare procedural move after a key GOP senator, George V. Voinovich (Ohio), made it clear that he would forcefully oppose promoting the 56-year-old undersecretary of state to the prestigious post because of allegations of arrogance and bullying, but that he would not object to bringing the nomination to the floor. Administration officials and GOP lawmakers said they were confident Bolton would win approval from the GOP-controlled Senate, where they said few if any Republicans would join Voinovich in opposition. The embattled nominee may also pick up as many as three Democratic votes, they added. Bolton "is the poster child of what someone in the diplomatic corps should not be," Voinovich said in a blistering speech that surprised even Democrats with its ferocity. "I have come to the determination that the United States can do better than John Bolton," he said, adding that he thought Bolton's behavior at the State Department would get him fired in the private sector. Bolton's inability to win unconditional approval amounted to a rebuke of the White House, which has put tremendous pressure on Republican lawmakers to support Bolton. Several GOP lawmakers on the committee expressed deep misgivings, though they said they would vote for him, while the committee chairman, Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), gave only lukewarm support during a 42-minute speech rebutting Democratic attacks. Democrats alleged Bolton sought to oust intelligence analysts, stretched intelligence views, was abusive to subordinates and gave the committee misleading testimony. In the past three weeks, the committee staff has interviewed nearly 30 people and examined hundreds of documents to address allegations stretching back two decades. Lugar painstakingly addressed many of the complaints, saying they "have proven to be groundless or, at worst, overstated." He said that Bolton has thought carefully about U.N. reform and that President Bush deserves to have his choice for the job. "Bolton's actions were not always exemplary," and "his blunt style alienated some colleagues," Lugar said. "But there is no evidence that he has broken laws or engaged in serious ethical misconduct." One fence-sitter, Sen. Lincoln D. Chafee (R-R.I.), sat through much of the hearing with a pained expression and looked especially troubled during Voinovich's address. He spoke briefly about his apprehension that supporting Bolton would be "signaling an endorsement of that intimidation." But he told reporters later that he was inclined to vote yes on the Senate floor. Voinovich in recent days had privately signaled he would vote against Bolton, GOP aides said, but in a deal arranged before today's vote, he agreed not to block the nomination from reaching the full Senate. Sending a nomination without a recommendation has become relatively common for judicial posts, but it has happened only twice for diplomatic positions, most recently in 1993. After five hours of debate, all 10 Republicans voted to send the nomination to the floor; all eight Democrats opposed the motion. A floor vote has not been scheduled, but it appears unlikely before the week of May 23. The Republicans control the Senate 55 to 44, with one independent, so six Republicans would need to break ranks to defeat the nomination if all Democrats were firmly opposed. But Republicans identified Democratic Sens. Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.), Mary Landrieu (La.) and Ben Nelson (Neb.) as potential pickups for Bolton. All three were among the tiny group of

Democrats who supported Bolton when his appointment as undersecretary was approved 57 to 43 in 2001. Lieberman and Landrieu have said they are undecided, while Nelson is leaning in favor, a spokesman said. Sen. Susan Collins (Maine), the type of moderate Republican that Democrats will need to woo if they are to defeat Bolton, said: "Absent some new evidence or revelations" about the nominee, "I intend to support Mr. Bolton's confirmation." Senate Minority Leader Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.) has not ruled out a filibuster on the floor, which would require 60 votes to overcome. But several Democrats have said it may be politically difficult to filibuster Bolton because the party already is being branded "obstructionist" for blocking judicial nominees. Democrats pleaded yesterday for their Republican colleagues to kill the nomination, saying that allegations that Bolton abused his authority and cherry-picked intelligence to advance his policy views made him unacceptable for the job. "It should end here," said Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.). "We owe it to the American public and ourselves to end this matter." Voinovich had derailed Bolton's nomination on April 19, when he suddenly announced at a hearing called to vote on the nominee that he was not prepared to vote favorably at that time. Yesterday, Lugar arranged for Voinovich to speak second, after Lugar's opening comments, sparking a protest from Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.) that, as the ranking Democrat, he should speak after Lugar. The nine other Republicans were seated as Voinovich spoke; Lugar spokesman Andy Fisher said they had all been told in advance that he would oppose Bolton. Democrats -- about half of whom were missing at this point -- clearly were taken aback by Voinovich's comments. "Much of what I was going to say would be redundant and not as eloquent as what we just heard," Biden said. Voinovich took special note that former secretary of state Colin L. Powell "was conspicuously absent" from the list of GOP officials endorsing Bolton, even though he had been Bolton's immediate boss. He also said that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice had told him that Bolton "would be closely supervised" at the United Nations. Biden echoed Voinovich's remarks, saying Rice had told him the same thing. "Why would you send someone to the United Nations that needed to be supervised?" he asked. A senior State Department official said he did not want "to buy into their characterization" of Rice's private conversations. But he added that "obviously an ambassador gets instructions" that are drafted in Washington and is expected to carry them out. The Foreign Relations Committee last sent a nomination to the floor without a recommendation when it deadlocked in 1993 on the nomination of M. Larry Lawrence, a wealthy San Diego developer, to be ambassador to Switzerland. The Senate, which was controlled by Democrats, confirmed him 76 to 16. Kenneth Adelman, another hard-line conservative, faced a tough confirmation fight when was nominated to be director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1983. In that case, the committee reported him to the Senate floor unfavorably by a vote of 14 to 3, but he was confirmed by a GOP-controlled Senate 57 to 42.

Staff writer Charles Babington contributed to this report.

ARTICLE 8

GOP Battles Public Displays of Division on Social Security Republicans on House Panel Debate Size of Proposed Private Accounts, (MS7) Need to Cut Future Benefits

By Jonathan Weisman
Washington Post Staff Writer
Friday, May 13, 2005; Page A09

In October 2001, with the White House divided over the steps necessary to preserve Social Security, then-economic adviser R. Glenn Hubbard presented President Bush the stark choices that he believed Bush had to make: **(MS8) raise** revenue **(MS9) or cut** promised benefits. Hubbard prevailed over other White House advisers who argued that large private investment accounts and trillions of dollars in government borrowing could ensure Social Security's long-term solvency with no benefit cuts whatsoever. But 3 1/2 years later, the fissures that once divided the White House continue to split the Republican Party at large. Those fissures were on display anew yesterday when the House Ways and Means Committee convened its first hearing on Social Security restructuring. "No benefit cuts are needed," testified Lawrence A. Hunter, chief economist of the conservative Free Enterprise Fund, who said the White House's proposals for creating investment accounts and reducing future benefits for 70 percent of Americans have "led the debate into a political cul-de-sac." "There are no free lunches," countered Robert C. Pozen, a Massachusetts investment executive **(MS10)** whose plan to **cut** scheduled Social Security benefits has been embraced by Bush. White House aides have been trying to put the public dispute to rest for months, if not years. But their failure to do so has left the GOP looking divided, next to united Democrats, who say they will not negotiate until Bush puts aside his call for private accounts financed through Social Security taxes. "You've got a president who was honest with the American people in leveling with them about the tough choices we face," said Jeffrey R. Brown, a University of Illinois economist who served as the Social Security expert on Bush's Council of Economic Advisers. "And what's he got for it? A unified Democratic Party who's screaming about **(MS11) cutting** benefits, and a small but vocal group in his own party who are basically yelling about the same thing." During Bush's first year in office, Hubbard, who chaired the Council of Economic Advisers, split with White House National Economic Council Director Lawrence B. Lindsey over the parameters of a Social Security plan, according to administration documents. Bush had spoken of personal accounts equal to 2 percent of workers' income subject to payroll taxes, but Lindsey maintained that accounts three times that large would garner investment returns large enough to virtually guarantee currently scheduled benefits. Hubbard ultimately convinced Bush that such a plan would require a potentially disastrous amount of government borrowing and could end up expanding the size of Social Security just when the nation could least afford it. The White House has been fighting conservative advocates of such large accounts ever since. "You may know that there is a small number of conservatives who prefer to push only for investment accounts and make no effort to adjust benefits," White House political aide Peter H. Wehner wrote conservatives in a January e-mail. "This could easily cause an economic chain reaction: the markets go south, interest rates go up, and the economy stalls out. "Not all Republicans are buying the argument. Two Ways and Means Committee Republicans, Reps. Paul Ryan (Wis.) and Sam Johnson (Tex.), have authored separate

large-accounts proposals. Ryan's would establish accounts as large as 10 percent of wages, **(MS12)** then guarantee that beneficiaries would **receive** at least the Social Security benefit level currently promised. "What we show with our bill is that with large personal accounts, you don't have to change benefits," Ryan said. In his written testimony yesterday, Hunter warned the committee that "American workers . . . will become confused and then suspicious and eventually rebellious when they hear politicians on the one hand confirm their own sense that Social Security is a bad deal but then turn around and lecture them on the need **(MS13)** to **cut** promised future benefits even more." Although Democrats were united in their condemnation of the president's Social Security approach yesterday, restructuring advocates appeared unsure of where they were going. In a rare public appearance since his White House departure, Lindsey proposed a new tack: financing personal accounts out of workers' voluntary contributions and a generous government match. Pozen suggested an additional 2.9-percent payroll tax surcharge, half dedicated to Social Security's solvency problem, the other half for private accounts similar to existing individual retirement accounts. Ways and Means Chairman Bill Thomas (R-Calif.) spoke of raising the retirement age as longevity rises, while making allowances for heavy laborers and poor widows. And for the first time, Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R-Fla.) suggested that Congress be satisfied with ensuring Social Security's solvency for 40 or 50 years, rebuffing Bush's demand for a permanent fix. Such divisions may be the natural consequence of Bush's decision to embrace cuts to promised benefits, a move that was both intellectually honest and politically perilous, said Peter R. Orszag, a prominent Democratic Social Security expert. On Wednesday, White House National Economic Council Director Allan B. Hubbard told the Associated Press **(MS14)** that Bush's benefit plan would **cut** promised survivor benefits for middle- and upper-income children and widows in the future, although he said those cuts may be made up in investment gains from private accounts. In large measure, Orszag said, Bush's economic honesty has played to the Democrats' favor.

ARTICLE 9

The Political Fallout Legislators Scramble to Reassure Constituents

By Mike Allen and Jonathan Weisman
Washington Post Staff Writers
Saturday, May 14, 2005; Page A01

Already locked in a tough campaign for reelection next year, Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) infuriated some in the community around Naval Air Station Willow Grove last month with comments about the base that were interpreted as critical.

Yesterday, Willow Grove popped up on the Pentagon's base-closure hit list, sending Santorum's opponents on the attack and the senator into a defensive crouch. Within three hours, he was standing before television cameras outside the base, vowing to fight to preserve it.

From California to Connecticut, politicians scrambled to contain the fallout from the Pentagon's blueprint for the first round of base closings in a decade. Critics sought to hold lawmakers accountable for campaign promises they had made to constituents, while lawmakers boarded planes to visit bases and offer reassurances that they planned to keep up the fight.

Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.), who knocked off Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle in November, had repeatedly assured voters that his sway with the administration would be at least as helpful to preserving Ellsworth Air Force Base as Daschle's seniority. Ellsworth, where 11,000 people live or work, is on a vast stretch of prairie near Rapid City and has 29 B-1B bombers, half the nation's fleet. The Pentagon wants to consolidate the planes at a base in Texas.

When Ellsworth showed up yesterday as one of the biggest bases on the list, Thune took a chartered plane from his home in Sioux Falls and flew to Rapid City to say that he would pursue legislation to slow the process, would seek a regional base-closing hearing in the state and would insist that uniformed troops be allowed to testify. At a news conference carried live on four South Dakota stations, the first question was about last year's campaign.

"Folks can replay the past," Thune said. "We're focused on the future."

But several Republican officials in Washington were privately shocked by the decision and said they thought the administration owed Thune something after he had run twice for the seat -- the first time at President Bush's personal request -- and then knocked off the Democratic leader. Administration officials said that because Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld and Bush appointees signed off on the list, an element of politics was unavoidable.

Steve Hildebrand, Daschle's campaign manager, said that Thune had "deceived voters during the election" and that Democrats would "lay this directly at his feet" over the next five years.

Thune went on CNN and Fox News to say that the Pentagon had made "a grave error in judgment."

The list, the first step in a process that will continue over many months as it is reviewed by a commission and then by Bush, was e-mailed by the Pentagon at 9:13 a.m. Within minutes, members of Congress were en route to bases and phoning for favors as they mounted high-stakes lobbying campaigns to try to preserve local jobs and perceptions about their clout.

Besides Thune, perhaps the biggest political embarrassment befell Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.), the former Senate majority leader, who had tried to block confirmation of the base-closing commission. Naval Station Pascagoula in Mississippi was marked for extinction.

The pain was spread geographically, with many of the military's assets scheduled to be moved from the Northeast and Midwest to the South. New England was walloped, with Sen. Olympia J. Snowe (R-Maine) calling the recommendations -- including closure of Naval Shipyard Portsmouth in her state -- "a strategic blunder of epic proportions."

Perhaps no Republican lawmaker faces more jeopardy than Rep. Rob Simmons (Conn.), whose heavily Democratic district includes a New London submarine base slated for closure. A perennial top Democratic target, Simmons based part of his reelection campaign last year on the contention that **(MS15)** his position on the House Armed Services Committee would have **helped (MS16) save** the submarine base.

Four days before the election, Armed Services Chairman Duncan Hunter (R-Calif.) had visited the submarine base with Simmons and said he would urge the Pentagon to keep it open. Like many lawmakers who had grim news to report yesterday, Simmons emphasized that this is the early stage for the Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) process.

"To take submarines out of Groton-New London is like taking cars out of Detroit," Simmons said by telephone. "We're shocked."

The stakes are also immediate for Santorum, the Senate's third-ranking Republican. Seven minutes after the e-mail was sent, he stepped in front of a lectern in Carlisle, Pa., home of the Army War College and was greeted with applause as he broke the news that the storied school had been spared.

Then it was off to Willow Grove, outside Philadelphia, after the Morning Call of Allentown had reported in April that he had said encroaching development had put the base "in the firing line."

"Santorum Enabled Base Closures in PA," the Pennsylvania Democratic Party charged in an e-mail after yesterday's announcement. Santorum said in an interview that he had been making positive comments about another base and had not meant to disparage Willow Grove, which he said he repeatedly called "an outstanding base."

Santorum, gearing up for a bruising reelection race against state Treasurer Robert P. Casey Jr., the likely challenger, paid hours-apart visits to three major installations in the state that had been threatened so that he could, as he said in the interview, "face the folks and let them know that I was going to be there to be helpful to them."

The House Republican Conference began advising members three weeks ago to write newspaper columns and take other steps to explain to constituents what could be coming and sent members a "BRAC Pack" with direct phone lines for key officials in each branch of the military. Rep. Jack Kingston (R-Ga.), vice chairman of the House Republican Conference, said yesterday that reacting vocally and visibly was the most important step members could take. "The first, basic message has to be 'We're going to fight the heck out of this,'" Kingston said.

Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.), who faces reelection next year, held a preemptive meeting in her office on Tuesday with the base-closure commission's chairman, Anthony H. Principi, who was secretary of veterans affairs for Bush's first term. She told Empire State reporters on a lunchtime conference call yesterday that she had invited him to come to New York and that he had "assured me he would visit New York."

ARTICLE 10

Frist to Begin Floor Debate on Judges Next Week Talks Continue On Possible Deal

By Shailagh Murray and Dana Milbank
Washington Post Staff Writers
Saturday, May 14, 2005; Page A04

Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) served notice yesterday that he will move next week to bring President Bush's judicial nominees to the full Senate for an up-or-down vote as lawmakers closed in on a last-minute compromise to end the conflict over judges.

An aide to Frist said Senate Republicans would bring the fight over judges to the Senate floor on Wednesday and have a showdown vote between Friday and May 25 on one of two women Bush has nominated to appellate courts, Priscilla R. Owen and Janice Rogers Brown. Republicans have said they plan to abolish the filibusters that Democrats have used to block confirmation of several judges, inviting retaliation from a minority party that has threatened to disrupt Senate proceedings for months. The proposed change in Senate rules has been called the "nuclear option" by members of both parties.

Despite the brinkmanship, Frist and Senate Democratic leader Harry M. Reid of Nevada are considering different ways to resolve the fate of all seven of the current nominees who had previously been blocked by filibuster. One potential agreement would guarantee that two of the nominees would be confirmed and the other five would be granted votes with no assurance of the outcome. The handling of the other five nominees remains the main sticking point between the GOP and Democratic leaders.

Democrats are insisting that in exchange for clearing the way for two of the judges to be confirmed, Frist would have to promise not to seek to change the filibuster rule on judicial nominees through 2006. Under the negotiations, Republicans could choose which two nominees would be cleared.

In a related negotiation, both leaders are monitoring an effort led by two moderate senators, Ben Nelson (D-Neb.) and John McCain (R-Ariz.), to amass five other Democrats and five other Republicans who would assure that the two nominees are approved. Nelson, McCain and the 10 other senators are participating in ongoing talks, people on both sides of the negotiations said.

Though nothing is fixed, negotiators believe they may have the seed of a real solution that allows Frist to bring all the nominees to floor, while leaving the filibuster rule intact -- a crucial demand of the Democrats, who want the option of using the filibuster on future Supreme Court nominees. Democrats are increasingly optimistic that they may be able to attract enough Republican support to kill the rule-change effort outright.

The two leaders have set a tentative deadline of the end of the day Monday to conclude their negotiations. Frist and Reid have a previously arranged dinner date Sunday at Frist's home.

People familiar with the talks cautioned that nothing is fixed. "It's not soup yet," said one senior Senate aide. But there is a growing belief on both sides that if a credible alternative with a guaranteed outcome is presented, it would change the dynamic of the debate, by exposing a substantial bloc of bipartisan support for a compromise. Although the most vociferous Democratic and Republican factions appear to be itching for a showdown, many rank-and-file senators are loath to tamper with Senate rules and are

weary of the judicial battle, a massive distraction that threatens to grind business to a halt for months to come.

The backroom negotiations were accompanied yesterday by sharp partisan exchanges in public. "It is time for 100 Senators to decide the issue of fair up-or-down votes for judicial nominees after over two years of unprecedented obstructionism," Frist said in a statement. Reid issued a statement accusing Frist of an "abuse of power" and predicted that "Democrats and responsible Republicans will vote to preserve the checks and balances that the founders of our country so wisely established."

If a compromise is not reached, Frist will try to impose the "nuclear option," reducing the threshold for confirmation to 50 votes from 60. The majority, in that vote, would seek to outlaw the minority's ability to filibuster Supreme Court and circuit court nominees, by establishing a precedent under which such nominees would receive an up-or-down vote after a debate of as many as 100 hours. Democrats have said they will retaliate by using parliamentary tactics to thwart Republican priorities.

Both sides claim that history and precedent support their position, but it is clear that the action proposed by Frist would bring the Senate into uncharted territory. The chamber operates on the basis of "unanimous consent," meaning that an objection from even a single senator can disrupt the Senate's activities. And Democrats have said that they would retaliate against the anti-filibuster rule change by revoking their consent for routine activities -- a move that analysts said could bring the chamber to a standstill.

Personnel appointments would be particularly vulnerable to delay tactics, and the first casualty could be Bush's pick to be United Nations ambassador, John R. Bolton. Frist plans to bring Bolton's nomination to the Senate floor after the rule change but before the Memorial Day recess.

The Frist aide, who briefed reporters on the condition that he not be identified, said the majority leader would keep the Senate in session "until the ambassador's nomination is resolved." The aide said the judge dispute and the Bolton fight "will all be resolved before Memorial Day."

The Republicans left their options open about which candidate -- Owen or Brown -- would come to a vote first. The precise mechanism for the confrontation is complex: first, a "test vote" to demonstrate there is majority support for the nominee but not the 60 needed to break a filibuster; second, a vote on a non-debatable motion to table the objections Democrats would raise to a ruling by the presiding officer -- Vice President Cheney -- that a simple majority vote is sufficient for confirmation; and, if the first two hurdles are cleared, a vote on the nominee herself.

Frist's aide said the rules change would not block filibusters of lower-court nominees because those have never been attempted. But the change would also cover prospective Supreme Court nominees.

Several Republicans criticized Reid yesterday for his comments Thursday regarding Henry Saad of Michigan, nominated by Bush to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit. In a Senate floor speech, Reid said Saad "would have been filibustered" if Frist had brought the nomination to the full Senate. "All you need to do is have a member go upstairs and look at his confidential report from the FBI, and I think we would all agree that there is a problem there," Reid said.

Sen. George Allen (R-Va.) told reporters yesterday that Reid "is hitting below the belt to make such an assertion and innuendo that there is something criminally wrong with an individual nominee. It is lacking in civility and fairness." Reid spokesman Jim Manley said: "The fact that there are questions about this nominee's suitability to be a federal judge has been discussed in public for over a year. Senator Reid simply referred

his colleagues to the source of those questions. That is Senator Reid's right and responsibility.

ARTICLE 11

L.A. Blacks Leaning Toward Latino Mayoral Hopeful

By Amy Argetsinger and Kimberly Edds

Washington Post Staff Writers

Sunday, May 15, 2005; Page A07

LOS ANGELES –If Antonio Villaraigosa wins a runoff election Tuesday to become the first Latino mayor here in modern times, he will likely owe much of his victory to a surprising constituency: black voters.

Surprising because of the long history of unease and mistrust between this fractious city's two largest minority groups -- and a sense, articulated by some African Americans, that political and economic gains by the fast-growing Hispanic community came at the expense of their own.

When Villaraigosa, a Democrat and former state Assembly speaker, made his first run for the job four years ago, **(MS17)** he **received** barely 20 percent of the black vote. Today, though, a wide array of the city's most prominent black leaders have thrown their support to Villaraigosa, and recent polls show African American voters favoring him over incumbent Mayor James K. Hahn, the white Democratic candidate who beat him in 2001.

Some observers are heralding this fledgling coalition as a watershed development in L.A. politics, with implications beyond Election Day.

"The comfort Antonio has going across black and brown lines is something he can transmit to the community," said the Rev. Clyde W. Oden Jr., senior pastor of Bryant Temple AME Church, a former Hahn supporter now encouraging his mostly black congregation to back Villaraigosa. "He can speak far more strongly about unifying issues."

Similar alliances between blacks and Latinos are being forged in Houston and New York, where a mayoral candidate of Puerto Rican descent, Democrat Fernando Ferrer, is campaigning hard in African American communities.

Still, others note that in Los Angeles, at least, the new coalition remains fragile. Although polls showed that Villaraigosa held a double-digit lead with black voters a month ago, Hahn has since closed much of the gap. Some say recent rumors of ethnic gang violence are setting off tensions between the two populations that could play out on Election Day.

"It's going to come down to a gut feeling on that day," said Kerman Maddox, a businessman and political consultant in South Central Los Angeles. "Are [blacks] comfortable having a Latino mayor in the city of Los Angeles, and do they think Latino gains will come at their expense?"

The nation's second-largest metropolis is sharply divided by geography and ethnicity, with no one dominant group. For decades, candidates have succeeded by cobbling together coalitions -- some of them seemingly unlikely. Five-term mayor Tom Bradley did it first by bringing together Jewish and black voters. Villaraigosa came out on top of crowded primary races this spring and in 2001, thanks to his appeal to both working-class Latinos and wealthy liberals.

But Hahn, a former city prosecutor, ultimately beat Villaraigosa in a runoff four years ago, owing to his strengths with conservative white suburbanites and blacks, many of them loyal to his father, a longtime county supervisor and civil rights icon. In addition, focus group discussions conducted with black voters at the time revealed a serious reluctance to support a Latino candidate, said Democratic consultant Darry Sragow.

"It had to do with a strong sense that every immigrant group that shows up in this country then blows right past African Americans in terms of opportunity and economic growth," Sragow said.

Despite winning an astounding 80 percent of the black vote, Hahn soon found himself at odds with some of his base after he urged an appointed commission not to renew the contract of the city's African American police chief, Bernard Parks. Hahn said **(MS18)** the chief had **failed** to prevent a major corruption scandal.

Parks retaliated by running for and winning a seat on the City Council, then running for mayor. He placed fourth in the March balloting despite winning a majority of black votes, according to exit polls.

Now, Parks is one of several prominent African American leaders who have endorsed Villaraigosa, among them former Hahn supporters such as Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.) and former basketball star and businessman Earvin "Magic" Johnson. Another, Los Angeles County Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, said Hahn's support in the black community was inherited from his father and never ran deep.

"I really just got to this point looking over what has happened over the last four years, and I was very disappointed," Burke said. "At some point, you have to consider other things than just knowing people for a long time."

She and other black supporters, though, insist that their votes are not just a rejection of Hahn but a matter of finding common ground with Villaraigosa.

"He's real," said Kevin Pickett, director of a center for AIDS patients in South Central Los Angeles, noting Villaraigosa's rise from an impoverished childhood. "If you've been down and out and struggled, you can identify with Antonio Villaraigosa and what he has to say."

Observers note that the past reluctance among African Americans to support a Latino candidate was a natural wariness about change that can be easily overcome. "Once an idea has been out there for four years, it seems a little less like a perilous jump," said Raphael Sonenshein, a political scientist at California State University at Fullerton.

But Hahn's campaign spokesman, Kam Kuwata, argued that black voters, along with voters across the city, will return to the tried and true: "In terms of trying to find ways to build more affordable housing, to make the city services more accessible, I think people of color understand this is a mayor who has done these things."

While a Los Angeles Times poll a month ago showed Villaraigosa leading Hahn 52 percent to 32 percent among black voters, the gap appeared to narrow last week, with 40 percent of black voters saying they favored Hahn vs. 43 percent for Villaraigosa.

"They might flirt with somebody else," Kuwata said, "but at the end of the day, you stay with what has worked."

In his efforts to broaden his appeal beyond traditional ethnic lines, moreover, Villaraigosa may not have done enough to energize his Latino base -- many of whom feel he has not adequately represented their needs in his current role as a City Council member, said Gabriel Gutierrez, director of the Center for the Study of the People of the Americas at California State University at Northridge.

At Tolliver's Barber Shop a political hot spot in South Los Angeles, Freddie Ford -- a black veteran of World War II -- mulled over the election. "I don't think the city is ready" for a Latino mayor, he said. "Everywhere you go, from the hot dog stands to the service stations, **(MS19)** Hispanics **have** the jobs."

Ford defended Hahn's decision to let go of Parks, whose popularity in the black community was by no means unanimous. "He wasn't fired," Ford said. "He just wasn't reinstated, that's all."

Shop owner Lawrence Tolliver shook his head. Though declining to say how he intends to vote, he argued that political change is inevitable in a rapidly changing city. "We're going to have a Hispanic mayor sooner or later," he said.

ARTICLE 12

(MS20) Oil-for-Food Benefited Russians, Report Says Iraq Sought to Influence U.N. Through Moscow

By Justin Blum and Colum Lynch
Washington Post Staff Writers
Monday, May 16, 2005; Page A01

(MS21) Top Kremlin operatives and a flamboyant Russian politician **reaped** millions of dollars in profits under the U.N. oil-for-food program (MS22) by **selling** oil that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein allowed them (MS23) to **buy** at a deep discount, a Senate investigation has concluded.

The allegations – (MS24) which also include descriptions of kickbacks **paid** to Hussein -- are detailed in hundreds of pages of reports and documents made public last night by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations in advance of a hearing tomorrow.

The documents outline a trail of oil and money that leads directly from Iraq to the Kremlin and the former chief of staff to Russian President Vladimir Putin and former president Boris Yeltsin. The report said Iraq sought to influence (MS25) and **reward** the Russian government because it sits on the powerful U.N. Security Council that oversaw sanctions against the Hussein government. Russia repeatedly sided with Iraq on issues before the Security Council.

Yevgeniy V. Khorishko, a spokesman for the Russian Embassy in Washington, said (MS26) it had **received** the Senate reports but could not yet discuss the findings. "We are looking into them," Khorishko said. "It's too early to give any comment."

A CIA report last year said (MS27) that Hussein **granted** top political leaders from around the world the opportunity (MS28) to **buy** Iraqi oil at a discount. But the Senate report presents more detailed evidence, alleging (MS29) that Russian officials **took** up the offer (MS30) and **profited** handsomely under the program.

In addition, (MS31) the reports allege that Russian politician Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, several Russian entities and a Houston-based oil trading company, Bayoil, "**paid** millions of dollars in illegal, under-the-table surcharges to the Hussein regime in connection with these oil transactions." U.S. officials say Hussein used illicit proceeds from oil sales (MS32) to **buy** weapons, among other things.

"This is the way Saddam used oil-for-food: to line his own pocket and curry political favor," said Sen. Norm Coleman (R-Minn.), chairman of the investigations subcommittee that released the reports.

Iraq's U.N. ambassador, Feisal Amin Istrabadi, said Russia was one of dozens of countries (MS33) that **took** advantage of Iraq's oil wealth. "There were certainly commercial and political interests involved, and Russia behaved like any other state in looking after itself," he said.

(MS34) The documents were **provided** to reporters Friday on the condition that articles about them not be published until today.

These are the latest allegations dealing with the scandal-plagued U.N. program established in December 1996 (MS35) to **provide** Iraq a partial exemption from international economic sanctions, allowing it (MS36) to **sell** oil (MS37) to **buy** food, medicine and humanitarian goods.

