

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2024-0050-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90658
Folder ID Number: 90658-003

Folder Title:
Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	0	0	0	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Letter	George Bush to Lewis and Betty Smoak (1 pp.)	3/2/92	(b)(6)	
01b. Note	Re: [Lewis and Betty Smoak's...] [double-sided] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
01c. Post-It Note	Re: [Mr/Mrs. Lewis Smoak...] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
02a. Letter	President George Bush to Alexander Vreeland (1 pp.)	3/2/92	(b)(6)	
02b. Letter	Burton J. Lee III, M.D. to Alexander Vreeland (2 pp.)	2/25/92	(b)(6)	
02c. Memo	GB to Dr. Burt Lee (1 pp.)	1/24/92	(b)(6)	
02d. Letter	Alexander Vreeland to President George Bush (2 pp.)	1/22/92	(b)(6)	
03. Letter	President George Bush to Lewis and Betty Smoak (1 pp.)	3/2/92	(b)(6)	
04. Letter	President George Bush to Alexander Vreeland (1 pp.)	3/2/92	(b)(6)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Pinksheet Number: cap5950

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Harley --
ideas*

The Honorable Martin Allday
Chairman
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission
Washington, D.C. 20426



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Martin:

Thanks for your letter. It is timely and useful. I am just back from Texas and you are right. People are worried and, yes, they are upset with our Administration.

Your letter contained much food for thought and I wanted you to know I had digested it.

Warm regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "GHWB", with a long, sweeping underline.

JAN '92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1992

Dear Ed:

Thanks for faxing me the Apache and the OIPA documents. We are working hard with Treasury to get some real relief on the AMT. Henson Moore, now at the White House, has all the details so please give him a call if you have any specific questions.

I appreciate your calling all of this to my personal attention, and believe me we are going to be taking action very soon.

I am glad you had that meeting in your home. You are a loyal friend and I am grateful.

Sincerely,



Mr. Edward C. Lawson, Jr.
2100 Philtower Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74103

bcc: Henson Moore

Rose Zamaria
(incoming and outgoing)

JAN 1

✓ davy file
(back up filed
in Bobby Holt
file)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

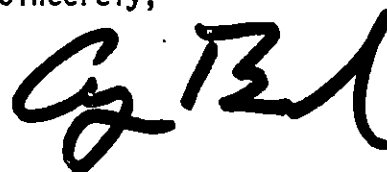
March 2, 1992

Dear Dr. Deisseroth:

I was so pleased that you came by the Houstonian with Mickey LeMaistre and Dick Johnson. Barbara and I are very interested in what you told us about your work on leukemia. We both hope we can be of some assistance as time goes by. Many thanks for sharing the encouraging news with us.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,



Albert B. Deisseroth, M.D., Ph.D.
Chairman, Department of Hematology
Anderson Professor for Cancer Treatment
and Research
MD Anderson Cancer Center
1515 Holcombe Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77030



March 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR BOBBY HOLT:

If there is any extra inauguration money to be given out, I would appreciate a gift going to: The Bush Leukemia Fund, MD Anderson Hospital, 1515 Holcombe Boulevard, Houston, Texas 77030, attention: Dr. Albert Deisseroth.

Dr. Deisseroth is doing some amazing breakthrough work on leukemia, and unbeknownst to me they set up the Bush Leukemia Fund which has received the royalties from a book I wrote.

If no extra funds are available, no problem, but both Bar and I were thrilled with a report the doctor gave us on leukemia research, etc.

Thanks.

A handwritten signature, likely "G. W. Bush", is written in dark ink below the word "Thanks".

FROM THE PRESIDENT



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Mickey:

Just a quick note of thanks for coming by the Houstonian to let us know how things are going at MD Anderson. Dr. Deisseroth's presentation was fascinating.

Thanks, too, for that picture which we will treasure. Warmest regards, in which Barbara joins.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Dr. Charles A. LeMaistre
7000 Staffordshire
Houston, Texas 77030

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

3-1-92

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Rz

please have typed:

Dear DR. Deisseroth, I wasa so very pleased that you came by the houstonian with Mickey Le Maistre and Dick Johnson. ~~xxxx~~ Barbara and I were very interested in wehat you told us ~~on-your~~---about your work on Leukemia. We both hoep we can be of some assistance as time goes by. Thanks so much for sharing that encouraging news with us. Sincerely,

Dear Mickey,
Just a quick one to say thanks for coming by to let us know how things are going at MDAnderson. Dr. Deisseroths presentation was fascinating. Thanks ,too, for thwt picture which we'll treausre.
Most sicnerely,

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting
George Bush handwriting

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Please type to bobby holt,

To: Dear Bobby,

If there is any extra
inauguration money to be given out
I would appreciate a gift going to:
The Bush Leukemia Fund
M.d. Anderson Hospital
1515 Holcombe Blvd Houston 77030

attention Dr. DeAlbert Deisseroth.

Dr D is doing some amazing break thorough work
on Leukemia, and unbeknownst to me they
set up the Bush Leukemia fund which
has received the royalties from a book I wrote.

If no extra funds available, no problem but both
Bar and I were thrilled with a report the dco
gave us on Leukemia research etc.
Warm Regardsds

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01a. Letter	George Bush to Lewis and Betty Smoak (1 pp.)	3/2/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01b. Note	Re: [Lewis and Betty Smoak's...] [double-sided] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01c. Post-It Note	Re: [Mr/Mrs. Lewis Smoak...] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

From the desk of

George Bush

1. Get address from
Gov. Campbell's
office

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

Campbell DOCUMENT= 1 OF 2 PAGE = 1 OF 3
NAME The Honorable Carroll Campbell Jr.
SPOUSE Mrs. Iris
SAL OUT Carroll & Iris
DESCR GOP Governor of South Carolina. Entered 96th Congress-
 1979-87.
CODES CC5 USVCPR PLITCL GOVNRZ CONGRF
ISSUES KNPORT SPBOAT SPFISH SPHSU LITRCY EDUCTN
FFNAME "George" out. "Barbara" in.
HOME1 The Governor's Mansion
 800 Richland Street
 Columbia, SC 29201
BUSINESS1 Governor
 State of South Carolina
 State House, Main Street
 Columbia, SC 29211
 (803) 734-9818
 ~~Post Office Box: 11369.~~
BUSINESS2 Suite 234
 444 North Capitol Street, NW
 Washington, DC 20001

4BÜ

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02a. Letter	President George Bush to Alexander Vreeland (1 pp.)	3/2/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 26, 1992

MR. PRESIDENT:

Dr. Lee feels strongly that this letter warrants a substantial reply, and accordingly he prepared the attached.

He recommends you add a line or a cover note if you like.

Thank you.



Phillip D. Brady

Rose:

Since Dr. Lee responded on his own, I drafted the attached for the President.

The Dr. Lee letter was mailed out 2/25, so it wouldn't be easy for the President to do a cover ltr now.

What do you think?

Robin

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02b. Letter	Burton J. Lee III, M.D. to Alexander Vreeland (2 pp.)	2/25/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02c. Memo	GB to Dr. Burt Lee (1 pp.)	1/24/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02d. Letter	Alexander Vreeland to President George Bush (2 pp.)	1/22/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 1/24/92

TO: DR. LEE

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Please prepare a draft response
to the attached letter and
return to our office for
forwarding to the President.

Thank you.

1/28
Per Dr. Lee
will review
letter on
Wed.

daily

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1992

Dear Sandy:

Thanks for your letter of February 23. I am enclosing the note from Xia Di. I was glad to hear about him though it's too bad he has to be separated from his wife. I understand perfectly your wanting to finish up what you have on your docket next year. Though there have been some changes here, there is no immediate need in speechwriting.

It was great seeing you. Barbara joins me in sending warmest best wishes to you and Pauli.

Sincerely,



Dr. William K. Muir, Jr.
59 Parkside Drive
Berkeley, California 94705

23 February 1992
59 Parkside Drive
Berkeley, CA 94705

Mr. George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Congratulations on winning New Hampshire. I anticipate lots more victories in the months ahead. It's no misfortune to have Pat Buchanan in the race. He gives you the chance to define your international differences with him and teach the American public why this country's international involvement is central to its domestic prosperity and national purpose. Buchanan's not a bad practice opponent to warm up on in preparation for the general election. Have fun in meeting his challenge, especially on those matters where he is so clearly wrong.

Here's a note from Xia Di about his socializing with President Williams at Alcorn State.

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of February 5 in response to the note I gave you at the White House. I have been troubled by the dumb answer I offered to your question, "Why June 1993 as the date for beginning work?" My answer was that by then you would have had time to put in place your plans for your second-term administration. I should have said--because it was the more accurate answer--that (1) I hadn't yet made arrangements with the University to take time off and (2) I was presently in the midst of finishing up a book.

I should also have offered to help in whatever way I could, at whatever date it would be helpful. Your reelection is imperative if the United States and the rest of the free world are going to realize fully the opportunities provided by the collapse of the Soviet Union. So, if in your speechwriting department I could usefully serve you now, I can put aside the book (which is two thirds done anyway). I also am quite positive that the department would have little difficulty making do without my services for a time.

If I can't be presently of use, there is no need to respond to this note. I did think we made a pretty good partnership, and I wanted to provide a better answer to your question than I gave in the Oval Office.

Pauli sends her love to you and Barbara.

