YOU CAN'T LEAD BY FOLLOWING

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, in going over some old newspapers that I missed while I was in Illinois over the Christmas/New Year holiday, I came across an op-ed piece by Robin Gerber, a senior fellow at the University of Maryland's Center for Political Leadership and Participation.

It comments on what I consider to be a fundamental weakness in our political process today, that people are trying to follow the polls in how they respond to problems.

There is a great quote in the op-ed piece from our House colleague, STENY HOYER, for whom my admiration has grown through the years. Congressman HOYER states: ''What polls do is confuse us. We're not trying to figure out what's right but what is the passion of the day. Polls make us sloppy intellectually. They are a substitute for thinking.''

I ask that the Robin Gerber item be printed in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

YOU CAN'T LEAD BY FOLLOWING

(By Robin Gerber)

There is much talk now of governing from the ''center,'' of how centrist politics can overcome the debacle of the Nov. 8 election and put the president and his party on a true course for reelection in 1996. But it is the moral center that must be found before the political one can be explored.

This quest for defining political vision is imperiled by the misplaced reliance by politicians of both parties on public opinion polls.

Pollsters' authoritative declamations and directions, gleaned from the complex science of gauging the public interest, corrupt the straightforward instincts needed to govern from the gut. Rep. Steny Hoyer, past chairman of the Democratic Caucus, puts it this way, ''What polls do is confuse us. We're not trying to figure out what's right but what is the passion of the day. Polls make us sloppy intellectually. They're a substitute for thinking.''

In an unprecedented effort to lead by following, politicians of the 1990s use polls to support a new form of hyper-interactive governing. Like some collective psychoanalysis on living room couches across the nation, Americans are being probed and prodded as never before. But you can't legislate by the numbers. From the field of war to the football field, no general or quarterback has led by following the combined opinions of the troops or the tight-ends.

Pollsters argue that polls are valuable market assessment tools, a means to focus policy and message on voters' concerns. Even the Founders acknowledged that candidates who depend on the suffrage of their fellow citizens for election should be informed of those citizens' ''dispositions and inclinations and should be willing to allow them their proper degree of influence.'' But polling in 1994 has gone beyond an ancillary tool for governing or campaigning. Rather than a point of departure for sensitive and thoughtful leaders, polls have become a point of no return that overshadows the imperative for leadership. As James MacGregor Burns wrote in his classic text on leadership, ''the transforming leader taps the needs and raises the aspirations and helps shape the values—and hence mobilizes the potential—of followers.'' To be transforming leaders, today's politicians cannot afford to drift, absent the anchor of ideals, in a sea of percentage points.

Two hundred years ago, the Federalist papers expressed our belief as a nation that ''the public voice pronounced by the representatives of the people, will be more consonant to the public good, than if pronounced by the people themselves.'' Measuring and articulating substantive discontent should serve the purpose of keeping elected representatives' debate and decisions in tune with their constituency, not in automatonic lock-step. Pollster Celinda Lake reads the electorate as wanting to raise the pitch of technologically steered democracy so that citizens could directly bestow their opinion on major legislative issues. In that case, perhaps we should give up on our founding ideal of a republic and elect the pollsters directly.

Representative democracy is our greatest national heritage and gives us our greatest national challenge. We seek leaders who will listen and interpret sometimes incoherent, sometimes inchoate messages into policies greater than the sum of our collective consciousness. Political leaders who will transform this country, rather than be transfixed by shifting techno-derived edicts, must lead and govern from the center of their own hearts and minds. No poll has yet been devised that can substitute.●

EDUCATION CHIEF DECLARES WAR ON TV VIOLENCE

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, the problem of television violence, which I have addressed on a number of occasions in committee and on the floor of the Senate, has recently been addressed by a group of psychiatrists and other social leaders in Great Britain, where the standards are appreciably tighter than ours. And in reading the Jerusalem Post the other day, I came across an article titled, ''Education chief declares war on TV violence.''

The reaction in Israel to too much violence on the television screen is like ours and the British reaction.

At this point, I ask that the Jerusalem Post article be printed in the RECORD. The article follows:

EDUCATION CHIEF DECLARES WAR ON TV VIOLENCE

(By Liat Collins)

Education Minister Amnon Rubinstein last week declared war on TV violence, telling the Knesset that if networks do not demonstrate self restraint in screening movies, he would submit a bill to the cabinet.

Rubinstein's statements came at the end of a discussion on the distribution of ''snuff'' and violent movies in Israel. ''Snuff movies'' document the deliberate torture and murder of a victim for ''entertainment.''

''This type of film goes beyond all acceptable moral boundaries; we're talking about an evil and sick phenomenon. Therefore we must enforce the existing laws, and if need be I will equip myself with extra penal measures,'' Rubinstein said.

''Freedom of expression and civil liberties do not stretch to filmed murders and violence as entertainment,'' he added.

The discussion was initiated by MKs Anat Maor (Meretz), David Mena (Likud), Elie Goldschmidt (Labor) and Shlomo Benizri (Shas), who filed motions for the agenda following an interview in *Yediot Aharonot* with two youths who collect and view these films.

The two adolescents laconically describe how victims have been disembowelled and dismembered alive. One noted that one of the two teenaged killers of taxi driver Derek Roth had seen such movies. He also said he regretted not being awake in time to see the screened footage of the Dizengoff bus bomb.

While condemning the movies, Rubinstein warned of trying to turn two adolescents into representatives of an entire generation.

Benizri, on the other hand, called the phenomenon ''the result of a sick society.'' All the MKs spoke of the need for police cooperation in rooting out the films, and called for strict punitive measures against both distributors and viewers of these movies.●

P.S./WASHINGTON

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, for more than 40 years, since I was a young newspaperman in suburban St. Louis, I have written a weekly newspaper column on the topics of the day.

I hope my colleagues will find the newspaper columns I wrote in January of interest, so I ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

The columns follow:

THE VALUE OF THE CARTER MISSIONS

There has been some editorial sniping—as well as criticism from political leaders, most of it not in public statements—about former President Jimmy Carter's efforts in North Korea, Haiti and Bosnia.

''We can have only one person making foreign policy for the United States—and that should be the President, is the argument.

What these nay-sayers miss is the reality that Jimmy Carter does not make any pretense of speaking for the United States. If he were to travel abroad and claim to speak for the President when he has no authorization to do so, that would be wrong.

In the case of Haiti, he went on the mission at the request of the President.

But Jimmy Carter is a person of international stature who can do more to bring people together than any person other than Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali of the United Nations.

Carter is regarded as well-motivated and not trying to promote any private agenda or any national agenda other than helping to bring about a world of peace and stability.

When he has gone at the request of other nations to be an observer of elections, where countries are moving to democracy, there has been no criticism.

When he helps bring the two sides of a civil war together in Liberia in Africa, no one pays any attention.

At the Carter Center in Atlanta, he gets people from various nations together to discuss frictions and hopes, and there is hardly a paragraph in any newspaper about it.

But when he moves onto a more visible problem, then the critics emerge.

Part of this is because foreign policy has not been a strong suit of President Clinton. He is better at foreign affairs than he was a year ago and a year from now he will be still better.

It is difficult to move from being Governor of Arkansas to overnight being the most influential person in the world on foreign policy.

Because of a partial foreign policy vacuum in the current administration, some believe that the visibility of a former President doing creative things causes Clinton political embarrassment.

My strong belief is that President Clinton should continue to welcome Jimmy Carter's leadership, as he does that of the United Nations Secretary General, but simply make clear that ordinarily Jimmy Carter is acting on his own, not speaking for the United States.