(MS38) The program **succeeded** in limiting Hussein's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction (MS39) and **improved** humanitarian conditions for ordinary Iraqis. (MS40) But it **provided** an economic lifeline for Hussein, (MS41) who **siphoned off** more than

\$2 billion in illicit profits **(MS42)** by **charging** kickbacks to companies that traded with Baghdad, U.S. investigators have said. The problems have caused some U.S. lawmakers, including Coleman, to call for the ouster of U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan.

While the latest disclosures do not directly implicate Annan, they are likely to contribute to the perception that he mismanaged the United Nations' largest humanitarian program.

Under the program, Iraq bypassed traditional oil traders, **(MS43)** **giving** influential businessmen, politicians, dignitaries and terrorist groups the right **(MS44)** to **buy** millions of barrels of oil, U.S. investigators have said. **(MS45)** These individuals would then **sell** their rights at a profit of 3 cents to 30 cents a barrel to oil traders **(MS46)** **supplying** major refineries in the United States, Europe and Asia. **(MS47)** Hussein eventually started **charging** a kickback of 10 cents to 50 cents a barrel, which was deposited in secret bank accounts.

The Senate documents quote an unidentified senior official in Hussein's government as saying **(MS48)** "the whole point" of **providing** the allocations to individuals was to allow them **(MS49)** to **profit** personally.

The Senate reports, based in part on interviews with former Iraqi officials and hundreds of pages of documents, said Russia topped the list of Security Council members whose support Hussein sought. More than 30 percent of Iraqi oil allocations ended up going to Russian officials, political parties and businessmen.

One of the new Senate reports said **(MS50)** Hussein **granted** oil allocations --the opportunity **(MS51)** to **buy** discounted oil -- to a group identified as the Russian Presidential Council, made up of advisers appointed by the Russian president to devise presidential policy, draft presidential decrees and coordinate policy among agencies.

Two people were listed **(MS52)** as **receiving** allocations on the council's behalf -- Alexander Voloshin, the highly influential chief of staff to Putin and Yeltsin, who also headed the council, and Voloshin's friend and confidant Sergey Issakov.

The report said the pair hired companies to handle the transactions and estimated **(MS53)** that they **made** profits of almost \$3 million total between 1999 and 2003.

Voloshin, known as one of the most powerful Kremlin officials, resigned in 2003 over a scandal involving Russian oil giant Yukos.

Voloshin managed Putin's first campaign **(MS54)** and **helped** to create the pro-Kremlin Unity Party. The report said **(MS55)** the party also **received** oil allocations, along with the country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party.

The Senate report said that Issakov was deputy chairman of Vnukovo Airlines and traveled regularly to Iraq to reestablish airline service between Moscow and Baghdad.

A second Senate report said **(MS56)** that Zhirinovskiy, a former presidential candidate who espouses an ultranationalist agenda, also **received** allocations **(MS57)** that he **cashied** for profits of as much as \$8.7 million between 1997 and 2002.

(MS58) Senate investigators **obtained** letters signed by Zhirinovskiy that discussed the oil allocations and documents from Iraq's oil ministry that linked him and his political party, the Liberal Democratic Party, to the allocations.

In 1997, Zhirinovskiy wrote to Iraq's ambassador to Russia describing how his party "stood firmly against the enforcement of the United Nations economic sanctions" and had used its influence to persuade the Russian Duma, or parliament, to facilitate more economic cooperation with Iraq. It went on to request contracts under the oil-for-food program.

A spokeswoman for Zhirinovsky said he did not have any immediate comment and would respond **(MS59)** after he **has** an opportunity to read the report. Voloshin did not respond to a request for comment, and Issakov could not be located for comment.

The Senate documents said Hussein personally approved the Russian oil allocations to curry favor **(MS60)** or **provide** "compensation for support."

At one point, Hussein ordered that Russians be rewarded for threatening in 2000 to veto a Security Council resolution to restrict illicit trade at Iraq's borders, the Senate reports said. The veto threat killed the resolution before it was formally considered, prompting more oil allocations for Russia as well as contracts for humanitarian goods, the documents said.

The oil transactions involved a complex web of financial arrangements and middlemen, **(MS61)** all of whom **received** a piece of the profits.

Bayoil played a key role in a number of transactions, the report said. The company had conducted an "aggressive campaign" **(MS62)** to **buy** Iraqi oil under the oil-for-food program, but its efforts were stymied by a Hussein policy forbidding direct contracting with U.S. or British companies. Iraq also required the company **(MS63)** that **purchased** the oil to be in the same country as the recipient of the allocation.

The report described cases in which Bayoil orchestrated transactions between Iraq and Zhirinovsky. The company arranged for a Russian entity to **(MS64)** **purchase** the oil and, **(MS65)** without ever **taking** possession, **(MS66)** **sell** it to Bayoil. A letter from Bayoil described **(MS67)** how the company **paid** an "agreed premium" to Zhirinovsky for his allocation.

The report also described Iraqi documents showing that surcharges, or kickbacks, **(MS68)** amounting to more than \$4 million were **paid** to Iraq in connection with Zhirinovsky's transactions. The documents say Bayoil "facilitated" surcharge payments of more than \$2 million to Hussein.

Catherine M. Recker, a lawyer for Bayoil and its founder, David B. Chalmers Jr., said she could not comment before seeing the report. "Bayoil and David Chalmers stand by their previous statement that they have done nothing illegal and will vigorously defend against these reckless accusations," Recker said in a statement.

In April, a federal grand jury in New York indicted Chalmers, his two companies -- Bayoil USA Inc. and Bayoil Supply & Trading Ltd. -- and two foreign associates on charges **(MS69)** that they **funneled** millions of dollars in kickbacks through a foreign front company to an Iraqi-controlled bank account.

Told of details of the Senate reports, Russia specialists said the findings reflect deep government corruption.

"It's another piece of evidence showing how the Russian leadership operates and how corruption is endemic within the Russian leadership -- even within the highest levels," said Celeste A. Wallander, director of the Russia program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

Correspondent Peter Finn in Moscow contributed to this report.

ARTICLE 13

Disparate Coalitions Now Make Up Two Parties, Study Finds

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer
Monday, May 16, 2005; Page A15

Four times in the past two decades, beginning in 1987, the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press has mapped the U.S. electorate. **(MS70)** These studies have **provided** a guide to the changing shape of American politics, the strength of the major political parties, the stability -- or fragility -- of their coalitions and how issues unite or divide the country.

The latest effort was released last week, a thick booklet of data, charts and analysis from a Pew team led by director Andrew Kohut that describes the post-Sept. 11, 2001, political landscape.

In describing the new shape of the electorate, the study shows how far the country has moved from the days when income and education were the most useful barometers in predicting a person's party identification. Both parties now are coalitions of the wealthy and not-so-wealthy, and of well-educated and less-educated voters.

Taken together, the findings show why neither party can take its coalition for granted in future campaigns.

Pew divided the electorate into nine groups. Three are Republican-leaning: Enterprisers, Social Conservatives and Pro-Government Conservatives -- the one GOP group with significant numbers of lower-income people. Three are Democratic-leaning: Liberals, Disadvantaged Democrats and Conservative Democrats. Two are neither clearly Republican nor clearly Democrat: Upbeats and Disaffecteds. Finally there are the Bystanders, so named because they play little active role in politics.

The study makes clear that Republicans are no longer the party just of the wealthy, nor are Democrats the party purely of the working class. As recent presidential elections made clear, **(MS71)** Democrats **have** their own economic elite as part of their core constituency, **(MS72)** and Republicans **have** their own cadre of down-scale supporters.

The Pew study found that, in terms of personal income, the Republican Enterprisers and the Democratic Liberals look almost identical. About four in 10 in each group said **(MS73)** they **have** household incomes of \$75,000 or more. The same held for one of the groups in the middle, the Upbeats. **(MS74)** Enterprisers are the most likely to **own** **(MS75)** or **trade** stocks (53 percent), followed by the Upbeats (42 percent), Liberals (38 percent) and Social Conservatives (35 percent).

Looked at from the other end of the income scale, **(MS76)** nearly half of Pro-Government Conservatives **have** incomes of \$30,000 or below, about the same as the Disadvantaged Democrats.

A similar pattern occurs when the groups are measured by years of educational achievement. Enterprisers and Liberals look very much alike: 49 percent of Liberals and 46 percent of Enterprisers are college graduates.

At the other end, 13 percent of Disadvantaged Democrats graduated from college, while in the Republican coalition, 15 percent of Pro-Government Conservatives graduated from college. In the cluster of groups that form the middle of the electorate, 11 percent of Disaffecteds finished college, while 37 percent of Upbeats are college graduates.

For all their similarities on income and education, Enterprisers on the right and Liberals on the left diverge on religious habits and cultural attitudes. For example, almost half of Enterprisers attend religious services at least weekly, while just a fifth of Liberals go to religious services that often. A fifth of Liberals are classified in the Pew study as secular -- defined as atheists, agnostics or those who say they have no religious affiliation -- compared with about one in 20 of the Enterprisers.

Four-fifths of Enterprisers have a favorable opinion of the National Rifle Association, while three-fourths of Liberals have an unfavorable view of the pro-gun rights group. Three in five Enterprisers say **(MS77)** they **own** a gun, while three-fourths of Liberals say they do not. Three-fourths of Enterprisers say they display the American flag at home, on their car or at work; just 41 percent of Liberals do the same.

The most striking differences between lower-income Republicans and lower-income Democrats come in their perceptions of the power of the individual. Both Pro-Government Conservatives and Disadvantaged Democrats include a substantial number of people who consider themselves to be struggling financially. Overwhelming majorities in both groups say they often cannot make ends meet.

But where they part company is in their overall sense of optimism, with the Republican group expressing much greater faith in personal empowerment. Three-fourths of the Pro-Government Conservatives agreed that people can get ahead by working hard, and four-fifths agreed that everyone has the power **(MS78)** to **succeed**. Just 14 percent of Disadvantaged Democrats agreed with the first statement, and only 44 percent agreed with the second.

Despite similarities in income and education, there are major differences between the Enterprisers and Liberals on issues. More than four in five Enterprisers say military force is the best way to defeat terrorism, while nine in 10 Liberals say that relying too much on force creates hatred and more terrorism. Nine in 10 Enterprisers oppose same-sex marriage, while eight in 10 Liberals favor such unions. Nine in 10 Liberals favor government health insurance for all Americans, while three-fourths of Enterprisers oppose it.

But with both Republicans and Democrats now disparate coalitions, there are significant intraparty differences on many issues as well.

A bare majority of Enterprisers favor **(MS79)** **cutting** taxes over **(MS80)** **reducing** the budget deficit, while the other two groups in the GOP coalition say budget-cutting should be a higher priority. Four in five Pro-Government Conservatives say the government should do more **(MS81)** to **help** the needy, **(MS82)** even if that **increases** the government debt, while two in three Enterprisers say **(MS83)** the government **cannot afford** to do more.

The Pew study -- based on two polls, one in December of 2,000 people and a follow-up in March with 1,090 people from the original sample -- explains why Republicans have emerged from the 2004 elections with an advantage over the Democrats. Although both parties enjoy strong support among their core voters, the Pew study concluded that Republicans have done a more effective job in attracting support among voters with less allegiance to either party as well as capitalizing on favorable personal opinions of President Bush and support for military action.

ARTICLE 14

Democrats, GOP End Talks on Filibusters Senate Showdown Over Nominees Nears

By Shailagh Murray and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers
Tuesday, May 17, 2005; Page A01

Senate Minority Leader Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.) announced yesterday that he and Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) had broken off negotiations aimed at averting a showdown over President Bush's judicial nominees, moving the Senate to the brink of a constitutional confrontation and a battle that holds peril for both political parties and the White House.

Reid, emerging from an afternoon meeting with Frist, declared that the two leaders had reached an impasse after weeks of talks. "Negotiations are over," he said. "It'll have to be decided on the Senate floor."

Frist did not speak with reporters but issued a statement. "Republicans believe in the regular order of fair up and down votes and letting the Senate decide yes or no on judicial confirmations free from procedural gimmicks like the filibuster," he said, "and I hope Senator Reid and others know our door is always open to reasonable proposals for fair up or down votes for judicial nominees."

There is still a chance that a confrontation can be avoided, if a bipartisan group of senators finds support for a compromise. The group, led by Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Ben Nelson (D-Neb.), had deferred to Frist and Reid. But now it plans to intensify discussions in hopes of attracting half a dozen colleagues from each party to agree to a deal that would block any change in the Senate rules while allowing for filibusters only in extraordinary circumstances. The White House has been encouraging key Republican senators to support a change in the rules.

The confrontation has been brewing for weeks and could begin tomorrow, when Frist puts forward two judicial nominees, Janice Rogers Brown of California and Priscilla Owen of Texas. Democrats have vowed to filibuster both to prevent their confirmation.

At some point this week or next, Frist is expected to seek a change in Senate rules that would bar the use of the filibuster for judicial nominations. That change has been dubbed the "nuclear option," because of its potential to disrupt the Senate and shatter what little comity remains between Republicans and Democrats .

It usually takes 60 votes to shut off debate in the Senate, but the change contemplated by the Republicans would allow a simple majority to stop a filibuster on judicial nominations. Republicans say Democrats have abused the filibuster to block judges who enjoy majority support; Democrats argue that changing the rules represents a drastic curtailment of the rights of the minority in the Senate.

Speaking with reporters yesterday afternoon, Reid said Frist wanted "all or nothing" in negotiations. He said the Senate GOP leader wanted guaranteed votes on all of Bush's pending judicial nominees without promising to shelve the nuclear option. Democrats are determined to preserve the filibuster in case they want to use it to thwart Supreme Court nominees.

As talks broke down, Democrats were cautiously optimistic that they might beat the rule change outright by attracting at least six Republicans to vote against it. Three Republicans have signaled they will vote against the rule change: McCain, Lincoln D. Chafee (R.I.) and Olympia J. Snowe (Maine).

Many Democrats think Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) will join Snowe in voting against a change in the rules, but she has not stated her position. Other Republicans the Democrats see as possible allies include Judiciary Committee Chairman Arlen Specter (Pa.), Armed Services Committee Chairman John W. Warner (Va.) and Chuck Hagel (Neb.).

Republicans express confidence that they will have the votes when they need them. But a senior White House official said over the weekend that vote counts have been inconsistent and that neither side will know the status of things until there is a vote.

The Democrats' challenge is to win over one or two rock-ribbed Republicans, as opposed to GOP moderates who more regularly cross party lines on big votes. One of the Democrats' best hopes appears to be Warner, the veteran conservative.

Warner remained officially undecided yesterday. "Senator Warner has not indicated which way he will vote on the nuclear or constitutional option," said his spokesman, John Ullyot. "He is a traditionalist, and recognizes the historical importance of the filibuster to the Senate, but also feels that it has been misused in recent years with respect to judicial nominations."