Sincerely,



P.O. Box 1638
Alcorn State University
Lorman, MS 39096-9402
January 29, 1992

Mr. William K. Muir
59 Parkside Dr.
Berkeley, CA 94705

Dear Mr. Muir:

I am very glad to tell you that I was invited by Dr. Walter Washington, president of Alcorn State University to visit him this morning. He told me that he received a letter from the White House and Mr. Bush was concerned with me. I was very happy to know it. Dr. Washington was very kind to show me the letter and we had a nice short talk. Would you please send my deep gratitude to Mr. Bush in your own good time?

I am now taking three courses and they are Advanced Macroeconomics, Special Problem of Agricultural Economics and Marketing of Agricultural Products. I was glad that I got a part-time job as a graduate assistant in the Department of Agriculture one week ago. I am very glad that I have got the chance to study at Alcorn State University for M.S. degree in Agriculture. As there is no Ph.D. degree in Economics in Alcorn State University, I hope that I could get a chance to transfer to another university to further my graduate study in Economics for Ph.D. degree. My GRE general test score is 1,820 and I think it is possible for me to be admitted to a Ph.D. program in Economics by a certain university in the Fall semester of 1992. However, even with high GRE scores, it is difficult for many Chinese students to get some financial aid (such as graduate assistantship or tuition waiver, etc.) for the first year graduate study for Ph.D. degree.

I am very glad to tell you that I got married last May. My wife is working in a hospital in Beijing. She graduated from Beijing Medical University, a leading medical university in China, with a B.A. degree in Medicine in July, 1990. I knew my wife in April, 1989. At that time, she joined the students' movement as a medical student and she was among the students who saved many other students' lives. I am very proud of her. She got lots of A marks during her last two years undergraduate study. And her GRE general test score is 1,930 and her GRE subject test score in Chemistry is 740.

Thank you ever so much and best regards to you
and Mrs. Muir.

Sincerely,

Xia Di

Xia Di

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

DATE: March 2, 1992

FROM THE PRESIDENT

To: BPB

FYI from Xia Di.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Hilary House
1040 East Johnson Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Hilary,

Barbara and I appreciate your thoughtful invitation to visit Sun Prairie High School. The next few months are going to be busy ones, but I'll notify my scheduler, Kathy Super, to give your request a close look. Her office will be back in touch.

Thanks for thinking of us. Bar joins in sending family love.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush".

ACTION Kathy Super

CC:
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 copy and
in and out)

NOTE FROM: HILARY HOUSE
DATED : 2/19/92

Dear George:

This is a long shot, but here goes! With the Wisconsin primary coming up in April, I thought I might take a chance and extend an invitation to you and Barbara to visit the high school where I teach U.S. History. If you plan on doing any campaigning out this way, you would be most welcomed at Sun Prairie High School, just outside of Madison. My kids are a bright bunch, and I'm on a mission to get them interested in the primary process!

Let me know if it can be arranged, and I'll get busy! My number is (608) 251-4015 at home, or (608) 837-2541 x 443 at school.

Best wishes,

Hilary House

Hilary House
1040 E. Johnson St.
Madison, WI 53703 PM



Feb 19, 1992

Dear George

This is a long shot, but here goes!
With the Wisconsin primary coming up in
April, I thought I might take a chance and
extend an invitation to you and Barbara
to visit the high school where I teach U.S.
History. If you plan on doing any campaign-
ing out this way, you would be most
welcome at Sun Prairie High School, just
outside of Madison. My kids are a bright
bunch, and I'm on a mission to get them
interested in the primary process!

Let me know if it can be arranged, and
I'll get busy! My number is (608) 251-4015
at home, or (608) 837-2541, ext 443 at
School.

Best wishes,

Hilary House

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable John F. Turner
Director, Fish and Wildlife Service
Department of the Interior
1849 "C" Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20240



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear John,

Just returned from Georgia and discovered My Daily Bread on my desk. Thank you. One could not ask for a better companion, and my faith and trust in the Lord will guide me through the months ahead.

These are not easy times for the country, but I am confident of a turnaround. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George Bush".

CC:

✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 copy in &
out)

Nikki Richnow
(Gift Unit --
POTUS kept book)

Mr. President; .2/7/92

As you look to the many miles,
long hours - & considerable burdens of
the next several months, I thought
you might enjoy this companion.

On behalf of all of us in the admin-
istration - my hearty thanks for the
energy, integrity, warmth, and strong
leadership you are providing the
nation.

John Turner

U.S. FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE

2/26
REN NOTE:
FOR POTUS
VIA ROSE



FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

Mr. Albert Bel Fay, Jr.
5719 Indian Trail
Houston, Texas 77057



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Katherine, Marion and Ab,

Barbara and I are so sorry to hear about your Dad. We send you and your families our most sincere condolences.

Al was a dear friend. His enduring support lifted me.

From the entire Bush family, deepest condolences and family love.

*We loved your
Dad - Barbara*

Sincerely,

George Bush

✓ CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

Mrs. Peder Monsen
5623 Indian Circle
Houston, Texas 77056



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Katherine, Marion and Ab,

Barbara and I are so sorry to hear about your Dad. We send you and your families our most sincere condolences.

Al was a dear friend. His enduring support lifted me.

From the entire Bush family, deepest condolences and family love.

*We love you
Dad - Barbara*

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush", written in a cursive style.

CC:
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1992

Dear Ed:

Thanks for faxing me the Apache and the OIPA documents. We are working hard with Treasury to get some real relief on the AMT. Henson Moore, now at the White House, has all the details so please give him a call if you have any specific questions.

I appreciate your calling all of this to my personal attention, and believe me we are going to be taking action very soon.

I am glad you had that meeting in your home. You are a loyal friend and I am grateful.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Rose' followed by a stylized flourish.

Mr. Edward C. Lawson, Jr.
2100 Philtower Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74103

bcc: Henson Moore
✓ Rose Zamaria
(incoming and outgoing)

2/28/92
copy sent to
Chief of Staff

EDWARD C. LAWSON, JR,
2100 Philtower Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma
74103

Diehard

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

Date February 28, 1992TO: ADDRESSEE The Honorable George Bush

COMPANY _____

ADDRESS _____

ADDRESSEE'S TELEPHONE NUMBER _____

ADDRESSEE'S FACSIMILIE NUMBER _____

COMMENTS: Dear Mr. President: It was good to visit with you yesterday evening on the phone from Air Force One. We had an excellent Bush meeting at our home with some of your long time friends and backers: Ross Swimmer, former head of the BIA, and Lynn Novack, Senator Pete Dominick's daughter. I am enclosing a letter from the Apache Corporation and copy of letter to me from OIPA. Senator Nickles numbers have taken a dramatic downturn which appears to be reflective of the unrest in the oil and gas business. Under alternative minimum tax IDC's, depletion and lease equipment depreciation should be eliminated as preference items. This will help Senator Nickles standing with Independents and Gas Producers in the state. Barbara will be in Oklahoma City and Tulsa March 25, and we look forward to seeing her.

Best always,EdFROM: ORIGINATOR Edward C. Lawson, Jr.

COMPANY _____

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE NUMBER _____ ROOM NO. _____

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THE COVER) 4
(please number all pages)FACSIMILE
NUMBER 918/582-4537VERIFICATION
NUMBER 918/584-5155

SUITE 1900 ONE UNITED BANK CENTER/1700 LINCOLN STREET/DENVER, CO 80203-4519



303/837-5000

February 21, 1992

Dear Royalty/Working Interest Owner:

The continuing decline in the amount of your natural gas revenue checks directly reflects the collapse in natural gas prices. In the last 60 days, spot market gas prices in Oklahoma have fallen in half to \$.95 per thousand cubic feet, a 13-year low.

In addition, please consider the following:

- o Prior to the most recent price deterioration, Oklahoma royalty payments had already fallen an estimated \$250 million, or one-third, from their peak in 1984.
- o Oklahoma's rig count recently dropped to 85, the lowest level since World War II. A year ago, it was at 118.
- o The Independent Producers' Association estimates that each rig lost costs 175 jobs. Jobs in Oklahoma's oil and gas industry have plummeted by half in the last decade, from close to 80,000 in 1982 to 40,000 going into 1992.

Historic long-term contracts have given way to a 30-day spot market influenced by what we believe are speculators who have no long-term interest in the survival of this important American industry. Consequently, a valuable natural resource is being wasted at prices well below the cost to replace it.

As Oklahoma's largest independent gas producer, Apache has taken a stand. Effective February 1, we curtailed virtually all of our spot market gas production in the state. This may cause further reductions in royalty checks during the period of the curtailment.

Apache strongly supports efforts to reform Oklahoma's "allowable" or "prorating" rules. Oklahoma legislators and the Oklahoma Corporation Commission (OCC) are charged with the responsible management of Oklahoma's depleting natural resources. We believe it is essential that existing state regulations, put in place during gas shortages in the 1970s, be updated to reflect today's market conditions. Perhaps you are aware that the Oklahoma chapter of the National Association of Royalty Owners has endorsed proration reform as well.

3

What You Can Do

Oklahoma's full Senate is expected to vote next week on Senate Bill 663. This legislation is designed to more closely match demand with supply rather than to flood markets during periods of low usage with more gas than can be absorbed as is the case presently. The Senate's Natural Resources Committee voted 9-3 in favor of the bill earlier this month. If passed by the full Senate, SB 663 could go to the House of Representatives the week of March 2 for its vote.