On Sunday, another senior Republican senator, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar (Ind.), said he opposes getting rid of the filibuster but stopped short of saying he would vote with the Democrats. Democrats said yesterday they doubt he will side with them, but they still think Specter might.

Twice yesterday, Reid openly appealed to Republican senators to join Democrats to defeat any effort to bar filibusters on judicial nominations -- once at an outdoor rally with labor leaders and a second time on the Senate floor. "I am confident and hopeful that there will be six Republican senators who will be profiles in courage," he said.

Nelson said he and others are prepared to find a compromise in the absence of a deal between Frist and Reid. The group, which also includes Sens. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) and Mark Pryor (D-Ark.), has been discussing a deal in which a handful of Republicans would agree not to vote to bar filibusters on judicial nominations and Democrats would agree to avoid filibusters except in the most extraordinary cases. In no case would Republicans change the rules during the current 109th Congress.

As part of the compromise, the group would propose that two of the four most controversial nominees be guaranteed up-or-down votes on the Senate floor, as well as votes on several nominees to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit. That would leave possible filibusters against the other two nominees.

But Nelson said there is no consensus on which two of the four should be put on a fast track to a vote. "That's been one of the most difficult parts of the negotiation -- trying to get agreement as to which should be on the fast track and those who should not be," he said.

Pryor said he and others are motivated to find a compromise "to demonstrate to the American people that we can work together." He added: "I think people all over the country are sick and tired of the bickering."

But he said he senses that Republicans are under great pressure not to compromise and said it will take more intensive talks to get an agreement. "At the moment, we're not there yet," he said.

ARTICLE 15

Two Fronts in the War on Poverty Bush Seeks More Aid for Church Groups; Others Face Uncertainty

By Michael A. Fletcher
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, May 17, 2005; Page A01

BALTIMORE –Jacquelyn D. Cornish keeps several postcards on her desk at the Druid Heights Community Development Corp., which has marshaled millions in government money in a decades-long effort to renovate houses and rebuild a proud community ravaged by drug addiction, crime and poverty. The cards are from agents looking **(MS84)** to **buy** homes, a small but promising sign that the organization's work is making a difference in this tough corner of west Baltimore.

Just a mile away at Sacred Zion Full Gospel Baptist Church, **(MS85)** federal money is **spent** on, as President Bush might say, changing hearts. Here, the drug-addicted and the HIV-infected come in for quiet counseling sessions in a corner of the fluorescent-lighted sanctuary, or to let counselors know they have established some shred of normalcy in their chaotic lives by reconnecting with family, **(MS86)** **finding** an apartment or joining a church.

Both Sacred Zion and the Druid Heights Corporation are engaged in the type of "social entrepreneurship" encouraged by Bush, who says both faith-based and secular groups play a vital role in the difficult task of bringing relief to the distressed and impoverished. But the president's budget proposals say something else when it comes to the nation's fight against poverty.

Bush has pushed for increased funding for religion-based groups while proposing deep cuts for many traditional anti-poverty programs. The result is that many small church- and community-based social service programs are slowly assuming the lead role in the war on poverty once held by long-established community development organizations. Administration officials say that faith-based groups are often less expensive and more effective **(MS87)** in **helping** the needy, a contention that traditional service providers challenge.

"By any account, the administration's initiative has made it easier for a broader range of faith-based programs to apply for federal funds, and we appreciate that," said Douglas Rice, director of housing and community development policy for Catholic Charities USA, **(MS88)** whose local affiliates have **benefited** from the shift. **(MS89)** "But if you don't substantially **increase** the resources that are available, this is going to increase the competition for available funds."

Bush's 2006 budget proposed slashing public housing subsidies, food stamps, energy assistance, community development, social services and community services block grants -- programs that for decades have constituted the federal anti-poverty fight. **(MS90)** While congressional budget makers have promised to **restore** some of the funding, they also have agreed to the president's tax cuts and overall spending targets, meaning there will be stiff competition for a shrinking pot of money.

At the same time, Bush's budget proposal for next year contemplates adding \$385 million in new religion-based programs to this year's eventual total. **(MS91)** The federal government **awarded** more than \$2 billion in such grants in 2004 – **(MS92)** nearly double the amount **awarded** in 2003. Funding under the president's faith- and community-based initiative has gone up despite Congress's refusal to enact legislation that would allow faith-based groups to discriminate by religion when hiring staff,

something Bush says should be allowed **(MS93)** as long as they **offer** their services to people of all faiths and do not use federal money to proselytize.

"That doesn't make any sense, to tell a faith-based provider that they cannot practice the religion that inspires them in the work of compassion," said Bush, a Methodist who credits his religious faith **(MS94)** for **helping** him stop drinking and handle the demands of his job. "There's all kinds of ways to quit drinking," he added in remarks to a March conference of faith-based social service providers, "but one of the most effective ways to quit drinking is for a person to make a choice to go to a place that changes your heart."

Here in Baltimore, a city notable for its unpretentious charm but also its deep social problems, the federal shift away from traditional community development programs has generated widespread uncertainty. While the anti-poverty groups are confronted with an uncertain future, church-based organizations **(MS95)** that often **provide** similar services but often have less experience are flourishing.

"It is almost as if we're being replaced," said Cornish, who started out with the Druid Heights organization as a volunteer when it was formed 31 years ago. She became director in 1989. "Potential cuts or talk of it wakes up everyone. It takes you off course. And it leaves you wondering, 'Why?' "

It certainly is not because Druid Heights does not need the help. In another era, the community was home to Baltimore's black elite. Thurgood Marshall, the first black Supreme Court justice, grew up nearby, as did Clarence M. Mitchell Jr., the legendary NAACP lobbyist, and his brother, Parren J. Mitchell, the first African American elected to Congress from Maryland. But the neighborhood has fallen on hard times. Along some of its narrow "alley streets," drug users line up **(MS96)** to **buy** their hits as if heroin and cocaine were legal. Some liquor stores open at 6 a.m., and the addicted queue up there, too.

At the beginning of the month, haphazard piles of furniture dot the curbs, evidence of an eviction rate that is 50 percent higher than the citywide average, even though the median housing price -- which included many shells and vacant lots -- was \$21,000 in 2004, according to a city-run database.

Amid the problems, there are flickering signs of hope, many of which are being fanned by the community development corporation. The organization runs a transition program for newly released inmates, financial literacy programs for first-time home buyers, an after-school homework program, a program to foster understanding between black residents and Korean merchants, and even a Boy Scout troop. It also rents some of its space to a day-care center.

But its stock in trade is using government money to leverage other financing to renovate buildings for low- and moderate-income housing. Recently, **(MS97)** the corporation **bought** an entire block of run-down alley homes, demolished them and built more than 50 townhouses with garages. **(MS98)** They **sold** for \$37,000 to \$57,000, although the construction cost more than double that. "It is a short-term loss, but a long-term investment," Cornish said.

For years, those kinds of projects were not enough to hold back the tide of decline. But with housing prices spiraling across the region and crime slowly headed down in Druid Heights, there are signs of interest in the community. Recently, **(MS99)** a two-family home in the neighborhood **sold** for \$212,000 -- a once unheard-of sum.

Just as things are looking up, the federal money that is the lifeblood of the development corporation's work is in jeopardy. This year, \$278,000 -- close to half of its already shrinking budget -- came from the imperiled community block grant program. Bush administration officials have said they targeted for cuts programs deemed ineffective.

With Republicans controlling Congress and the White House, **(MS100)** it also does not **help** that in many urban areas, community development corporations such as Druid Heights are identified with Democratic politics. Cornish is a former member of the Maryland Democratic State Central Committee. But she said her political affiliation is irrelevant to her work.

All she knows is that without federal money, the corporation would have **(MS101)** to **lay off** some of its 10 staff members and stop much of its work. "You tell me," she said, "what is their measuring stick for effectiveness?"

Not far from Druid Heights, in a woebegone commercial strip, Sacred Zion does what it can to defeat some of the demons set loose by the city's enormous drug problem. An estimated 40,000 Baltimoreans -- nearly one in 15 residents -- are drug addicts, and the Rev. Bertha Greene has seen the fallout firsthand. Her son, Phillip L. Solomon, who was gay and a heroin addict, found out he was HIV-positive in 1989. He died in 2000 at age 40, but not before he had become a minister and Greene started her church, carving out a niche working with those with HIV or at high risk of getting the disease.

"I got to know some of my son's friends, and I became a person they could call on," Greene said. **(MS102)** "They **helped** me realize that there are some great needs going unaddressed by the body of Christ." That insight led Greene to start Project ARISE -- Abstinence, Remembering, Instilling Pride, Self-worth and Education -- in 1999.

(MS103) The program has **received** a big boost with the expansion of federal religion-based funding. This year, its budget includes a \$249,000 federal grant, up from \$105,000 last year. Outreach workers scour the streets to tell drug users about the project's HIV testing program and its counseling services that connect addicts with transitional housing, needle exchange and other resources. The program also teaches clients about safe sex, which leaves Greene conflicted because it requires her to sanction behavior she preaches against from the pulpit.

"Being a faith-based organization, it was an awkward place for us to be. We believe in abstinence," she said, explaining that the program has to meet clients "where they are."

Still, religious faith comes into play at Project ARISE. Staff members do not hesitate to pray for clients who request it. "I will say to my clients if they are feeling despair, 'God loves you, God made you special,' " said Edna Reynolds, the program's director.

Reynolds said she is hard pressed to say just how effective the program is. "I don't often get to see their success," she said of the clients. "But I feel we have to be here for them. When they leave here, I have to feel that we planted a seed with them."

The clients, who are saddled with AIDS, drug addiction, and their accompanying guilt and shame, describe the program as a godsend. Wanda A. Floyd, 38, fell victim to heroin in her early twenties. Her smooth, dark skin and straight, white teeth are still striking, despite the years of drug abuse and a decade of living with HIV.

She first stumbled into Sacred Zion with her husband more than a year ago in search of food. Since then, her husband has been murdered, leaving her alone to cope with the sad reality of her life: four children, HIV, no job and no friends outside the drug world. Now, she is looking to Sacred Zion for a residential drug treatment program.

"I only come here when I really, really need the assistance," she said. "They've been there for me spiritually. They are always telling me God loves me."

ARTICLE 16

Debate of Controversial Judicial Nominee Begins Frist Rejects Latest Attempt to Avoid Showdown Over Filibuster Rule Change

By Jesse J. Holland
The Associated Press
Wednesday, May 18, 2005

Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist on Wednesday rejected last-second offers from Democrats to avoid a showdown over whether they can use parliamentary delaying tactics to sabotage lifetime judgeships for people they vehemently oppose.

Senate Democratic leader Harry Reid tried to get Frist to skip over the nomination of Texas Judge Priscilla Owen, one of the most hotly contested of the Bush administration's judgeship appointments, and instead confirm consensus nominees to two other courts.

Reid, D-Nev., also suggested that Frist call a senators-only meeting in the Capitol's Old Senate Chamber -- no aides, just all 100 senators -- where they could hash out the controversy on their own, just as they did to work out how senators would handle President Clinton's impeachment.

"Have all of us retire to the chamber, sit down and talk through this issue to see if there's a way we can resolve this short of this nuclear option," Reid said. His reference to "nuclear option" was to the terminology Democrats have given to Republican threats to curtail their ability to filibuster judicial nominees.

But Frist, R-Tenn., said he was ready to move forward.

"I'm trying to move to a qualified nominee, Priscilla Owen and we hear these attempts to delay even right now, to sidetrack, to even consider somebody else and that's the challenge," he said. "That's why we're on the floor of the United States Senate, with the light of day, with the American people watching."

With the Owen nomination now pending, time is running out on senators who want to find a compromise and avoid a vote in the Senate to block Democrats from filibustering the White House's judicial nominees. If majority of Republicans opt to change the rules to disallow filibusters of judicial nominees -- the move labeled a "nuclear option" -- parliamentary warfare between Democrats and Republicans could escalate and stall Bush's legislative agenda.

Senators expect to debate Owen's nomination all this week and take a test vote early next week. If that vote is not successful, then Frist plans to call a vote on banning judicial filibusters, aides said.

Frist insists that all judicial nominees deserve confirmation votes. "I've made it clear what the principle is, a fair up-or-down vote," he said.

After meeting with Owen and California judge Janice Rogers Brown, who were blocked by Democrats during Bush's first term, Republicans announced that Owen's nomination for an appeals court seat would be the vehicle for the attempt to prohibit Democrats from filibustering judicial nominations.

The two women, who are among Bush's most-wanted judicial nominees, met with the president at the White House on Tuesday and later with Senate GOP leaders at the Capitol.

Owen is praised as an ideal candidate by conservatives but criticized by liberals as being biased toward business interests and anti-abortion.

Reid refuses to give up Democrats' ability to block Supreme Court and lower court nominees they consider too extreme. Court watchers think a Supreme Court vacancy could happen sometime this year.

"The goal of the Republican leadership and their allies in the White House is to pave the way for a Supreme Court nominee who would only need 50 votes for confirmation rather than 60," the number of senators needed to maintain a filibuster, Reid said.

Democrats have prevented final votes on 10 of Bush's first-term appeals court nominees, and have threatened to do the same this year to seven the president renominated, including Owen and California judge Janice Rogers Brown. Frist has threatened to try to keep Democrats from blocking judges by use of the filibuster, a parliamentary device that can be overcome only by a majority of 60 votes or higher.

Just 51 votes are needed to approve a nominee once a vote is called in the 100-member Senate, and only 50 if the vice president, who breaks ties, votes in favor of a nominee. Frist could prevail with 50 votes supporting his move to rule filibusters out of order when used to block a confirmation vote because Vice President Dick Cheney has said he will break a tie in favor of ending judicial filibusters.

Neither side appears certain it has enough votes to prevail if the issue is put to a test.

ARTICLE 17

Antonio Villaraigosa Elected L.A. Mayor City Council Member Is First Hispanic to Win the Office Since 1872

By Amy Argetsinger, Kimberly Edds and Fred Barbash
Washington Post Staff Writers
Wednesday, May 18, 2005

Former California state Assembly speaker Antonio Villaraigosa has easily defeated incumbent James K. Hahn in the race for mayor of the nation's second-largest city. He will be the city's first Latino mayor since 1872 and the first challenger to oust an L.A. mayor in more than three decades.

According to unofficial returns available early today, Villaraigosa took about 59 percent of votes cast against 41 percent for Hahn, who beat Villaraigosa in 2001.

"I will never forget where I came from, and I will always believe in the people of Los Angeles," Villaraigosa said as he claimed victory early this morning. "It doesn't matter whether you go to work in a fancy car or on a bus, or whether you worship in a cathedral or a synagogue or a mosque. We are all Angelenos, and we all have a difference to make."

"Let's declare our purpose here and now," Villaraigosa said. "Our purpose is to bring this great city together. Our purpose is to draw fully and equally on the rich diversity of all our communities and neighborhoods."

He said Hahn had called and "graciously" conceded defeat.

Hahn, 54, a former city prosecutor and son of a longtime Los Angeles County supervisor, beat Villaraigosa in a 2001 runoff election. But he endured a difficult four-year term, losing some political capital in his struggle to keep the San Fernando Valley from seceding and his decision to fire Bernard C. Parks, the city's police chief, who is black.

In March, the mayor won barely enough votes to claim a runoff slot Tuesday against Villaraigosa, now a City Council member. Hahn is the first incumbent to be ousted from office since Sam Yorty lost to Tom Bradley in 1973.

Although Villaraigosa led Hahn by 11 percentage points in the latest surveys released by the Los Angeles Times last week, many observers said low turnout would make the outcome hard to predict. About 30 percent of eligible voters cast ballots, according to the Los Angeles Times.

Hahn, who is white, won 80 percent of the black vote in 2001. After he fired Parks, many of the city's top black political leaders shifted their allegiance to Villaraigosa, and in the latest polls the two were almost tied within that crucial voting bloc.

The city of Los Angeles, with 3.9 million people, is roughly 47 percent Hispanic, 11 percent African-American, 10 percent Asian and 29 percent "White non-Hispanic." In a city in which no ethnicity has a majority, race mattered to voters Tuesday.

Leticia Ortiz, 35, a high school government teacher from the Highland Park neighborhood, said she was excited by the prospect of a fellow Mexican American taking the city's top office. She praised Villaraigosa's energy and dynamism.

"I know he's not perfect. But he's dynamic," she said. "He's what the city needs. He's more charismatic. He's more of a coalition builder."

Henk Friezer, 60, a freelance photographer from the working-class neighborhood of Eagle Rock, said he was uninspired by either candidate but was leaning against Villaraigosa. "He's already turned it into a racial office," Friezer said.

A short time later, he said Hahn had called him and "conceded in a gracious manner."

ARTICLE 18

Gloves Off As Senators Start Debate On Judges Fiery Words on Filibusters, But Also Talks on a Deal

By Shailagh Murray and Charles Babington

Washington Post Staff Writers

Thursday, May 19, 2005; Page A01

The Senate opened a long-awaited debate on whether to ban filibusters of judicial nominees with vividly partisan attacks yesterday, as a small group of moderates worked behind the scenes for a compromise to avert the showdown.

Senators from both parties filled the chamber all day with impassioned speeches about their constitutional duty to give the president "advice and consent" on judicial nominees. Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) set the tone with an opening speech that said Democrats want to "kill, to defeat, to assassinate these nominees." Democrats denounced his remarks.

Even more intense action took place in small groups and closed meetings, as half a dozen GOP centrists, and an equal number of Democrats, tried to close a deal that would defuse the controversy. Aides familiar with the negotiations said they focused on two issues: the fate of seven pending appellate court nominees who were blocked from an up-or-down vote in Bush's first term and the more difficult issue of agreeing on how Democrats would treat the right to filibuster judicial nominees in coming months, when a Supreme Court vacancy might occur.

The "six and six" proposal, as it is called, would obligate Democratic signatories to forswear backing a filibuster against future judicial nominees except in extraordinary circumstances. In return, the six GOP signers would agree to vote against efforts to ban judicial filibusters, the aides said.

Such an arrangement would effectively end the crisis because Democrats would not have the votes they need to prevent votes on the nominees in question. At the same time, Frist would not have the 51 votes he needs to disallow filibusters of judicial nominations.

It was unclear how the proposed accord would handle the seven pending Bush nominees. Under one scenario, all would receive confirmation votes -- and presumably be seated on various appeals courts -- except Henry W. Saad of Michigan and William G. Myers III of Idaho. Sources said Saad had made too many Democratic enemies, in part by accidentally sending a senator an e-mail that criticized the lawmaker. Myers, aides said, is a lower priority to Republican conservatives determined to secure confirmations for Priscilla Richman Owen of Texas, Janice Rogers Brown of California and William H. Pryor Jr. of Alabama.

Senators participating in the negotiations included Democrats Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.), Ben Nelson (Neb.), Mark Pryor (Ark.), Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.), Mary Landrieu (La.) and Ken Salazar (Colo.). Republican negotiators included Olympia J. Snowe (Maine), John McCain (Ariz.), Mike DeWine (Ohio), John W. Warner (Va.), Lindsey O. Graham (S.C.) and Lisa Murkowski (Alaska). Warner hosted at least one meeting. "It's 200 years of tradition and precedent -- there are a lot of issues to consider," Snowe told reporters.

The White House is taking the position that it wants no compromise and is insisting on an up-or-down vote on each of its nominees.

Activist groups on the left and right have grown increasingly intent (**MS104**) on **helping** to shape the judiciary in recent years, as rulings on abortion, school prayer and

other topics have stirred controversy. Stakes are especially high this year, senators say, as many expect the first Supreme Court vacancy in more than a decade.

The filibuster rarely figured in judicial fights until Bush's first term, when Democrats used it to keep 10 appellate court nominees from having confirmation votes. Under a filibuster, a determined minority can keep a measure or a nomination from being approved if it can muster 41 votes against. The Republicans want to eliminate the filibuster for judicial nominees, making it possible to approve judges with 51 votes -- an approach known as the "nuclear option" because of the potential impact on Senate comity.

On the Senate floor yesterday, GOP leaders charged that Democrats have abused the filibuster by using it on several judicial nominations, which they said was not a part of Senate tradition. Democrats responded by saying the filibuster is a hallowed tool **(MS105)** that **protects** minority rights.

"I do not rise for party. I rise for principle," Frist said moments after calling up Owen's nomination to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit. When he spoke of killing nominees, however, Democratic Whip Richard J. Durbin (Ill.) hurried to the floor and admonished Frist to "choose words carefully." He cited the appearance yesterday morning before the Senate Judiciary Committee of U.S. District Judge Joan H. Lefkow, whose husband and mother were recently slain.

Some Republicans are trying to convince Democrats that, even if every pending judge were given an up-or-down vote, it is not a foregone conclusion all seven would be confirmed. "Some of them wouldn't make it," Graham said. If all Democrats and independent James Jeffords (Vt.) vote against a nominee, six Republicans would have to join them -- or 11 Republicans would have to be absent -- for the nomination to fail in the Senate, where Republicans hold 55 seats.

Other Republican senators simply want to vote on changing the rules on filibustering judicial nominations, because win or lose, the matter would be put to rest. "We need to clear it up," Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) said. Hatch, along with other conservative GOP senators, does not want to compromise if it means choosing which nominees would be approved and which would be rejected. "I think there will be an uproar on our side if we throw anybody overboard," Hatch said.

In a floor speech, Judiciary Chairman Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) traced the politicization of the confirmation process to 1987, when Democrats took over the Senate and the confirmation rate for Circuit Court nominees fell to 65 percent, from 89 percent earlier in the Reagan administration. President George H.W. Bush's lower-court nominees took an average of 100 days to confirm, twice the average duration in the Carter administration.

But when Republicans took control of the Senate during the Clinton presidency, "we exacerbated the pattern of delay and blocking nominations," Specter said, by pushing the average duration to 192 days for district court nominees and 262 days for circuit court nominees. Seventy of Clinton's nominees were blocked through holds or other procedural maneuvers. Then Democrats filibustered 10 of Bush's nominees, seven of whom have been renominated.

"Against this background of bitter and angry recriminations, with each party serially trumpeting the other party to get even or really to dominate, the Senate now faces dual threats" -- the filibuster and the nuclear option, Specter said. It is a confrontation of "mutually assured destruction," he added.

Staff writers Dan Balz and Spencer S. Hsu contributed to this report.

ARTICLE 19

House Bill to Ease Stem Cell Curbs Gains Momentum

By Ceci Connolly and Rick Weiss
Washington Post Staff Writers
Thursday, May 19, 2005; Page A02

Emboldened advocates of lifting current limits on embryonic stem cell research appear within reach of a breakthrough victory in the House as early as next week, a vote that would put fresh pressure on the Senate and White House **(MS106)** to **funnel** significant federal money into the emerging field.

House backers of legislation that would loosen restrictions imposed by President Bush in 2001 say **(MS107)** they **have** 201 co-sponsors and enough private commitments to put them at or over the 218 votes needed to pass -- a prospect that has so bitterly divided the GOP that two Republicans nearly came to blows on the House floor Monday night.

Rep. Michael N. Castle (R-Del.), a co-sponsor of the measure, said that if the vote on the bill were held today, it would pass. Nearly four years after Bush used his first nationally televised address to announce a decision limiting federal research to previously existing embryonic stem cell lines, some opponents speculate that the congressional showdown could lead to the first veto of his presidency.

But as lawmakers prepare to cast their first votes on the sensitive issue of broadening the research with taxpayer money, opponents have begun a vigorous eleventh-hour campaign to defeat the legislation. Cardinal William H. Keeler of Baltimore condemned the legislation on Tuesday as "destructive and morally offensive."

"Government has no business forcing taxpayers to become complicit in the direct destruction of human life at any stage," wrote Keeler, chairman of the Committee for Pro-Life Activities of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. "Nor is there any point in denying the scientific fact that human life is exactly what is at stake here."

Both sides are mobilizing for the high-profile vote, with proponents using ads that invoke the words of Nancy Reagan and opponents organizing a Capitol Hill appearance by babies who were "adopted" as embryos.

The Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2005 would permit federal money **(MS108)** to **fund** research on stem cells taken from days-old embryos stored in freezers at fertility clinics **(MS109)** and **donated** by couples who no longer need them. The cells show great promise in treating a variety of diseases and injuries because they are able to morph into all kinds of tissues, but they are controversial because the embryos must be destroyed to retrieve the cells.

The upcoming vote has created a rare split in the Republican Party. Rep. David Joseph Weldon (R-Fla.), a physician who opposes the bill, said **(MS110)** his moderate colleagues **paid** for polling in some GOP congressional districts to show that opposing the bill may not go over well with constituents.

"It doesn't get much uglier than that," he said. "My background is in science, and I know human life begins at the moment of conception."

The poll so infuriated Rep. Rick Renzi (R-Ariz.) that colleagues had to pull him away from "a heated discussion" with Rep. Mark S. Kirk (R-Ill.), who supports the bill, according to Hill staff members and a report in the newspaper Roll Call.

(MS111) Advocates are **winning** support from some antiabortion leaders with the argument that "cells in a Petri dish" that would otherwise be discarded are not comparable to a fetus that "would become a person in the normal course of events," said

John C. Danforth, an ordained minister and former Republican senator who served as Bush's ambassador to the United Nations.

"There is only one argument against stem cell research, and that is meeting the demands of the religious right," he said in an interview.

James C. Greenwood, a moderate Republican who retired from Congress last year to become president of the Biotechnology Industry Organization (BIO), said he is "cautiously optimistic" that, given the large number of co-sponsors, the House will pass the bill.

"There's always a fair assumption that some members don't want to have their names on the bill because they don't want to draw fire but will vote for it," he said, adding that BIO, which supports the bill "100 percent," has identified at least 218 votes for it.

If the vote is blocked -- or, as some proponents fear, the bill is modified with language they object to -- sponsors have a backup plan.

Rep. Diana DeGette (D-Colo.), who has teamed up with Castle to push the issue, said she is prepared to attach the stem cell language to appropriations bills or legislation reauthorizing the National Institutes of Health. "They know I've got the votes," she said.

In the Senate, where Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) is under pressure to schedule a floor vote on an identical bill, proponents have warned that they may have the 60 votes needed to kill a filibuster. "Whether he brings it to the floor or not, I think we're going to get it to the floor," said Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah).

With a House vote expected before the Memorial Day weekend recess, advocates on both sides have released dueling poll results and plan a series of publicity events. Today, four physician-lawmakers will highlight treatments they say are as good as or better than those involving embryonic stem cells. Next week, parents of children who were "adopted" as embryos will lobby against the Castle-DeGette bill.

Weldon predicted Bush would veto the legislation, but Hatch and others said that is not certain. Michael Manganiello, senior vice president of the Christopher Reeve Paralysis Foundation, said advocates are scrutinizing Bush's previous comments "to see if there is room for the president to allow a compromise to his initial policy."

Opponents, with the support of House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Tex.), are hoping to persuade undecided Republicans to vote instead for a bill sponsored by Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.) that would create a national umbilical cord blood bank. Cord blood cells display some of the same traits as embryonic stem cells but are more limited in the types of tissues they can become.

ARTICLE 20

First Lady Begins Mideast Trip

By Jim VandeHei
Washington Post Staff Writer
Friday, May 20, 2005; 1:09 PM

AMMAN, Jordan, May 20 -- First Lady Laura Bush said America's image abroad has been damaged badly by the prisoner abuse scandal in Iraq and the retracted Newsweek report of Koran desecration at Guantanamo Bay. She made the comments as she flew to the Middle East to tout democracy, human rights and free elections in the region.

"We've had terrible happenings that really, really hurt our image of the United States," Bush told reporters. "People in the United States are sick about it. They're very sorry that that's the image that people in the Arab world got of the United States."

During a five-day diplomatic mission that will take her from the Dead Sea and Israel's Western Wall to the pyramids of Egypt, the first lady said she will emphasize the role of women and education in creating free, functioning democracies around the world. She will also work to mend America's tattered image, Bush said.

The first lady visits the Middle East at a time of uncertain change in the Arab world that is underscoring the promise -- as well as the enormous challenges and unavoidable contradictions -- of trying to spread democracy in a region largely ruled by monarchs and dictators.

At the World Economic Forum Saturday near the Dead Sea in Jordan, she will deliver a speech about democratic progress and expanded rights for women in places such as Kuwait and in Afghanistan, where recent riots and killings have amplified the dangers and instability that persist.

She will make her first trip as first lady to Israel, where peace talks and a fragile truce with the Palestinians are threatened by decades of mistrust. The first lady will have tea with the wife of Israeli President Moshe Katsav, host a roundtable discussion with Palestinian women in Jericho and tour the Church of the Resurrection in Abu Gosh. "I really, truly believe that we are as close as we have ever been to peace," the first lady said.

Bush will conclude her visit with a two-day stop in Egypt, where President Hosni Mubarak is promising free elections but imposing tight restrictions on who can run for office. Critics charge the White House should do more to defend opposition groups and pressure Mubarak to open the elections and allow international monitors.

The first lady, who plans to spend a lot of time with Susan Mubarak, the wife of the president, said the White House is committed to strong monitors and open elections. "President Mubarak is very popular in Egypt, he's very well liked, and it's very important for him, as well as for the country, as well as an example for the rest of the countries in the broader Middle East, to show that Egypt can have free and fair elections." Egypt is second only to Israel in terms of total U.S. aid.