I strongly urge you to join Apache in voicing support for this legislation. Please write or call your Oklahoma state legislators who are in session now in Oklahoma City. They can be reached at:

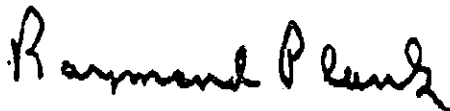
Addresses: Honorable _____
Oklahoma State Senate
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, OK 73105

Honorable _____
Oklahoma House of Representatives
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, OK 73105

Phone: 405-521-2011

405-521-2011

Very truly yours,



Raymond Plank
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

**OKLAHOMA INDEPENDENT PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION**

2601 N. W. Expressway, Suite 107W, Oklahoma City, OK 73112-7208
Telephone (405) 840-1171 Fax (405) 840-1273

January 31, 1992

Mr. Edward C. Lawson, Jr.
Lawson Petroleum Co.
2100 Philltower Building
Tulsa, OK 74103

Dear Mr. Lawson:

Thanks for the note and the FAX of the Tribune article. As head of fund raising for President Bush, I appreciate your position on any type of publicity that may reflect negatively on your candidate. However, I perceive my role as head staff person of the OIPA to elevate issues of importance to the state/domestic oil and gas industry, whether they offend Democrats or Republicans.

Unfortunately, our opinions about the State of the Union message and, to some extent about the president's record of support for our industry, do not coincide. Historically (and you have the benefit of many more years background with this association than I), the OIPA takes positions on national political issues or races only to the extent these issues or races impact the domestic energy industry. My comments in the Tribune were neither a call to opposition of Mr. Bush's candidacy nor an endorsement of another candidate. My comments to the press and the release, quoting OIPA president Pete Brown (written by me), that appeared in numerous media were intended to make one clear statement: our industry can no longer afford the luxury of being ignored.

Perhaps my opinion of Mr. Bush's speech was tainted by the statements (or alleged statements) of Henson Moore that we discussed in our phone conversation. I attempted to analyze and address the State of the Union message solely on its merits. Frankly, while I may agree in concept with much of the president's plan to resurrect the national economy, I believe it is irrefutable that he did not address any significant domestic energy issues in his speech.

If my remarks got the attention of the president's No. 1 fundraiser in Oklahoma, and perhaps hence the attention of Mr. Moore, Senator Nickles or even the president, then they served their purpose.

As to your suggestion (made to my secretary) that "I should check with people before firing off comments," please understand one of the primary reasons a person with journalism/public relations credentials such as myself was hired by the OIPA was for the purpose of elevating our association's -- and our industry's -- public image. To get into the paper, you have to say something. And, sometimes, what is said may be subject to misinterpretation or overreaction. Still yet, this downside is a small price to pay for an industry that is perhaps the most misunderstood and least appreciated (for all the good it has done for our state and nation) in the U.S..

Perhaps one of your most cogent comments, in my opinion, in our phone discussion had to do with choices. You are certainly correct in asking whether I as a representative of independent oil and gas, or anyone else evaluating the 1992 presidential field, would be more satisfied with another candidate. My answer to that is "no," but frankly this "no" is not nearly as much an unqualified vote of support for Mr. Bush as it was four years ago.

Thank you again for your thoughtful comments. I hope we have a chance to discuss these, and other important energy-related issues, in person someday soon.

Sincerely,

Mickey Thompson,
Executive Vice-President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 1992

Dear Gordon:

This will supplement the letter you received from Shirley Green about Sam Noble. The problem is I really don't know Sam. The Nobles do indeed have a marvelous reputation in the oil business. I am certain of that. I am sorry I cannot do what you asked in your letter but I wanted to respond to you personally.

Warm regards to you and all Midlanders. Barbara and I still miss the place.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Gordon G. Marcum II
Judge
The City of Midland
409 East Illinois
Midland, Texas 79701

CC:
✓ Rose Zamaria
(In & Out)
(1 copy)

February 20, 1992

Relate

Dear Judge Marcum:

President Bush has asked me to thank you for your note and to respond to you on his behalf.

The President certainly appreciates your interest in supporting the men that you named in your letter for selection to the Petroleum Museum Hall of Fame. I hope you will understand, however, that the President sends letters of recommendation only for close friends or for other individuals that he knows well. I regret that this is a disappointing response to your request, but I trust you will understand the necessity of following this policy.

The President sends you his best wishes.

Sincerely,

Shirley M. Green
Special Assistant to the President
for Presidential Messages
and Correspondence

The Honorable Gordon G. Marcum, II
Judge
The City of Midland
409 East Illinois
Midland, Texas 79701

SMG/BW/SMG/ba (Corres.#: 629055)

cc: Courtney Palm
cc: inc and outgoing for President's Reading File

JUDGE
THE CITY OF MIDLAND, TEXAS

GORDON G. MARCUM II
409 E. ILLINOIS
MIDLAND, TEXAS 79701

January 29, 1992

Honorable George Bush
President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

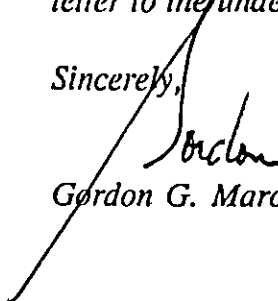
Dear George,

A few of us are endeavoring to gather Letters of Commendation on behalf of Mr. Sam Noble of Ardmore, Oklahoma. Our plan is to present the letters to the Petroleum Museum Trustees in an effort to have Sam and his Dad, Lloyd, selected as the newest members in the Hall of Fame for 1993.

We understand Sam is a friend of yours and we would deeply appreciate a letter from you. With Sam's health problems, we are doing this in confidence in hopes of surprising him.

Thank you for your assistance, and if you will return your letter to the undersigned, we will include it with our presentation.

Sincerely,


Gordon G. Marcum II

58 FEB -3 PM 4:35



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear General Davis:

Thanks for being at my side as we went to the American Legion Hall outside of Atlanta. I thought it was a good event. I like being with those Veterans and I thought they gave us a very warm welcome. They certainly gave you a warm welcome.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

General Raymond Davis
Georgia Veterans Leadership Program, Inc.
825 Fairfield Drive
Marietta, Georgia 30068

bcc: Rose Zamaria ✓
Bill Farish



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Ron:

Thanks for being with me when we went to the American Legion Hall on Saturday. I loved the event, and I loved visiting with the leaders of the Veteran groups from all across Georgia. How great of you to set it up.

Barbara joins me in sending warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Ron Miller
Executive Director
Georgia Veterans Leadership Program, Inc.
825 Fairfield Drive
Marietta, Georgia 30068

bcc: Rose Zamaria
Bill Farish

GEORGIA

Veterans Leadership Program, Inc.

825 Fairfield Drive
Marietta, Georgia 30068
(404) 565-8444

RON MILLER
Executive Director

ARTHUR L. HAMILTON
Employment Director

ANDREW H. FARRIS
Small Business Director

ARTHUR MILLARD
Legal Director

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

TOMMY CLACK, Chairman
Staff Assistant to
Director VA Med. Center

JAMES M. BLAYLOCK
Service Chief
VA Med. Center

MARY LOU KEENER
Attorney at Law

ROBERT G. KNOWLES
Public Relations
Consultant

MICHAEL N. MANTEGNA
Attorney at Law

JAMES E. NATHIS
Certified Public
Accountant

EDDIE CLERMONT
Counselor
Vet Center

RUBY SELLERS
Registered Nurse

PAST CHAIRMEN

R. KEEGAN FEDERAL, JR.
1983-1984

MARY LOU KEENER
1984-1986

White House Signal
Attn: Mr. Andy Foster
Fax: 522-9642

Feb 28-92

Dear Andy:

Listed below are the individuals that will travel with
the convoy:

Ron Miller 429-66-8089
Ex. Director - Ga. Veterans Leadership Program
Steering Committee-Ga. Bush-Quayle '92

General Raymond Davis 252-09-5319
USMC Ret. Medal of Honor
Stockbridge, Ga.
Chairman-Korean Memorial Commission

Mr. Charles Knox 422-30-3408
Commander American Legion-Georgia
Columbus, Ga.
Retired Sgt. Maj.



Dr. Charles F. Stanley
Pastor, First Baptist Church
754 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30365

CC: ~~Rose Zamaria~~
(1 copy)
(in & out)

THE PRESIDENT



March 2, 1992

Dear Charles,

Barbara & I are back
now; but we are still thinking of
that lovely service. I read
some news story saying "The
President looked solemn and
subdued" - well, why not. I

was in your lovely sanctuary. 2
we were given a warm welcome -
but I did not want to give the
big "campaign wave". We came thru
to worship; and your service
with that sermon on Joshua! was
a great one. "Be strong & courageous -
God is with you" - I will carry that
message in my heart. My sincere thanks
for letting us come - and my love



THE PRESIDENT

3

to your wonderful family.

Politics right now is not
much fun for us - so when one
gets a spiritual lift, it really
counts for a lot.

Most Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

First Baptist Church Atlanta

Dr. Charles F. Stanley,
Pastor



Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

Morning Worship Service

March 1, 1992
9:00 & 10:45 a.m.

PRE-SERVICE MUSIC John Innes, Piano

CALL TO WORSHIP:

"Crown Him with Many Crowns" Arr. Camp Kirkland
(Sanctuary Choir and Orchestra)

HYMN NO. 4:

"How Great Thou Art" Stuart Hine

WELCOME TO GUESTS

OPPORTUNITIES OF SERVICE AND MINISTRY

SPECIAL MUSIC:

"Power in Jesus' Name Medley" Arr. Don Marsh
(Exaltation)

MINISTRY OF INTERCESSION

HYMN NO. 202:

"Amazing Grace" Newton/Traditional

OFFERTORY PRAYER

OFFERTORY:

"All Hail the Power" Arr. Richie Kingsmore
(Sanctuary Orchestra)

CHORAL WORSHIP:

"It Is Well with My Soul" Arr. Bob Krogstad
(Sanctuary Choir and Orchestra)

SERMON *Josh. 1* Pastor

*Be strong & courageous
for the Lord God is with you when
you go*

ORGAN POSTLUDE:

"Allegro Vivace" Felix Mendelssohn

*Our Vision Is To Touch The World With
The Word of God, Motivated By A Passion For God
And Compassion For People.*

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

Evening Worship Service

6:15 p.m.

ORDINANCE OF BAPTISM

ORGAN PRELUDE

Praise-Sing

IT'S AMAZING WHAT PRAISING CAN DO

It's amazing what praising can do, hallelujah, hallelujah.

It's amazing what praising can do, hallelujah.

I don't worry when things go wrong. Jesus fills my life with a song.

It's amazing what praising can do, hallelujah.

WHAT A MIGHTY GOD WE SERVE

What a mighty God we serve, (Repeat)

Angels bow before Him, heaven and earth adore Him; what a mighty God we serve.

SEEK YE FIRST

Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness;

And all these things shall be added unto you, hallelu, hallelujah.

© 1972 Maranatha! Music

YES, LORD, YES

Yes, Lord, yes, to Your will and to Your way,

Oh yes, Lord, yes, I will trust You and obey.

When Your Spirit speaks to me, with my whole heart I'll agree,

And my answer will be yes, Lord, yes, yes, Lord, yes!

© 1983 Manna Music, Inc.

OPEN OUR EYES, LORD

Open our eyes, Lord, we want to see Jesus, to reach out and touch Him,

And say that we love Him.

Open our ears, Lord, and help us to listen, open our eyes, Lord, we want to see Jesus.

© 1976 Maranatha! Music

INVOCATION

WELCOME TO GUESTS

CHORAL PRAISE: "Whatsoever Things" Lynn Shaw Bailey
(Combined Preteen Choirs)

HYMN NO. 470: "Footsteps of Jesus" Slade/Everett

OFFERTORY PRAYER Duane Toso

OFFERTORY: "You Are My Hiding Place" Michael Ledner
(Priority)

SERMON Tim Kimmel

HYMN OF INVITATION

ORGAN POSTLUDE

The above texts have been printed with permission of the publishers. CCLI #45277

The In Touch Tape Counter is open thirty minutes before and after each Sunday service. It is also open on Tuesdays from 11:00 a.m. till 3:00 p.m. and on Wednesdays from 12:30-7:00 p.m.

Due to the sensitivity of the television equipment to flashes, please do not use flash photography during the worship services.

Sermon Notes

754 Peachtree
St., NE
Atlanta, GA
30365

404-347-
8300

**1 TIM KIMMEL PREACHING TONIGHT
FOLLOWED BY CHURCH FAMILY FELLOWSHIP**

A Special Evening For Our Church Family Beginning Tonight at 6:30 p.m.!
Tim Kimmel noted speaker on family issues and a frequent guest on the national radio program "Focus On The Family," will be preaching this evening. Following the service will be a church family fellowship. Pizza and cokes will be sold by the Youth Council in the Game Room and the fellowship will be held in Fellowship Hall.

2 DIVORCE RECOVERY SUPPORT GROUP

A divorce recovery support group has begun here at First Baptist Church. We meet in the First Place Building from 5:00-6:15 p.m. each Sunday evening. For further information and to secure your place in the group, please call the Single Adult Office at 347-8222.

3 DO YOU REMEMBER WHEN YOU WERE A COLLEGE STUDENT?

Each year during spring break it is a tremendous blessing for many of our college students to be able to take part in our Spring Student Conference. Cost for lodging, transportation and materials is \$145.00. More of our students would love to participate in this time of spiritual challenge and renewal but lack of finances prevents them from doing so. If you would be interested in giving a partial or full scholarship to a deserving college student, please contact our Minister to College Students, David Nowland at 347-8213.

4 ARE YOU MOVING NORTH?

If you are planning to attend worship services at our new location in Dunwoody beginning April 26th, there is a place of service for you! Please call the Evangelism Office at 347-8431 for further information.

5 ACCOMODATIONS NEEDED FOR CLINICIANS

Pastors and lay leaders from across the nation and beyond are coming to our Evangelism Clinic March 20-25. They will need sleeping facilities Friday through Wednesday nights, and lunch on Sunday. A continental breakfast will be served at the church each morning. Most will need transportation to the Sunday service and to the clinic by 8:45 a.m. each morning, (Sat., Mon., Tue., and Wed.)

If you can help, please fill out this card and mail to the Evanelism office or place it in the offering plate today.

I can accomodate _____ total clinicians.

I can accomodate _____ men and _____ women.

I have _____ double bed(s). I have _____ single bed (s).

I can () cannot () provide transportation.

Mr.

Name: Mrs. _____

Miss

Address: _____ Phone: _____

City: _____ Zip Code: _____

68 Days
Remaining

Relocation Goals
\$5,000,000.00 in 365 Days

\$1,828,500
Still Needed

**6 HAVE YOU LEFT THE CATHOLIC FAITH OR ARE
CONTEMPLATING DOING SO?**

If so, then this class is just for you. Beginning today, Al Scardino, Director of our Counseling Center and a former Catholic priest, will begin an informal series on Catholicism entitled "Everything You Wanted to Know About Catholicism but Were Afraid to Ask". This class is primarily intended for those who have left the Catholic faith or who are contemplating leaving, but is open to any adult who wishes to participate. The class will explore fundamental issues on which there is agreement and disagreement between Catholics and Evangelical Christians. It will meet on Sunday mornings for eight weeks in the First Place Building, Room 202 at 10:45 a.m. For more information call the Married Adult Office at 347-8429.

7 SPECIAL NEEDS PARENT SUPPORT GROUP

Families who have family members with special needs are encouraged to attend the lunch and support group meeting next Sunday, March 8. We will meet together beginning at 12:30 p.m. for lunch in the Game Room. Call Angie Mercer at 843-3176 or Deanie Waldrop at 633-7824 for more information.

8 ATLANTA PASSION PLAY - APRIL 3-5 & APRIL 9-12

The Saturday matinee performances on April 4 & 11 are sold out. However, tickets still remain for the other performances and may be purchased at the Atlanta Passion Play Box Office (located in the main building across from the Chapel) on weekdays from 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. or you may call 347-8400 to order tickets by phone. Ticket prices: \$6, \$8 & \$12. Special Extended Box Office Hours - Next Sunday, March 8, 12:00 noon-1:00 p.m.

9 CONSTRUCTION BIDS NOW BEING ACCEPTED

The design of our new facilities is almost complete and very soon we will begin accepting bids for the construction. If you, as a member of First Baptist Church, wish to bid on any aspect of the work, please write a letter explaining your qualifications and area of interest. Please address all correspondence to:

Building Committee

First Baptist Church of Atlanta

754 Peachtree Street N.E. / Atlanta, GA 30365

10 MEETING FOR PARENTS OF STUDENTS IN GRADES 7-12

Parents of students in grades 7-12 are invited to attend a special meeting with our Minister to Students, Andy Stanley. This meeting will be held on Sunday, March 15, from 5:00-6:00 p.m. in the Youth Building (second floor). We will discuss upcoming events and changes in the youth ministry.

11 CO-DEPENDENCY SUPPORT GROUP

A Co-Dependency Support Group will begin Sunday, March 15th, at 9:00 a.m. in the Suncoast Center. This group will be limited to 12 people. To reserve a place, please call the Counseling Center at 347-8360.

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

Daily file 3/2/92

President handed to
Robert Powell to give
to Charles Powell
during his meeting w/
the RIGHT TO LIFE BOARD.

Bridget Montagne

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

Charles Powell
country:
Robert

THE PRESIDENT



Dear Charlie -
I'm asking Robert to bring
two to you - simply to say
Barbara & I are thinking of
you and thinking of our days

THE WHITE HOUSE

Charles Powell

country :
Robert (Powell)

together -

Hang in!

Warm Regards from
your friend

Cy B



THE PRESIDENT

3-2-92 ^{daily}

Dear Bushie

Thanks for both the
picture and the Fair report.

Tough times, real tough, but
we'll be OK. Love and thanks.

we did lose a lot of great
photos - so "double thanks"

Cjg

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Henry W. Estabrook
1365 Ridge Road
North Haven Connecticut 06473

cc:
Mrs. Bush (FYI)
With Photo

Feb. 25, 1972

Mrs. Henry W. Estabrook

1365 Ridge Road, North Haven, CT 06473

Dear Mr. President/George -

Thanked the editorial article

begin the new New-Register (2/24)

might give you + your campaign

people a lift -

I also enclose a photo of

Grandfather Rock + Aunt Martha

in a family group taken in the

private dining room of the new

New-Register Club. I'm not sure

of the year, but it must be right

after the year when you were at

space.

Perhaps you already have a

copy of it, but I know you lost
a lot of photo albums in the
Big Bend or K-bunkport last Fall.

In any case, your biographers
will enjoy it!