The Egyptian ruling party's most recent proposal for this year's election would prevent a number of opposition groups, including the largest, the Muslim Brotherhood, from competing. Under the rules, a candidate would need the signature of 250 current government officials, almost all of whom are members of Mubarak's party.

At the same time, there has been a crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood. At least 400 of the group's 2,500 members have been arrested in recent weeks. "In a democracy, everybody has to participate or it won't work," Laura Bush said.

The White House has used a carrot-and-stick approach this week, with President Bush inviting the Egyptian prime minister to the White House on Thursday and later that night suggesting trade with Egypt might be linked to election reforms. Still, the first lady's visit to Cairo and Alexandria, where the former librarian will visit one of the world's most famous libraries, are sure to be seen as a symbolic blessing of the Mubarak government.

More broadly, Laura Bush's mission is **(MS112)** to **help** repair the U.S. image in Arab nations, which experts say remains damaged not only by the prison scandal and recent flap over a retracted Newsweek article, but also hostilities over the Iraq war and perceptions of an imperialist and religiously motivated United States trying to impose its views on the world.

Laura Bush said Arab people don't understand how tolerant Americans are, in part, because of the retracted Newsweek report that U.S. soldiers flushed copies of the Koran in the toilet at Guantanamo Bay, where suspected terrorists are detained. "You can't blame it all on Newsweek," she said, "but at the same time it was irresponsible." Newsweek first apologized for the inaccurate report then retracted it under heavy pressure from the Bush administration.

President Bush has promised a more rigorous public relations defense by the U.S. government, but his key appointee in this area -- Karen Hughes, a longtime friend and communications adviser, who will handle Middle East outreach at the State Department -- hasn't started work yet. The Council on Foreign Relations this week said current efforts are floundering.

Laura Bush counseled patience in grading the progress of democratic reforms in the Arab world, echoing the historical reminders President Bush uses to tell people of how long it took for true democracy to take hold in the United States. "We started off with a perfect document. It took us almost 100 years after that to [abolish] slavery."

ARTICLE 21

President Vows Veto On Stem Cell Research Bipartisan Measure Seeks to Ease Curbs

By Peter Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer
Saturday, May 21, 2005; Page A06

President Bush vowed yesterday to veto legislation intended to ease the restrictions he imposed on stem cell research in 2001, setting up a potentially divisive battle with Congress over the morality of modern science.

A bipartisan team in the House has collected 201 sponsors and believes it has enough other supporters to reach the 218 votes necessary to pass the measure as early as next week and send it to the Senate. But Bush, who has yet to veto a bill in more than four years in office, dashed their hopes that he would allow it to become law without a fight. "I made my position very clear on embryonic stem cells," Bush told reporters in the Oval Office during a meeting with the visiting prime minister of Denmark. "I'm a strong supporter of adult stem cell research, of course. But I made it very clear to the Congress that the use of federal money, taxpayers' money, **(MS113)** to **promote** science which destroys life in order to save life is -- I'm against that. And therefore, if the bill does that, I will veto it."

The president also expressed alarm at reports that scientists in South Korea have created nearly a dozen cloned human embryos genetically identical to medical patients in hopes of replacing defective tissue. "I'm very concerned about cloning," Bush said. "I worry about a world in which cloning becomes acceptable."

Bush first informed several members of Congress during a private White House meeting on Wednesday that he would reject the stem cell legislation, according to an official knowledgeable about the session. By making his position publicly known yesterday, the president could influence Republicans who are unenthusiastic about angering antiabortion groups over a vote that might not change federal policy.

If so, that could avert the need for Bush to issue his first veto on such a volatile issue, given that the sponsors of the measure doubt they have enough votes to override him.

Several leading Democrats criticized Bush's statement. "President Bush has made the wrong choice, putting politics ahead of safe, responsible science," Senate Minority Leader Harry M. Reid (Nev.) said in a statement. Added Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.): "The president's threat to veto legislation on bipartisan stem cell research demonstrates how out of touch he is with the priorities of the American people."

Opponents of stem cell research rushed out their own statements praising Bush for taking a resolute stand on a matter of principle regardless of the politics of the issue. "We are happy to see the president defending a culture of life at all stages and refusing to allow further taxpayer money **(MS114)** to **fund** the unethical science of embryonic stem cells," said Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council.

The stem cell issue has shadowed Bush for much of his presidency. Scientists believe such cells offer hope of discovering treatments for a range of diseases and injuries, while many religious figures condemn the destruction of human life in the form of days-old embryos for research.

After taking several weeks in 2001 to educate himself on the issue and to wrestle with the moral implications, Bush went on national television to announce **(MS115)** that he was **limiting** federally funded research to existing embryonic stem cell lines. The White

House maintains that there is already enough material to work with, while scientists complain that many promising cell lines remain off limits.

The House legislation, sponsored by Reps. Michael N. Castle (R-Del.) and Diana DeGette (D-Colo.), would still prohibit federal funding for the creation of embryos solely for research purposes. But it would allow research using embryos stored at fertility clinics **(MS116)** and **donated** by couples who no longer need them.

While rejecting that, the White House signaled support for alternative legislation by Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.) to create a national umbilical-cord blood bank. **(MS117)** Blood cells from umbilical cords **offer** some prospects for research, but not as much as embryonic stem cells, according to scientists.

"We need to look at the specifics of the kind of bill that's being discussed on cord blood," said Trent Duffy, White House deputy press secretary, "but we think that that has some real promise."

ARTICLE 22

Stage Set for Senate Showdown Tuesday

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer
Saturday, May 21, 2005; Page A04

Republicans moved yesterday to shut off debate on the nomination of Priscilla R. Owen to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit, forcing a showdown over the use of filibusters against judicial nominees that will occur Tuesday unless a bipartisan group of senators can agree on a compromise plan.

Sen. John Cornyn (R-Tex.), acting in behalf of Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.), filed the cloture motion at 2:20 p.m. after more than two dozen hours of debate on Owen. Debate will continue Monday, with the cloture vote scheduled for sometime Tuesday.

Frist's office said in a statement that, if Republicans fail to muster the 60 votes needed to end debate, as is likely, the majority leader will invoke what has become known as the "nuclear option": a point of order designed to change Senate precedent to allow a simple majority of the Senate to halt debate on judicial nominees.

The outcome has significant implications for President Bush's effort to reshape the federal judiciary, and in particular anticipated confirmation battles over the Supreme Court. The debate also could have a profound effect on how the Senate conducts business and on relations between the parties that could spill over onto Bush's agenda.

The carefully scripted procedure disguised the suspense that has enveloped the bitter fight over Bush's judicial nominees. Despite multiple head counts by Democrats and Republicans and various expressions of confidence, neither Frist nor Senate Minority Leader Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.) is certain who has the votes to prevail if the nuclear option is invoked, according to sources in both parties. Reid told a group of columnists he thought Democrats would have enough votes to win, but he added: "I don't know how it will come out. It's very uncertain."

Nor is it clear whether the "gang of 12" senators involved in intensive negotiations can strike a deal in time to avert the clash on the floor. The negotiators broke Thursday night, and many scattered for the weekend still short of agreement. Informal discussions continued yesterday and may take place today and tomorrow, but it will be Monday before the group can reconvene.

They remained at an impasse over the circumstances under which Democrats in the group might use the filibuster in future fights over judicial nominations and whether Republicans in the group will forswear support for the nuclear option for the rest of the 109th Congress.

The longer the senators have talked, the lengthier their proposed agreement has become. What started out as a six-paragraph proposal had mushroomed into a three-page draft memo on Thursday. Negotiators are expected to resume deliberations late Monday, with more discussions likely after a procedural vote set for 5:30 p.m.

Two senior members, Sens. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) and John W. Warner (R-Va.), proposed language related to the Constitution's "advice and consent" clause. They recommended greater consultation between the White House and the Senate and even talked about creating a list of acceptable judges for presidential consideration.

Other negotiators have expressed skepticism about the idea, fearing it intrudes on executive branch prerogatives, according to several people privy to the discussions. In

any case, the "advice and consent" issue is not seen as central to the dispute that has held up agreement.

Warner issued a statement yesterday clarifying his and Byrd's objective. "In no way," he said, "is it our intent to affect the balance of respective powers between the Executive and Legislative (Senate) branches."

Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.), one of the Democrats seeking a compromise, offered an insight during a speech on the floor into why the talks have been so difficult. Lieberman said invoking the nuclear option would be a mistake and said he hoped a compromise could be found.

But he argued passionately to preserve the right to filibuster a judicial nominee he believes is not qualified and said it is essential that judicial nominees should be able to muster votes from more than one party. "That's what's on the line here," he said. "The institutional requirement of 60 votes is one of the last best hopes of bipartisanship and moderation."

Frist was away yesterday, delivering a commencement speech at the Medical University of South Carolina. Reid, in the session with columnists, criticized Bush for triggering the potentially disruptive clash. "We have a president who wants it all," he said. "He's not willing to make any compromises. He wants to be able to put anyone on the Supreme Court that he wants to put on."

White House spokesman Trent Duffy responded to Reid by saying: "The president genuinely respects the advice and consent of the Senate. . . . It's not that he doesn't want to compromise. He wants up-or-down votes. It's as simple as that. . . . If they get an up-or-down vote and they vote them down, he'll live with that."

As the Senate moved closer to a showdown, outside groups continued to pressure senators with television commercials, e-mail and telephone calls to their offices. Reid met with representatives of some of the groups opposed to Bush's nominees and to ending judicial filibusters to review planned activities for the weekend.

Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), in a floor speech, decried the groups' activities. "One group is shouting to the Democrats, 'Filibuster forever,' " he said. "The other side is shouting to the Republicans, 'Pull the trigger.' . . . What I think needs to be done is the issue ought to be returned to the Senate." But Specter also said he opposes the idea of a small group of negotiators determining which nominees are to be confirmed and which are not.

Staff writers Charles Babington, David S. Broder and Shailagh Murray contributed to this report.

ARTICLE 23

Prewar Findings Worried Analysts

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, May 22, 2005; Page A26

On Jan. 24, 2003, four days before President Bush delivered his State of the Union address presenting the case for war against Iraq, the National Security Council staff put out a call for new intelligence to bolster claims that Saddam Hussein possessed nuclear, chemical and biological weapons or programs.

The person receiving the request, Robert Walpole, then the national intelligence officer for strategic and nuclear programs, would later tell investigators that "the NSC believed the nuclear case was weak," according to a 500-page report released last year by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

It has been clear since the September report of the Iraq Survey Group -- a CIA-sponsored weapons search in Iraq -- that the United States would not find the weapons of mass destruction cited by Bush as the rationale for going to war against Iraq. But as the Walpole episode suggests, it appears that even before the war many senior intelligence officials in the government had doubts about the case being trumpeted in public by the president and his senior advisers.

The question of prewar intelligence has been thrust back into the public eye with the disclosure of a secret British memo showing that, eight months before the March 2003 start of the war, a senior British intelligence official reported to Prime Minister Tony Blair that U.S. intelligence was being shaped to support a policy of invading Iraq.

Moreover, a close reading of the recent 600-page report by the president's commission on intelligence, and the previous report by the Senate panel, shows that as war approached, many U.S. intelligence analysts were internally questioning almost every major piece of prewar intelligence about Hussein's alleged weapons programs.

These included claims that Iraq was trying **(MS118)** to **obtain** uranium in Africa for its nuclear program, **(MS119)** had mobile labs for producing biological weapons, ran an active chemical weapons program and possessed unmanned aircraft that could deliver weapons of mass destruction. All these claims were made by Bush or then-Secretary of State Colin L. Powell in public addresses even though, the reports made clear, they had yet to be verified by U.S. intelligence agencies.

For instance, Bush said in his Jan. 28, 2003, State of the Union address that Hussein was working **(MS120)** to **obtain** "significant quantities" of uranium from Africa, a conclusion the president attributed to British intelligence and made a key part of his assertion **(MS121)** that Iraq **had** an active nuclear weapons program.

More than a year later, the White House retracted the statement after its veracity was questioned. But the Senate report makes it clear that even in January 2003, just before the president's speech, analysts at the CIA's Weapons Intelligence, Nonproliferation and Arms Control Center were still investigating the reliability of the uranium information.

Similarly, the president's intelligence commission, chaired by former appellate judge Laurence H. Silberman and former senator Charles S. Robb (D-Va.), disclosed that senior intelligence officials had serious questions about "Curveball," the code name for an Iraqi informant who provided the key information on Hussein's alleged mobile biological facilities.

The CIA clandestine service's European division chief had met in 2002 with a German intelligence officer whose service was handling Curveball. The German said his service

"was not sure whether Curveball was actually telling the truth," according to the commission report. When it appeared that Curveball's material would be in Bush's State of the Union speech, the CIA Berlin station chief was asked to get the Germans to allow him to question Curveball directly.

On the day before the president's speech, the Berlin station chief warned about using Curveball's information on the mobile biological units in Bush's speech. The station chief warned that the German intelligence service considered Curveball "problematical" and said its officers had been unable to confirm his assertions. The station chief recommended that CIA headquarters give "serious consideration" before using that unverified information, according to the commission report.

The next day, Bush told the world: "We know **(MS122)** that Iraq, in the late 1990s, **had** several mobile weapons labs . . . designed to produce germ warfare agents and can be moved from place to a place to evade inspectors." He attributed that information to "three Iraqi defectors."

A week later, Powell said in an address to the United Nations that the information on mobile labs came from four defectors, and he described one as "an eyewitness . . . who supervised one of these facilities" and was at the site when an accident killed 12 technicians.

Within a year, doubts emerged about the truthfulness of all four, and the "eyewitness" turned out to be Curveball, the informant the CIA station chief had red-flagged as unreliable. Curveball was subsequently determined to be a fabricator who had been fired from the Iraqi facility years before the alleged accident, according to the commission and Senate reports.

As Bush speeches were being drafted in the prewar period, serious questions were also being raised within the intelligence community about purported threats from biologically armed unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs).

In an Oct. 7, 2002, speech, Bush mentioned a potential threat to the U.S. mainland being explored by Iraq through unmanned aircraft "that could be used to disperse chemical or biological weapons." The basis for that analysis was a single report that an Iraqi general in late 2000 or early 2001 indicated interest **(MS123)** in **buying** autopilots and gyroscopes for Hussein's UAV program. The manufacturer automatically included topographic mapping software of the United States in the package.

When the list was submitted in early 2002, the manufacturer's distributor determined that the U.S. mapping software would not be included in the autopilot package, and told the procurement agent in March 2002. By then, however, U.S. intelligence, which closely followed Iraqi procurement of such material, had already concluded as early as the summer of 2001 that this was the "first indication that the UAVs might be used to target the U.S."