Our thoughts + prayers will
be with you + Bar in the coming
months -

Love,

Bushie

P.S. The picture was taken prior
to April 1946, because that's when
Stu got out of the Navy.

P.P.S. Stu just called + said he has
the same picture + it's dated 3/26/46!



Formula: Prof says it's Bush in landslide

Continued from Page 1

retrospectively and found it was as uncannily accurate at the beginning of the century as it is now.

Fair calculates that Republican President George Bush will win this year's election with 56 percent of the vote. The Democratic candidate, whoever that may be, will receive a weak 44 percent.

The vote share, produced from a formula with only five variables, is accurate to within at least 3 percentage points, he said. In the last few elections the error margin has shrunk to about 1.1 percentage points, although why is not clear to Fair.

The two most important factors are the growth rate of the economy in the six months before the election, and the rate of inflation in the two years before the election, Fair said.

Speeches not important: How can such a simple mathematical model pinpoint results so precisely?

"It's implicit that the economy determines how voters feel," explained Fair, who developed the equation in the 1970s. "This election is pretty clear-cut."

Fair contends that the hard-to-measure issues: abortion, prayer in school, health care, for example, make little difference in the minds of voters. Nor do allegations of draft dodging and womanizing or video images of the incumbent getting sick at a state dinner in Japan.

"I'm not saying the economy is the *only* factor in how voters behave," Fair admitted. "There is that plus or minus 3 percent" latitude.

That means that all the speeches, debates, and television advertising account, on average, for only 1.5 percent of the vote per candidate, Fair said. His seemingly clairvoyant record appears to back him up.

Pollsters reply: Not everyone, however, is in awe of Fair, although every four years he's bombarded by requests for prognostication. This year he worked through his trusty equation in a few minutes, determined Bush would win, and then went on with his usual research in economic theory.

Pollsters point out that actually talking to real live people is as good as Fair's "econometric" formula in picking winners, and that properly designed polls can yield deeper, more detailed information and trends.

And a Yale political scientist who is studying the psychological link between the state of the econ-

omy and voting patterns has encountered a conundrum completely at odds with Fair's approach.

The mind of the typical American voter is a mysterious, fuzzy place where symbols reign over reality, and the pocketbook frequently loses to the image of a candidate, said Donald P. Green, assistant professor of political science at Yale.

"People have a very diffuse impression of how the country is doing. People don't vote in their self-interest. That's the paradox. If people are not voting their pocketbooks, or on the national economy, what's going on?"

The mumbo jumbo: This matters little to Fair. Does his method require such mathematical esoterica as Bell's Theorem, the Fourier transform, Maxwell's equations, or Heisenberg's uncertainty principle? Nope.

Fair decided to take common tools of economics and statistics and apply them to elections.

Here's basically how it's done: Take the growth rate of the per-capita gross national product in the second and third quarters of the election year. Add the absolute value of the rate of inflation in the two years before the election. Add 0.04 percentage points for an incumbent, and also 0.05 percentage points if the candidate is in the same party as a lame duck. Multiply by coefficients. Make a few adjustments here and there. And voila!

For example, the inflation rate coefficient is 0.0034, meaning that every 1 percentage point increase in the inflation rate leads to a 0.34 percentage point fall in the vote share for the incumbent party. And so on. You get the idea.

Translating the economic mumbo jumbo: Only an improvement in the economy, followed by another recession, could defeat Bush now, Fair said. "People are upset now, but if by the election the economy is better, they'll feel much differently," Fair said.

Three errors: These are words to take seriously. A consensus of economists forecast a 2 percent growth rate in the gross national product — or the value of all goods and services produced in the country, between now and Election Day — and inflation is a modest 4 percent, Fair said. This means good news for Bush and dismal prospects for the Democrat, according to Fair.

Fair took economic data for the past 76 years, ran it through his formula in the past 20 elections,

and was right 17 times. The three errors were in some of the closest elections in American history, in 1960, 1968 and 1976. At his worst, Fair missed the actual result by about 0.01 percentage point.

Few polls are as accurate in predicting final vote share until just before the election, Fair said, and during the campaign they swing up and down wildly as the pendulum of popularity swings back and forth.

In 1988, for instance, public polls showed Democrat Michael Dukakis riding up and down a roller coaster of opinion, while Fair's line was steady — and correct on the first day of the campaign. Gallop, on the other hand, suggested a Dukakis landslide in June and projected Dukakis ahead as late as September.

Responding to symbols: "Why are polls so erratic? Polls are measuring less well-thought-out decisions," Fair said. "Voters don't have much information."

There is always the possibility that a major non-economic fiasco could swing an election, but this happens only rarely, Fair said.

Green hasn't called any elections, but he has done considerable research into the possibility that the electorate rewards the incumbent for solid economic performance. And his findings do not back Fair, or the conventional wisdom that the economy is the be-all and end-all in national elections.

"There is astonishingly little evidence that better-off people will vote for the incumbent," Green said. "People who are doing badly will vote for the incumbent."

This strange behavior is caused by party loyalty that makes people blind to their candidate's faults, he said. Party affiliation and the image of the candidate both outweigh the economy as a predictor, he said.

"People respond to symbols that everybody has and values," Green said. "What people understand is personality. It would be nice if we could cut through this fantasy, but I'm skeptical that more information would make democracy work better."

No one imagines the average voter perusing the GNP in the Wall Street Journal on the eve of an election. Fair and Green agreed.

Experts who conduct and study polls consider Fair's process interesting, but considerably less than miraculous. An experienced observer could make a pretty good guess on any election, and especially this one, they said.

Yale prof's uncanny math forecasts Bush win



Ray C. Fair stands by his equation.

Mara Lavitt/Register

By Abram Katz

Register Science Editor

He doesn't go door to door with a clipboard, ask survey questions via phone or peer into a crystal ball — but Ray C. Fair says he can almost perfectly predict who will win a presidential election.

Fair, a professor of economics at Yale University, says he has a cold, hard mathematical formula that's been wrong only three times in races going back to the 1916 contest between Woodrow Wilson and Charles E. Hughes.

The equation is largely a measure of the economy's impact on the electorate — a method that some conventional pollsters say is interesting and valid, but sometimes only as good as a shrewd guess.

But Fair applied his formula

Turn to Formula, Page 14



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Martin:

Thanks for your letter. It is timely and useful. I am just back from Texas and you are right. People are worried and, yes, they are upset with our Administration.

Your letter contained much food for thought and I wanted you to know I had digested it.

Warm regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "Bill Clinton".



March 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR: CONNIE HORNER

What Martin Allday says here about people in the oil fields being upset is true. They are very disappointed in our Administration. Jim Watkins is well aware of this and has tried over and over again to do something about it. Martin Allday is a very good man, and very well connected in the oil industry.

Although at the bottom of his first page he says he cannot see himself fitting in as Deputy at Energy, I think he would be fantastic in that job unless Jim has someone else in mind.

cc: Sam Skinner
Henson Moore

FROM THE PRESIDENT

FEDERAL ENERGY REGULATORY COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20426

Came in envelope
marked Eyes Only
for the President

CHAIRMAN

February 24, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

For over 35 years you have read my letters about what the "home folks" are saying, doing or feeling. This letter touches that issue in connection with appointing a successor to Henson Moore as Deputy Secretary of the Department of Energy. For what it is worth, I have the following comments.

It is my understanding that Linda Stuntz, presently the Acting Deputy Secretary, may be under consideration. The FERC has had numerous contacts with Ms. Stuntz in connection with the National Energy Strategy. With respect to the Department of Energy, she is as well versed and capable a person as exists, in or out of government and is a very valuable asset. (It is my belief that most of the people who come in contact with her would concur.) DOE and FERC could certainly continue to be generally supportive of one another, I think, with Linda in the position.

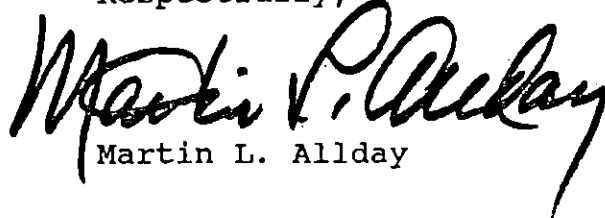
While Henson Moore will be an invaluable resource for you in his new position, DOE lost a champion of the oil and gas industry when he moved to your office as Deputy Chief of Staff. It appears to me that DOE will need another strong oil and gas advocate if there is to be balance in that Department. The oil and gas producers and royalty owners back home were disappointed not to see more encouragement for the domestic industry in the NES. Only ANWR and off-shore drilling, (and a suggestion which simply encourages more markets for gas) resulted from that exercise. Unfortunately, it seems neither ANWR nor off-shore development will be in the final legislation. As a consequence, and also because of the troubling price questions, a whole lot of our home folks are very discouraged and quite frankly, grumbling. I think our mutual friends, Bobby Holt and Earle Craig, will agree.

With the election coming, it is suggested you might want to replace Moore with a high-profile oil and gas guy. Lord knows, that industry has taken it in the teeth for almost a decade now. So, to help solidify industries' support (financial and otherwise), another "Henson Moore" would be welcomed, it seems to me. It may not be easy to find a person whom the industry recognizes as one of its own, who has put hole in the ground and who will be willing to divest himself of all interests, and who is "savvy" in dealing with Congress. (Please do not imagine that I see myself as fitting this job description.)

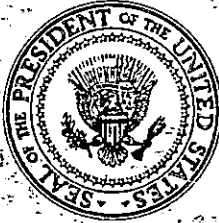
So there you have it: (a) Linda Stuntz, a real governmental professional, acting in place, who knows more about the Department than anyone else and (b) the concern that I have for the oil and gas industry and your Administration. I am comfortable in my belief that your selection will be right for the country.

Patricia and I enjoyed being part of your election kick-off once again, especially since it gave us an opportunity to see you and Barbara. We remember you both in our prayers and send our love.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Martin L. Allday". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Martin" being more prominent and the last name "Allday" following in a similar style. The signature is positioned above the printed name.

Martin L. Allday



March 2, 1992

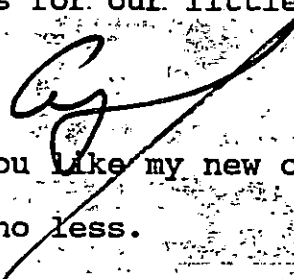
Dear Ron,

It was great seeing you and Nancy the other day. I am still livid at the press spin on that most pleasant visit. These are strange times with the national press. They took a very nice social 'drop by' and tried to put an ugly spin on it. You corrected all that--twice if I'm not mistaken--and they still persist on saying ugly things. Enough of that. We enjoyed the visit and are grateful to you and Nancy for showing us your lovely home. It is fantastic. Barbara is still raving.

Awhile back you asked about the Grace Commission results. I thought you might be interested in the attached report that was prompted by your inquiry.

My warmest regards always and, again, my most sincere thanks for our little visit.

Sincerely,


P>S> How do you like my new computing technique--
'self typed' no less.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 27, 1992

22 FEB 28 A8:45

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: The Grace Commission on Government Waste

President Reagan established the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control (PPSSCC), known as the Grace Commission, in 1982. J. Peter Grace assembled 161 business executives, who in turn enlisted approximately 2,000 people from private industry to conduct an extensive study of Federal operations. The Grace Commission's report was submitted to President Reagan in January of 1984. Later that year, J. Peter Grace and Jack Anderson, the columnist, founded Citizens Against Government Waste to follow up on the Commission's work.

The Grace Commission made 2,478 recommendations on 784 issues. Some of these issue areas overlapped, producing duplicative recommendations. After the Commission eliminated the duplications, 2,160 recommendations remained, with a projected savings of \$424.4 billion over a three-year period. Citizens Against Government Waste estimates that between Fiscal Years 1986 and 1990, actual savings amounted to \$197.4 billion.

Number of Recommendations Pursued

The last published tracking of the Grace Commission recommendations was in the FY 1990 budget document, Management of the United States Government, which indicates that of a total of 2,160 recommendations, 1,792, or 83 percent, were accepted in the FY 1990 or prior budgets. This report notes that all of the Grace Commission recommendations accepted by the President "require congressional cooperation in the form of enactment of changes in substantive laws or other types of congressional support."

- Of the 1,792 recommendations that were accepted, 1,607, or 90 percent, were agreed to by Congress.
- 117, or six percent of those accepted, were rejected by Congress and not repropounded by the Reagan Administration.
- 68, or four percent of those accepted, were

proposed or repropoed in the FY 1990 budget. The large majority of these were never adopted.

Major Recommendations Implemented

According to Citizens Against Government Waste, the major Grace Commission recommendations that have been implemented to date include the following:

- Military base closings, which save \$5.6 billion over 20 years for those closings approved in 1989, and \$1.7 billion annually for bases approved for closing in 1991.
- The Chief Financial Officers Act, establishing CFO's in 23 departments and agencies.
- Facilitating the transfer of Federal funds to State and local governments. Public Law 101-453 established a revolving fund to collect interest on funds transferred to states, saving the Federal government an estimated \$50 million annually, according to Citizens Against Government Waste.
- Offsetting delinquent debts owed the government against IRS tax refunds. The most recent estimate, from FY 1990, projected \$2.1 billion in collections through FY 1995.
- User fees imposed by the Customs Service and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.
- Privatization, including the sale of Conrail (\$2 billion) and turning over the operation of National and Dulles airports to a regional airport authority from Virginia, the District of Columbia, and Maryland.

Status of the Grace Commission Recommendations

A chart showing the status of Grace Commission recommendations in FY 1990 is attached. The Administration ceased tracking the Grace Commission's recommendations in this way after FY 1990.

In short, these recommendations, produced nearly a decade ago, have been extensively and usefully mined. If you have any questions, or there is other information about the Grace Commission recommendations you would like, please let me know.

Attachment

From: Management of the United States Government
 Fiscal Year 1990 (US Gov't Printing Office
 Washington, DC)
 5-4 MANAGEMENT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1990

STATUS OF GRACE COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

Grace Commission Report	Number of Recommendations				
	In Prior Budgets	In 1990 Budget	Referred	Completed	Total
01 Department of Agriculture	99	3	30	22	154
02 Department of the Air Force	17	0	9	24	50
03 Department of the Army	59	5	4	10	78
04 Automatic Data Processing (ADP)	28	0	8	22	58
05 Boards/Commissions—Banking	51	12	18	3	84
06 Boards/Commissions—Business	223	3	54	9	289
07 Department of Commerce	13	0	4	12	29
08 Office of the Secretary of Defense	47	0	18	8	73
09 Department of Education	52	0	3	5	60
10 Department of Energy	69	0	5	8	82
11 EPA/SBA/FEMA	70	1	7	0	78
12 Federal Construction Management	10	0	12	1	23
13 Federal Feeding	13	0	2	0	15
14 Federal Hospital Management	41	0	16	3	60
15 Federal Management Systems	27	0	8	0	35
16 Financial Asset Management	75	5	10	0	90
17 Health and Human Services—Management	115	0	0	2	117
18 Health and Human Services—PHS/HCFA	62	0	8	1	71
19 HHS—Social Security Administration	52	0	4	0	56
20 Housing and Urban Development	41	0	5	4	50
21 Department of the Interior	8	1	8	10	27
22 Department of Justice	23	0	12	2	37
23 Department of Labor	32	1	12	4	49
24 Land/Facilities/Personal Property	7	0	2	0	9
25 Low Income Standards and Benefits	7	0	5	12	24
26 Department of the Navy	39	0	6	24	69
27 Personnel Management	75	0	8	8	91
28 Privatization	6	6	3	7	22
29 Procurement/Contracts/Inventory Mgmt.	28	0	14	15	57
30 Real Property Management	43	0	9	0	52
31 Research and Development	11	14	0	0	25
32 State/AID/USIA	23	0	5	3	31
33 Department of Transportation	48	0	12	9	69
34 Department of the Treasury	54	0	9	0	63
35 User Charges	19	14	6	18	57
36 Veterans Administration	17	0	2	5	24
37 Publishing, Printing, Audiovisual	24	0	5	0	29
38 Travel and Traffic Management	11	0	0	0	11
39 Financial Management in the Federal Gov.	12	0	1	0	13
40 Wage Setting Laws	10	0	3	0	13
41 Anomalies in the Federal Work Environment	0	0	0	56	56
42 Federal Retirement Systems	22	0	5	0	27
43 Information Geo in the Federal Gov.	15	0	0	0	15
44 The Cost of Congressional Encroachment	14	3	8	6	31
45 Federal Health Care Costs	5	0	0	0	5
46 Opportunities beyond Grace Commission	7	0	4	0	11
47 Federally Subsidized Programs	0	0	4	0	4
Unidentified by report	0	0	0	5	5
Total	1,724	68	348	318	2,478

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1992

YEAR OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, 1992

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Half a millennium ago, when European explorers amazed their compatriots with stories of a New World, what they actually described was a land that had long been home to America's native peoples. In the Northeast part of this country and along the Northwest coast, generations of tribes fished and hunted; others farmed the rich soils of the Southeast and Great Plains, while nomadic tribes roamed and foraged across the Great Basin. In the arid Southwest, native peoples irrigated the desert, cultivating what land they could. Each tribe formed a thriving community with its own customs, traditions, and system of social order.

The contributions that Native Americans have made to our Nation's history and culture are as numerous and varied as the tribes themselves. Over the years, they have added to their ancient wealth of art and folklore a rich legacy of service and achievement. Today we gratefully recall Native Americans who helped the early European settlers to survive in a strange new land; we salute the Navajo Code Talkers of World War II and all those Native Americans who have distinguished themselves in service to our country; and we remember those men and women of Indian descent -- such as the great athlete, Jim Thorpe and our 31st Vice President, Charles Curtis -- who have instilled pride in others by reaching the heights of their respective fields. We also celebrate, with special admiration and gratitude, another enduring legacy of Native Americans: their close attachment to the land and their exemplary stewardship of its natural resources. In virtually every realm of our national life, the contributions of America's original inhabitants and their descendants continue.

During 1992, we will honor this country's native peoples as vital participants in the history of the United States. This year gives us the opportunity to recognize the special place that Native Americans hold in our society, to affirm the right of Indian tribes to exist as sovereign entities, and to seek greater mutual understanding and trust. Therefore, we gratefully salute all American Indians, expressing our support for tribal self-determination and assisting with efforts to celebrate and preserve each tribe's unique cultural heritage.

The Congress, by Public Law 102-188, has designated 1992 as the "Year of the American Indian" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this year.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim 1992 as the Year of the American Indian. I encourage Federal, State, and local government officials, interested groups and organizations, and the people of the United States to observe this year with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this second day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and sixteenth.