When a foreign intelligence service questioned the procurement agent, he originally said he had never intended **(MS124)** to **purchase** the U.S. mapping software, but he refused to submit to a thorough examination, according to the president's commission. "By fall 2002, the CIA was still uncertain whether the procurement agent was lying," the commission said. Nonetheless, a National Intelligence Estimate in October 2002 said the attempted procurement "strongly suggested" Iraq was interested in targeting UAVs on the United States. Senior members of Congress were told in September 2002 that this was the "smoking gun" in a special briefing by Vice President Cheney and then-CIA Director George J. Tenet.

By January 2003, however, it became publicly known that the director of Air Force intelligence dissented from the view that UAVs were to be used for biological or chemical delivery, saying instead they were for reconnaissance. In addition, according

to the president's commission, the CIA "increasingly believed that the attempted purchase of the mapping software . . . may have been inadvertent."

In an intelligence estimate on threats to the U.S. homeland published in January 2003, Air Force, Defense Intelligence Agency and Army analysts agreed that the proposed purchase was "not necessarily indicative of an intent to target the U.S. homeland."

By late January 2003, the number of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf area was approaching 150,000, and the invasion of Iraq was all but guaranteed. Neither Bush nor Powell reflected in their speeches the many doubts that had surfaced at that time about Iraq's weapons programs.

Instead, Bush said, "With nuclear arms or a full arsenal of chemical and biological weapons, Saddam Hussein could resume his ambitions of conquest in the Middle East and create deadly havoc in that region." He added: "Secretly, and without fingerprints, **(MS125)** he could **provide** one of his hidden weapons to terrorists, **(MS126)** or **help** them develop their own."

ARTICLE 24

Automatic Signup In 401(k)s Backed Provision Eyed for Social Security Bill

By Jonathan Weisman
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, May 22, 2005; Page A05

House Ways and Means Chairman Bill Thomas (R-Calif.) will include a provision in his Social Security legislation (**MS127**) to **help** employers make enrollment in 401(k) plans automatic unless workers choose to opt out, according to congressional staff and knowledgeable lobbyists.

The provision could have substantial impact on the nation's savings rate, which has declined from 7.2 percent in 1992 to barely 1 percent today. Recent academic research has shown that employee participation rates soar among companies with automatic enrollment in retirement plans.

Christin Baker, a spokesman for the Ways and Means Committee, said she could not confirm whether any particular provision has been included in the broad package of retirement savings proposals Thomas is assembling. But lobbyists who have met with Thomas say he has given his word on the matter.

"You can take it to the bank," said one Republican lobbyist with close committee ties, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to protect his relationship with the chairman.

The decision comes as negotiations proceed on a retirement savings bill that will propose a long-term fix for Social Security. Thomas hopes to include enough items with broad appeal to win majority support for a Social Security plan that at least approximates President Bush's proposal to convert some of the program's defined benefits to private savings and investment.

According to two lobbyists familiar with the discussions, Thomas has suggested to life insurance interests that he would back incentives for employers to convert 401(k) balances to private annuities (**MS128**) that would **pay** out slowly over a worker's retirement. In exchange, the life insurance industry would not work against a dramatic expansion of Individual Retirement Accounts, 401(k)s and tax incentives designed to expand personal retirement savings. Such government-supported savings vehicles tend to eat into the insurance companies' private annuities business.

Such a deal would be controversial, one GOP lobbyist said, because converting 401(k) balances to privately managed annuities would eat into workers' savings balances.

But automatic enrollment in 401(k) plans would be popular. Employers like the idea because increasing enrollment in 401(k) plans means reducing the cost of administering them. Economists of all political stripes like it because it appears to work.

About 10 percent of companies with 401(k) plans already enroll new hires automatically, unless the employees opt out. A 2001 study by the University of Pennsylvania's Brigitte C. Madrian and United Health Group's Dennis F. Shea found that in one large corporation, 401(k) participation among new hires jumped to 85.9 percent from 37.4 percent when enrollment became automatic. For minorities and low-income workers, the change was even more dramatic.

Mandating automatic enrollment would easily create \$20 billion in new retirement savings a year, said Peter R. Orszag, director of the Retirement Security Project, run by Georgetown University and the Brookings Institution. If Congress pushed employers to slowly increase contribution rates over time, savings would increase well in excess of \$50 billion a year.

To expand automatic enrollment, Congress needs to preempt some state labor laws, which many companies interpret as preventing the practice, Orszag said. Lawmakers also need to shield companies from legal liability **(MS129)** to **protect** them from workers potentially suing over investment losses.

Thomas hinted at his position at a Social Security hearing Thursday when he asked a bipartisan panel if any of them opposed "the idea of an automatic enrollment with an opt-out in whatever the program is."

After the panel responded, Thomas quipped, "The chair would indicate all of the members moved almost simultaneously with a motion to the left and right of the head, which denotes they would not be upset by that."

ARTICLE 25

U.S. Border Security at a Crossroads Technology Problems Limit Effectiveness of US-VISIT Program to Screen Foreigners

By Robert O'Harrow Jr. and Scott Higham
Washington Post Staff Writers
Monday, May 23, 2005; Page A01

The race to tighten the nation's borders began just after the terror attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. Authorities learned that hijackers had lived illegally in the country, renting apartments, taking flying lessons and moving around freely.

Congress demanded changes in border controls and tight deadlines for building a computer network that would screen foreign visitors as they seek to enter or leave the country by scanning their fingerprints and matching them against databases of suspected terrorists.

Pressing to meet that goal, **(MS130)** the Homeland Security Department last year **awarded** one of the most ambitious technology contracts in the war on terror -- a 10-year deal estimated at up to \$10 billion -- to the global consulting firm Accenture. In return, the company and its subcontractors promised to create a "virtual border" that would electronically screen millions of foreign travelers.

Documents and interviews with people familiar with the program, called US-VISIT, show that government officials are betting on speculative technology while neglecting basic procedures to ensure **(MS131)** that taxpayers **get** full value from government contractors.

"There's no question we could end up **(MS132)** **spending** billions of dollars and end up with nothing," said Steven A. Camarota, the director of research at the Center for Immigration Studies, a nonprofit group that has been monitoring efforts to improve border controls. "It creates an illusion of security that doesn't exist."

(MS133) Although the government has already **spent** or budgeted about \$1 billion for the US-VISIT program, the new system is being built on top of aging computer databases and software that government scientists concluded two years ago are out of date, poorly coordinated and ineffective. Among them is a fingerprint system that does not use the government's state-of-the-art biometric standard. As a consequence, millions of dollars are budgeted this year for upgrades, according to budget documents.

The technology problems diminish the current effectiveness of US-VISIT, according to audits and government documents. Today, only a small fraction of foreign visitors -- fewer than 1 percent -- is fully screened by the existing system.

US-VISIT director James L. Williams defended the program's strategy, saying officials plan to phase in new technology over the next decade while taking steps in the next several years to maintain security with current technology. He said people should understand that US-VISIT is in its infancy.

"We're not even close to having a full biometric entry-exit system," he said. "It's an archaic system of technology."

Williams said he is relying heavily on Accenture because the government cannot undertake the complex technological assignment without the expertise of private industry. He said he is proud that the losing bidders have not challenged the award to Accenture and its subcontractors, known as the Smart Border Alliance.

"Accenture was clearly the best value," Williams said.

Accenture was in a strong position even before the bidding began, according to documents and interviews. Its contracting team played a role in shaping the competition. "Limit the number of bidders, and streamline the procurement approach," Accenture officials recommended to Williams in August 2003, three months before the government began requesting bids, according to documents and interviews.

The US-VISIT contract with Accenture and its subcontractors exemplifies a fundamental shift in the arcane world of government contracting, said Steven L. Schooner, a procurement specialist at George Washington University. Increasingly, government is entering into "partnerships" with private companies.

Such partnerships can blur the lines between the government and corporations, Schooner and other contract specialists said.

In this case, the contractor and the government are working together without a clear idea of how the final virtual-border system will work or when it will be completed over the next decade. Such an arrangement is known as an "indefinite delivery-indefinite quantity contract." The government can cancel the project at any point. **(MS134)** The contractor is **paid** for specific tasks along the way, even if the overall system ultimately does not work.

For all those reasons, no one is certain of the final cost.

"Who knows what it will end up being, because the system hasn't been defined yet," said Accenture spokeswoman Roxanne Taylor, adding that the government has the final say. "Isn't that the system of checks and balances?"

Tightening the Borders

The US-VISIT program office, officially known as the United States Visitor and Immigrant Status Indicator Technology, started in July 2003. The network it is trying to build **(MS135)** is being **sold** to the public by homeland security officials as the ultimate solution to the nation's chronic border problems.

The US-VISIT system must eventually cover nearly 7,000 miles of borders along Mexico and Canada, including more than 300 land, air and sea ports where travelers make more than 450 million crossings a year.

(MS136) Copies of an Accenture presentation to US-VISIT officials **obtained** by The Washington Post describe a futuristic surveillance and intelligence network. The system they envision could rely on databases, digital cameras, face- and voice-recognition systems and electronic-fingerprint readers, all linked by computer. Homeland security officials promised that US-VISIT would communicate quickly and easily with other computer systems.

Eventually all foreign visitors will be required to electronically register their fingerprints and photographs at U.S. embassies and consulates, along with other personal details. That information will then be matched against terrorist, criminal and intelligence files to determine whether the travelers pose threats.

Prospective visitors who flunk the screening process will be denied visas. Those who pass will be allowed into the country and then checked when they leave to make sure they did not overstay their visit. US-VISIT must accomplish its mission without impeding commerce or tourism, according its mission statement.

Tightening the Borders

For now, US-VISIT is relying on several aging and ineffective computer systems that were designed in the 1990s by contractors for the former Immigration and

Naturalization Service, which was merged in 2003 into the new Homeland Security Department.

Not long after the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks, the Senate Judiciary Committee asked the Justice Department's inspector general, Glenn A. Fine, to assess the state of INS's technology programs. Fine told Congress he questioned close to \$3 billion worth of projects, saying that his review "revealed significant problems that leave gaps in the INS's attempts to secure the nation's borders." At about the same time, the Government Accountability Office, the investigative branch of Congress, came to a similar conclusion about the INS technology.

Today, some of the same officials who were in charge of that flawed technology are in key positions at the US-VISIT program.

One of the programs targeted for criticism was a computer network known as IDENT, which requires travelers to submit prints of both index fingers at U.S. consulates and embassies overseas. IDENT then collects two index fingerprints from those visitors at the U.S. border and matches them against a database to determine whether they are allowed into the country.

Fine's auditors concluded that the system was flawed because it did not effectively link to such fingerprint databases as FBI files or government terrorist watch lists that rely on state-of-the-art, 10-fingerprint systems.

Scientists at the National Institute of Standards and Technology, under congressional mandate to develop biometric standards for screening foreign visitors, recommended the government use 10 fingerprints. **(MS137)** Using all 10 prints **provides** better matching capabilities and interoperability with other databases, the scientists said in their 2003 report.

US-VISIT officials did not heed the scientists' advice. Officials later told Congress they relied on the old fingerprint technology as a stopgap while they overhauled the entire border-security system. They promised to upgrade the two-fingerprint IDENT system.

Last fall, U.S. Customs and Border Protection Commissioner Robert C. Bonner said authorities had made improvements to the IDENT system so it could communicate more effectively with the FBI's database.

(MS138) IDENT **has** fingerprints on 15,000 suspected terrorists and their alleged associates and about 1 million known criminals or deportees overall; the FBI keeps fingerprint records on 47 million people.

"Before, we had a flashlight, and we were only able to see into small areas with IDENT," Bonner said at a press conference on Oct. 7, 2004. By integrating with the FBI system, Bonner said, "we've turned on the overhead, and we can see it all."

But the government's own studies show IDENT is not fully integrated with the FBI system. One study by the Justice Department's inspector general's office, released three months after Bonner's remarks, concluded that progress toward making IDENT fully interoperable with other systems, including the FBI's, has "stalled."

The technology's limits and the government's desire to avoid long delays curbs the number of people who can be thoroughly screened. This year, homeland security officials expect to check about 800 people out of the roughly 118,000 visitors a day who should be screened against the FBI database, the Justice Department's inspector general said.

"The lack of immediate access to the FBI's full criminal master file creates a risk that a terrorist could enter the country undetected," the inspector general found.

Last fall, Stanford University researcher Lawrence M. Wein testified before Congress that US-VISIT, using IDENT, **(MS139 had** no more than a 53 percent chance of catching a terrorist who had altered his or her fingerprints, even if that person was on a

terrorist watch list. Wein said authorities should not assume the current two-fingerprint system is sufficient to stop terrorists. "It would be naive to think that these people are not trying to defeat the system," he said.

Rep. Norman D. Dicks (D-Wash.), who has repeatedly questioned IDENT's effectiveness, said homeland security officials should have listened to their experts rather than trying to upgrade the old fingerprint technology. Dicks said homeland security officials opted to use the flawed technology already in place to demonstrate they were making progress.

"They wanted to show they were getting something done," Dicks said. "The problem is they made a mistake."

US-VISIT also incorporates another technology with interoperability problems: border-crossing cards that have been issued for years to Mexicans who want to visit and work in the United States. The cards are designed to encode the visitors' personal data electronically, but they do not work well with the IDENT system because the two technologies were not designed to interact, US-VISIT officials said.

The cards are manufactured at a six-year-old government plant run by a company called Datatrac Information Services Inc. in the congressional district of Rep. Harold Rogers (R-Ky.), the chairman of the House Appropriations homeland security subcommittee.

In the late 1990s, Rogers had urged government officials to build the card-manufacturing facility in his district, one of the poorest in the nation, according to a congressional aide who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Then, in June 2003, Rogers added language to an appropriations bill emphasizing that new card technology should not be adopted in a TSA pilot program as long as the existing technology is "good enough."

The next month, **(MS1409)** Datatrac **received** a 10-year contract extension worth up to \$200 million, according to a company press release.

"The cards produced at facilities like the one in Corbin, Ky., are on the cutting edge of technology," Rogers was quoted as saying in the release. "I am pleased the Department has chosen to continue the use of these proven products."

A congressional aide said Rogers did not weigh in on Datatrac's behalf over the contract extension but considered it a "victory" **(MS141)** because of the jobs it **protected** in the district Rogers represents.

The decision to stick with the cards comes with costs. This year, US-VISIT officials requested another \$51 million for new technology, including equipment needed to study whether the cards can eventually work well with IDENT, Williams said.

Datatrac's border-crossing cards are often not used as intended, the homeland security department's inspector general reported this year. Border agents are supposed to run the cards through machines that can verify the visitors' identity. Instead, the agents often only eyeball the cards. The machines usually are installed away from the crossing points and used only with visitors who are pulled aside for additional screening.