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press

Room 19 OEOB

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1992

PRESS BRIEFING
BY MARLIN FITZWATER

The Briefing Room

INDEX

10:44 A.M. EST

SUBJECT

PAGE

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President's Schedule	1
Visit of King Hussein of Jordan	1, 7
President's Travel Schedule	1-3

FOREIGN

China/MFN Status	4-5
----------------------------	-----

DOMESTIC

President's Campaign Strategy	3-4, 6
Abortion, Evangelicals	
Buchanan/Campaign Ads and Statements	7-9

11:10 A.M. EST

#437-03/02

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1992

PRESS BRIEFING
BY MARLIN FITZWATER

The Briefing Room

10:44 A.M. EST

MR. FITZWATER: First of all, tomorrow at 4:00 p.m., the President will meet with the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Mr. Dimitrov, who is on a private visit to the United States. We expect their discussions to focus on Bulgaria's historic transformation to democracy and free markets. And this will be the President's first meeting with the Prime Minister, who assumed office last October. There will be a written readout after the meeting.

On Thursday, March 12 at 11:00 a.m., President Bush will meet with King Hussein of Jordan in the Oval Office. The meeting will be followed by a working lunch. King Hussein will be in the United States and Canada on a private visit.

And for those of you who love the road, we're back on it. Tuesday, March 3, the President will travel to Chicago, Illinois, to address the 50th Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals at 12:00 noon at the Hyatt Regency-O'Hare Hotel.

Q Is that nonpolitical, Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes. Open press coverage. The President returns to the White House at about 3:45 p.m.

Wednesday, March 4, the President will depart at 7:40 a.m. for Tampa, Florida, where he will tour the Annual Florida State Strawberry Festival in Plant City, Florida. Following the tour the President will attend a Bush-Quayle fundraising lunch at 12:00 noon at the Omni West Shore Hotel.

Q What time is the tour, Marlin -- the strawberry festival thing?

MR. FITZWATER: It's right after we arrive. We leave here at 7:40 a.m. I don't have our exact arrival time.

Q The President leaves at 7:40 a.m.?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes.

The President will attend a Bush-Quayle fundraising dinner at the Radisson Center at 6:30 p.m. in Miami. Did I skip a paragraph? We depart for Miami at 2:10 p.m. to address the Dade County Bush-Quayle at Milander Stadium at 5:45 p.m. After that we do the fundraising dinner at the Radisson Center.

Q What time do we get into Miami?

MR. FITZWATER: We back up -- let's see -- we don't have an exact time. The luncheon is at 12:00 noon. Then we leave for --

Q The lunch is in Tampa or Miami?

MR. FITZWATER: Let me start all over.

Q Go back to the strawberries.

MR. FITZWATER: Okay -- are you ready? Wednesday, March 4 -- listen up -- Wednesday, March 4, the President will depart at 7:40 a.m. for Tampa, Florida, where he will tour the Annual Florida State Strawberry Festival in Plant City, Florida. Following the tour he will attend a Bush-Quayle fundraising lunch at 12:00 noon at the Omni West Shore Hotel. We're still in Tampa there.

The President will depart for Miami at 2:10 p.m. to address the Dade County Bush-Quayle supporters at Milander Stadium at 5:45 p.m. He will then attend the Bush-Quayle fundraising dinner at the Radisson Center at 6:30 p.m. and will remain overnight there in Miami.

Q Is that Milander Stadium event an Hispanic event?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't think it's ethnically oriented. It's open to Bush-Quayle supporters generally.

Thursday, March 5, the President leaves for Columbia, South Carolina, at approximately 8:00 a.m. He will attend a breakfast sponsored by the Homebuilders Association of Greater Columbia at 10:30 a.m. This event will be held at the South Carolina State Fairgrounds. The President will have brief remarks concerning his economic growth plan.

The President will depart South Carolina at 2:00 p.m. en route to Memphis, where he will tour the Federal Express facility, address employees, and also the general public. The President will focus on American business, entrepreneurs, innovations, and new ideas in technological development.

Q -- in that speech, Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: Let's don't start over. It's in the transcript.

The President will depart Memphis, Tennessee, en route to Oklahoma City, where he will overnight at the Sheraton Hotel.

Friday, March 6, the President, at approximately 8:30 a.m., will tour the Enterprise Square Museum Education facility in Oklahoma at Oklahoma Christian University. At the conclusion of the tour he will proceed to a rally on the campus to address -- I'm sorry -- he'll address a Bush-Quayle rally at 9:30 a.m.

Q On campus?

MR. FITZWATER: On campus.

He departs Oklahoma City at 10:30 a.m. en route to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. And there he addresses a Bush-Quayle rally at the Pete Marovich Arena at Louisiana State University at 12:45 p.m. He leaves Baton Rouge at approximately 3:00 p.m. en route Jackson, Mississippi. He'll address a Bush-Quayle rally at 4:30 p.m. at the Jackson, Mississippi State Capitol building. And he departs Jackson en route Montgomery, Alabama, where we will overnight at the Governor's House Hotel.

On Saturday, March 7th, the President will attend the annual Pro Bass Fishing Tournament in Montgomery, Alabama, and attend another event that's yet to be scheduled.

Sunday, March 8; Monday, March 9; and Tuesday, March 10 are still open. We probably will be scheduling events for those days and will not know those until Tuesday or Wednesday of this week, but we'll try to let you know whether it means we just stay on the road or whether you come home at some point around the 7th or 8th.

For other details -- this is all I have. Maybe Michael can help you. Hopefully by this afternoon we'll have a few more details on the actual time of the trip.

The President today -- yes?

Q One question. The speech to the Evangelicals tomorrow, what will the President's subject matter be?

MR. FITZWATER: Did you give me a marked-up copy, Gary?

The President tomorrow will talk about various themes of special interest to the Evangelicals including family values and, of course, undoubtedly will mention prayer in schools. Talks about military strength, talks about the general need for religion, religious liberty. As I said, school prayer and economic growth.

Q Marlin, no abortion?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, Frank, go ahead.

Q If he makes the same points in a speech there that he makes in a political speech and there's a primary two weeks away, how do you call that nonpolitical?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, first of all, the political versus nonpolitical thing is a legal aspect related to the group and the nature of the invitation and why he was asked there and so forth. President Bush is going to discuss his record at all events and you can label it however you want. But his message is going to be the same no matter where he speaks, and that is that he has performed in outstanding fashion the last three-and-a-half years. He has sound policies to get the economy turned around and to get the economy moving again.

Q Marlin, what does the President mean by family values?

MR. FITZWATER: The various programs that he has espoused and has promoted in the last three-and-a-half years. They range from economic issues that relate to the family; certainly the child exemption increase as proposed in our economic growth plan; his position on prayer in schools; certainly his funding and support for the Head Start program; the entire America 2000 educational effort; the passage of the Civil Rights bill and the Americans for Democratic Action bill; and the other legislative programs that we have supported that have all been conducive to family values of one kind or another.

Q All right. So when he mentions family values, that's really shorthand for all of his programs? He's not talking about families, he's really talking about his programs?

MR. FITZWATER: He's talking about programs and issues that are important to families and that increase the ability of families to maintain the family unit in our economy and in society.

Certainly education, religion, jobs -- those are all key issues that are of importance to the American family.

Q Congress is probably going to send him another mandated parental leave bill. Is he still going to veto that again?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, I expect he will. We haven't seen it yet, but our position remains the same.

Q He sees no conflict in that and his espousing federal help for the family?

MR. FITZWATER: No. We support parental leave on a voluntary basis, but we're opposed to the mandated benefits because of the limitations and restrictions it places on businesses and their inability to create jobs.

Let me make one other announcement before we just go ad lib around the room. The President will veto today the HR-2212, which puts conditions on most favored nation status for China.

Just to give you a bit of background, since we've been on the road, this is the bill that the Congress reported out that essentially says that China must meet a long list of conditions before it is granted this policy which the President has proposed. On May 29, 1991, the President notified Congress of his decision to waive the Freedom of Immigration requirements and extend MFN trade treatment to products to China for an additional year beginning on July 3, 1991. This bill says that the President may not recommend continuation of the waiver for the 12-month period beginning July 3, unless he reports to Congress that China has met this series of conditions.

Our objections generally fall into two categories which you have heard before, but essentially, one, that this kind of conditionality would impede the advance of reforms in China and impede the effort to get improvements in our human rights record there; and secondly, that it would hurt the Chinese people and all those who have worked for progressive change as well as the United States exporters and consumers who use and need or want Chinese products.

The President will make that case again in his veto statement which will be issued later today. He will emphasize the point that we agree with the objectives of this bill; we want improvements in the human rights record in China; we have pressed vigorously for that for some time, but we simply disagree with the methods and we believe that our policy of comprehensive engagement is the appropriate one to effect change in that country.

Q What evidence does the President have to suggest that his policy is having any sort of effect on the Chinese? His critics insist that there's been virtually no improvement in human rights. The trials are still going on for some of those involved in the Tiananmen Square massacre, that China is still engaged in sending missiles to people that we don't want them to have. Where's the benefit? Where's the success?

MR. FITZWATER: There have been improvements in human rights, although clearly not as much as we would like. There still are human rights violations and problems which are particularly disturbing to us. You recall that when the President met with Li Peng in New York he raised those questions at the beginning of his meeting and again in the middle of his meeting. Both times were the focal points of his concerns and the emphasis of his concerns in that meeting with Li Peng.