Datatrac declined to discuss details of its contract.

Rogers declined to be interviewed for this article. He said in a prepared statement: "While the long-term future of the cards is unknown, **(MS142)** they currently **provide** a vital security service along our borders."

'Industry Day'

Datatrac was one of dozens of companies seeking homeland security work on the borders. In 2003, it was part of the Accenture team seeking the contract to create the US-VISIT system.

Homeland security officials running that competition declared their intentions to rely heavily on the private sector. Speaking at a US-VISIT "Industry Day" in July 2003, they called on scores of corporate representatives gathered in suburban Virginia to form teams to address the government's ambitious goals.

US-VISIT officials told the companies they would welcome "direct and candid" comments in the coming months before the formal requests for bids were scheduled to be issued, according to documents that US-VISIT distributed at the session. Those comments could include recommendations for constructing the bid request itself, the document said. The winner would be a government "partner," and together the government and contractor would have shared accountability.

Within weeks, three bidding teams emerged: Computer Sciences Corp., Lockheed Martin Corp. and Accenture. **(MS143)** Each **had** more than a dozen potential subcontractors. The US-VISIT team maintained contact with all three teams over the next few months. But it was Accenture that captured the attention of US-VISIT program director Williams, according to documents and interviews with people involved in the process.

Accenture had once been associated with the now-defunct Arthur Andersen LLP accounting firm. The company, then operating as Andersen Consulting, blossomed during the high-tech boom of the late 1990s, in part by offering governments and businesses solutions to their technology problems.

In 2001, the company renamed itself Accenture. **(MS144)** It **employed** 75,000 people in 47 countries **(MS145)** and **had** revenue of more than \$11 billion. Based in Hamilton, Bermuda, the company called itself a "global management consulting, technology services and outsourcing company."

Before long, it was also fashioning itself into a homeland security specialist. In its first three years under its new name, Accenture rose to 24th from 59th in the rankings of the government's prime information technology contractors, its contracts surging to \$427 million from \$81 million, according to Eagle Eye Publishers Inc., a private company **(MS146)** that **sells** data on federal contracts.

In August 2003, at the same time Accenture executives were offering advice to Williams, they were lobbying Rogers, the chairman of the House Appropriations homeland security subcommittee, documents and interviews show. That committee has a strong say over funding for US-VISIT and other homeland security programs.

Accenture, with help from its subcontractor, Datatrac, secured a meeting with Rogers's chief of staff, according to officials at Rogers's office and Accenture. The Accenture officials downplayed the importance and timing of the meeting, saying in an e-mail "that all the bidders were actively lobbying members of Congress on US-VISIT, so our actions were not unique."

Accenture also raised its profile **(MS147)** by **hiring** former government officials **(MS148)** who **had** personal or professional ties to US-VISIT managers. One of the people Accenture hired as a lobbyist and consultant was Steve Kelman. As chief of procurement policy for the Clinton administration, **(MS149)** he **helped** create rules that eased the outsourcing of government work to private companies. Kelman had worked closely on that project with Williams, who was then at the Internal Revenue Service.

In his role as a consultant, **(MS150)** Kelman **helped** Accenture draft a document urging Williams's US-VISIT team **(MS151)** to **give** contractors great latitude in designing the system **(MS152)** and to **limit** the number of bid competitors to "2 or 3" as a way to speed the process of choosing a victor. Kelman said his advice focused on linking the winning bidder's pay to its performance.

Williams, who was one of several officials responsible **(MS153)** for **awarding** the contract, recently said he was unaware of Kelman's role. Kelman said in an interview: "I would have thought [Williams] would have known" about Kelman's involvement.

The lines between the government and Accenture continued to blur. On Nov. 28, 2003, the US-VISIT program requested bids from the three teams. Two months later – **(MS154)** and four months before the contract was **awarded** -- Accenture's team moved into the 13th-floor of a Rosslyn office building, just below the floors occupied by US-VISIT officials.

"The space came available, and someone on the team saw it and realized this would be convenient space **(MS155)** if we eventually **won** the project," said Taylor, the Accenture spokeswoman.

In February 2004, Accenture's team put on a demonstration for Williams in the suburban Virginia parking lot of another Accenture subcontractor. Accenture set up a make-believe checkpoint to simulate a border-crossing post. Williams was told to drive through to test Accenture's technical savvy. He accelerated to 40 miles per hour and passed through electronic sensors.

As Williams drove past the sensors, playing the role of foreign visitor, the system scanned a chip embedded in a mock passport. Moments later, an electronic sign proclaimed that "James Williams" was the man behind the wheel of the car. The show was a rousing success, Williams said.

But Accenture said that the demonstration had little to do with what will eventually be built.

Peter Soh, another Accenture spokesman, said in an e-mail that the "simulation Accenture staged was for demonstration purposes only. It was not a recommended solution or a technology offering, and in no way did it represent what the final US-VISIT solution will look like."

(MS156) Accenture's team **won** the contract in May 2004. Company officials said the division working on US-VISIT is Accenture LLP, based in Northern Virginia.

Williams said Accenture officials are playing an important role in shaping the vision for US-VISIT **(MS157)** by **helping** him and his team understand **(MS158)** how to **buy** and organize such a complex system. He said such a role is increasingly common in federal contracting. Of the three bidders, he said, Accenture was consistently the most helpful and convincing.

"Accenture listened well to the approach the government wanted to take and said: 'You're taking the right approach,' " Williams said.

Oversight From Afar

In each of the past three years, numerous questions have been raised about US-VISIT's management, oversight and costs.

In 2003, GAO auditors reported that the costs could rise far above the official \$7.2 billion estimate -- likely "in the tens of billions." The report concluded that US-VISIT was a financially "very risky endeavor" because there were not enough government officials to properly manage the program.

In 2004, another GAO analysis said the government's US-VISIT team had not moved quickly enough on its earlier findings, chiding the government **(MS159)** for **failing** to correct "fundamental limitations in the program office's ability to manage US-VISIT." That was in part because the US-VISIT office had only about half the 115 employees that officials said were needed to run the project.

In February, another audit reported that the current US-VISIT system has trouble tracking "the entry and exit of persons entering the United States at air, land, and sea ports of entry." He added: "Secretly, and without fingerprints, he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists, **(MS160)** or **help** them develop their own."

Last week, homeland security officials said the fledgling system has blocked the admission of nearly 600 people and led to the arrest of 39.

"US-VISIT works," Williams said. "The results have shown that it works. We are working hard to meet the congressional and presidential mandates to complete the system."

The US-VISIT program now has 100 government employees. The program has turned to contractors for administrative and clerical support -- 94 people from Mitre Corp. and PEC Solutions Inc.

Today, an official responsible for oversight of the US-VISIT contract works out of an office in her home in Bradenton, Fla.

Dana Schmitt is the director of the Office of Acquisition and Program Management for US-VISIT -- which is responsible for "support, oversight, and control" of Accenture and its subcontractors. Schmitt, a former immigration service official **(MS161)** who **earns** \$114,344 a year, said she visits the US-VISIT offices in Rosslyn once every six weeks or so.

She and her supervisors said she can capably handle the job from about 950 miles away. But she said that her program management office has only nine of the 40 government employees she deemed necessary.

US-VISIT officials were interested in Schmitt because of her experience working with large technology projects at the immigration service. She agreed to work on US-VISIT, she said in an interview, as long as she could stay in Florida.

She said she has become good at working with contractors and her colleagues from afar, using conference calls and e-mails. She said she has no trouble monitoring the contract and overseeing the work of her colleagues.

"I can actually tell by tone of voice if people are getting agitated," she said. "It's basically an oversight function. . . . Being in Florida doesn't hamper it."

D. Kent Goodger, a veteran contracting officer for several federal agencies who now teaches procurement rules to government officials, said oversight managers need regular, face-to-face interaction to do their jobs.

"I don't see how she can have such a very important, visible role without having daily contact," he said.

Williams, the US-VISIT program director and Schmitt's boss, described her as immensely talented and an important asset to the project. He said he initially had doubts about allowing her to work from Florida.

"I absolutely had those worries," Williams said. "To me, it became kind of an experiment. So far, it is an experiment that's working very well."

ARTICLE 26

Breakthrough Pact Unlikely To End Battle

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, May 24, 2005; Page A01

In a dramatic break with the ideological warfare that has defined the politics of Washington for much of the past decade, the center held firm in the Senate last night, as a bipartisan group of senators unexpectedly signed a compromise that yanked the institution back from a historic clash over judicial nominations.

The negotiators had spent a week laboring to find the language to define their agreement. But with the Senate just hours away from pulling the trigger on the "nuclear option," the seven Republicans and seven Democrats managed to defy predictions. They found both the language to make a deal possible and the courage to risk the wrath of partisans on both sides who were pushing for an all-or-nothing outcome.

"Everybody in the room wanted to get it done," Sen. Mike DeWine (R-Ohio) said in a telephone interview last night. "Everybody felt it was in the country's best interest to get this agreement made. We were very close all the way through, but we just couldn't quite get it done. It was having the looming deadline of [today] that got it done."

The deal brings mixed results for President Bush. It means that at least three of the nominees who have been blocked for years will make it to the appellate courts, while at least two will not. Beyond that, without a total ban on judicial filibusters, as the nuclear option would have guaranteed, the president will not have such a free hand in selecting a Supreme Court nominee. He also will be under pressure from the moderates to work more cooperatively with the Senate on judicial nominations or face rebellion from at least some of them.

For that reason, the fragile compromise, stitched together in the office of Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) just as the Senate began an all-night session, will not necessarily end the battle over the future shape of the judiciary. At best, the group produced a cease-fire in the judicial wars that will deal with nominees who long have been in the confirmation pipeline.

After that, no one can say with certainty whether the deal will stick, particularly if there is a Supreme Court nomination in the near future, as many anticipate. The 14 senators who joined hands last night said theirs is an agreement based on faith and goodwill, but there is no certainty or even commitment that they will continue to operate as a group once past the current nominees in question.

"I think they did what the Senate very often does," said Ross K. Baker, a professor of political science at Rutgers University and a longtime student of the Senate. "They kicked the can down the road. They basically postponed a crisis and set up the predicate for another one in the future on the Supreme Court nomination."

Still, it was an extraordinary moment for the moderates in Congress, who have talked gamely about working across party lines but have often fallen short in delivering on their promises. For that they have been ridiculed, held up as examples of weakness and vacillation. But for the time being, they have demonstrated that there is an alternative to the partisan polarization that has been so much in favor in both parties.

"We came together and we did the unexpected," Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.) told reporters when the agreement was announced. "In a Senate that is increasingly polarized, the bipartisan center held." Saying that all of them had swallowed things in

the agreement they felt were less than perfect, he added, "We did it for a larger purpose: to save the right of unlimited debate, to take the Senate back from the precipice."

Sen. Olympia J. Snowe (R-Maine) said the agreement was in the Senate's best traditions. "We believed as well that the American people didn't deserve the option of just blanket filibusters or historic parliamentary maneuvers that overturned 200 years of tradition and precedent," she said.

The 14 members of the group said they were motivated by their desire **(MS162)** to **protect** the institution of the Senate from what they believed would be a terribly disruptive act. But that motivation alone could not bridge partisan differences and grievances that both sides brought to the negotiating table.

Republicans wanted assurances that Democrats would not make filibusters the routine on judicial nominations. Democrats wanted the nuclear option taken off the table. Both sides wanted to see more consultation with the White House before submitting judicial nominees, a demand promoted most strongly by the two most senior members of the group, Sens. John W. Warner (R-Va.) and Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.).

But there is wiggle room on both sides that leaves open the question of what will happen in the future. Democrats who signed the agreement have the right, as individuals, to filibuster future judicial nominees "under extraordinary circumstances."

Republicans reserve the right, individually, to support the nuclear option if they believe Democrats are abusing the agreement. Democrats said the final language on that point is closer to what they had wanted. But at the news conference, DeWine explicitly said that if the agreement breaks down, Republicans in the group feel free to support the use of the nuclear option.

Senate Democrats not in the group quickly embraced the deal. Minority Leader Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.) hailed it for taking the nuclear option "off the table." Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) was more cautious, noting that he still believes that all judicial nominees deserve up-or-down votes and that the agreement "falls short" of that principle and "will require careful monitoring."

Among the outside groups, those on the left sounded far happier with the agreement than those on the right, who had pushed Frist to guarantee up-or-down votes on all of Bush's nominees. But if the deal heads off a filibuster on a Supreme Court nominee with a record as conservative as those of the three appellate court judges given a green light last night, organizations on the left may be disappointed later.

Given the stakes ahead, the negotiators know that partisanship will continue to threaten the agreement and that its success will depend both on the kind of judges Bush sends up and on whether the goodwill and good faith exhibited during the long negotiations prevail when the going gets tough again.

Byrd invoked Benjamin Franklin last night and said **(MS163)** the group of 14 had **helped** preserve the republic. "We have lifted ourselves above politics," he said. "And we have signed this document in the interest of the United States Senate, in the interest of freedom of speech, freedom of debate and freedom to dissent in the United States Senate."

For a night at least, politics did seem to take a back seat to comity and cooperation. Whether the center can continue to hold is far less clear.

ARTICLE 27

Senate Panel Set to Debate Patriot Act

By Dan Eggen
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, May 24, 2005; Page A15

The long political battle over the USA Patriot Act will enter a new phase this week as the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence debates whether to approve a bill that not only would renew the anti-terrorism law, but also would give the FBI significant new powers in conducting counterterrorism and counterintelligence investigations.

Legislation proposed by committee Chairman Pat Roberts (R-Kan.) would allow the FBI to subpoena records in intelligence probes without the approval of a judge or grand jury and would make it easier for the bureau (**MS164**) to **get** copies of mail, according to committee aides and a draft copy of the bill.

Civil liberties groups vowed yesterday to fight the proposals, arguing that they pose significant threats to individual privacy rights and that the government's anti-terrorism powers need to be pared.

James Dempsey, executive director of the Center for Democracy and Technology, said in a conference call with reporters that the bill would give the FBI new powers that have been "long sought, and rejected" by Congress because of civil liberties concerns.

Representatives from both sides of the debate are slated to testify before the committee today, although aides said the ongoing Senate battle over judicial filibusters could force a postponement. The intelligence committee has also scheduled a closed-door markup session on Roberts's proposal Thursday -- prompting further objections from critics who say the process should be held in public.

Although Roberts's bill is the first one likely to advance in Congress, its fate is far from certain. Both the House and Senate judiciary committees are debating their own Patriot Act changes.

The Patriot Act, passed after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, has been the subject of numerous hearings in recent months as lawmakers debate whether to renew 16 provisions that are set to expire by year's end.