So there are human rights violations and problems there yet to be resolved. We have recent agreements to protect intellectual property rights, to abide by the Missile Technology Control guidelines, and to accede to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty by April, as well as other discussions on human rights concerns. These are issues that they have been stone-walling on for the last year or two and have now been forthcoming on, and so there is some improvement to point to. But the record is pretty much as I just outlined: that there have been improvements; there's still a long way to go and much to be done.

Our argument with Congress is simply the best way to do it. We believe that engagement allows us to make the improvements that we have already seen and that this kind of conditionality would not have been productive in these cases and would further our ability to get progressive change in China.

Q But, Marlin, the suggestion is that although you raise these issues with China repeatedly and regularly come away with reassurances from the Chinese officials, that once the American officials are gone, the Chinese simply turn around and do what they please and tell us it's none of their business. The missile proliferation is a perfect case in point. The critics would say that the President -- the engagement programs that the President has been engaging in hasn't had enough of impact and that --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, critics say that to cut off China entirely would make them suddenly change their policies and improve their human rights record. We simply do not believe that. Our analysis of their actions as a government in recent years, as well as their history and culture suggest that that's not true. And you're right, we disagree with the Congress over that basic principle.

Q I want to go back to the evangelicals, unless there's more China. Last week the President got -- I believe or the week before -- a letter from the large Southern Baptist group asking him to issue a statement at this evangelical meeting before in opposition to civil rights for homosexuals; this in connection with the meeting Mosbacher had with the gay organization. Later last week, a group of conservative House and Senate members including Gingrich sent Bush a letter on the same subject. Do you know if the President intends to say anything specific about this issue tomorrow or any time?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't at this point. I'll have to check, and I'll also follow up on this letter. I just don't know.

Q Do you know if the President's position is in opposition to this civil rights bill for gay and lesbian --

MR. FITZWATER: I don't think we've taken a position on it. I saw the story in the paper this morning. Again, I'll ask but I don't think we have.

Q How does the President think he's going to do tomorrow in the primary and the caucus states?

MR. FITZWATER: We believe we'll do very well. We have said before that we intend to win every primary; obviously, we think we will. And the Fitzwater rule is never use numbers, but nevertheless, we think we'll do very well.

Q What about the caucuses? Do you expect to win every caucus?

MR. FITZWATER: We expect to win every primary. And the question is -- sometimes you have caucuses in primary states, so I

don't know, you've got to be a little careful of what they mean and how they're being held and so forth. But we expect to win.

Q Well, you must think you're going to do better in the caucuses than you're going to do in the primaries, right?

MR. FITZWATER: We'll do well in all of them, yes.

Q You'll win them all, right?

MR. FITZWATER: We'll win everything. Win renomination and win election.

Q Marlin, the President seems to be going out of his way to placate the Right to Life --

MR. FITZWATER: I'm sorry, go ahead.

Q -- the evangelicals. Is this an attempt to defuse some of the damage that Buchanan may have done to the President's reelection bid, his wooing the far right?

MR. FITZWATER: The short answer is -- if the question is, is this in response to Buchanan, the answer is no. If the question is, is this an obvious effort to appeal to evangelicals and to their beliefs and to show that we share their concerns and their beliefs, the answer is yes.

Q Well, could I ask you -- the President's known to change his mind on important -- to grow mentally. Would it be possible that he might change his mind about the right of choice and woo some of the female distaff votes? Would he ever decide to do that, knowing in his heart that he probably can't fully support the Right to Life --

MR. FITZWATER: He believes very strongly in his position on pro-life and I do not expect that to change.

Q Why are they here today, Marlin? Is there some --

MR. FITZWATER: Their board is here for just a brief -- a photograph. I guess they're meeting here today.

Q Are you expecting an endorsement today from the National Right to Life Committee?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes. At 11:55 he meets with the Right to Life Board --

Q Do you expect an endorsement?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't think that's the issue. They asked for just a chance to meet him and say hello and spend a few minutes with him, and they will. I don't think that's been an issue.

Q Marlin, in the speech tomorrow, you didn't mention abortion in that long list of topics. Do you expect him to restate his position on that issue before the evangelicals?

MR. FITZWATER: I expect he will.

Q Any discussion of the NEA and the departure of Mr. Frohnmeyer tomorrow?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't -- that I don't know. I've got a draft that I looked at from about five days ago so I'm reluctant to be too much more specific than I was.

Q Could you please tell me if when the President meets Kind Hussein he's going to make a --

MR. FITZWATER: What are you doing back in this country? (Laughter.)

Q I apologize, it wasn't my choice. (Laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: Speaking with a foreign accent over there. (Laughter.)

Q When he meets Hussein, is he going to make an issue of transshipment of materiel, particularly war materiel through Baghdad?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, without raising specific issues he certainly will discuss the situation in Iraq today; the need to enforce and maintain the U.N. sanctions; our position of not raising those sanctions until Saddam Hussein is out of power; and our hope that he would be supportive in every way possible.

Q Fred Brown of the GOP Executive Committee and the chairman of the Council of Black Republicans says that Buchanan is a racist and his materials and commercials are racial in nature. And that the Georgia chapter of that organization, which is part of the Republican Party, asked him to withdraw from the race because of it. Do you have a comment or does the President share these views about this and also the staff views that -- staff-stated views by Mr. Skinner and others that Jews believe he's an anti-Semite? Is there a White House position on either of these issues?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, those groups are obviously free to comment as they will and we aren't going to get into that kind of a discussion about Mr. Buchanan. We do believe that his record is obvious, that his themes are negative ones and we'll allow others to judge without us trying to comment.

Q The President has said that he would speak out against bigotry and racism.

MR. FITZWATER: And he has many times.

Q And he has not in regard to Mr. Buchanan who we don't know if Mr. Bush believes that Mr. Buchanan is a racist or a bigot or --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we don't intend to speak out on the individual in that sense, but that's something different than speaking out on the issue. President Bush has certainly spoken out against bigotry and racism in every forum possible.

Q Marlin, in response to that question, on David Duke he certainly did. He's gone out of his way to denounce Duke. Why hasn't he done the same thing if he believes it about Buchanan?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, as I said, we think people are able to judge his record and what he stands for, and we urge them all to do it.

Q Didn't you say fromt his podium that the President does not believe that Buchanan is a racist? This was weeks ago.

MR. FITZWATER: I think we've said that. We don't believe he's a racist, personally, yes.

Q Bush said this?

MR. FITZWATER: I think the President said that.

Q Is the President giving interviews to TV stations in Maryland today?

MR. FITZWATER: I'll have to check and see. He's doing interviews almost every day but -- check with us this afternoon. We'll know which ones.

Q Okay. And do you have any plans for tomorrow night --

MR. FITZWATER: And newspapers, yes, and radio.

Q And if he's doing it for TV -- (laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: Hah. A special interest question. (Laughter.)

Q What is your plan for tomorrow night here? Will you be available for comment, react, will the President issue a statement? Do you have any plans like after New Hampshire?

MR. FITZWATER: Tomorrow night, here?

Q Yes.

Q It's an election.

Q Georgia, remember.

Q Maryland, Colorado.

MR. FITZWATER: What time does the President get back tomorrow, do we know?

Q Early. 2:45 p.m.

MR. FITZWATER: We'll let you know in the morning, work that out. Right now I don't have any plans to tell you about. We'll have to work that out tomorrow.

Q After the exit polls.

Q On the Buchanan situation, why don't you look into and reassess --

MR. FITZWATER: Forget the exit polls.

Q Could you take the question, seriously reassess or look again into Buchanan? Because it's becoming more and more frightening. Why don't you try to reconsider your assessment of him?

Q And brand him a racist.

Q Right. Have some guts --

MR. FITZWATER: We want the American people to consider Pat Buchanan.

Q No, no, but the White House has to show some leadership.

MR. FITZWATER: We'll show the President's position and people can make the contrast.

Q Well to try the question another way, Buchanan is running an ad in Georgia that, charitably, can be construed as homophobic and racist. And he made a statement within the last

couple of days about Washington being a pretty good town until "that gang rolled in" or words to that effect. What does the President feel about the tone of the campaign from Buchanan's side? Is that acceptable political rhetoric?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, again, without trying to label those particular themes or positions that he has taken, it certainly is troublesome the tone of destruction and divisiveness that he has used. And I had comments the last few days about that general tone and we think that's -- but we also think it's obvious to people. When people see the kind of advertising that he's running in the south and hear his language and rhetoric, they're fully able to judge what he's really all about.

And as I listen to these questions I believe it's clear that I don't need to add to -- it's clear to everybody.

Q But over the last few days Buchanan has run an ad attacking the Voting Rights Act. The President, in Georgia, had absolutely nothing to say about this. Does he feel that that's a --

Q The Voting Rights Act --

Q Yes. Not the Civil Rights Act but the Voting Rights Act.

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I assume that Pat Buchanan runs ads that define him and I urge you to ask him what those mean in terms of his belief. But our positions on all these issues are well-defined and clear, and the President will continue to talk about his own record and his own positions.

Q Does the President agree with the interpretation that the results of the primaries represent a referendum on his policies?

MR. FITZWATER: Results of the primaries show that he's been very successful, very popular and is winning hands down every place he's run.

Q But would he agree with the interpretation that, in effect, this is a referendum on his performance?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I don't know what that means. I know --

Q Well, New Hampshire it meant that about half the people didn't like him.

MR. FITZWATER: -- however you define it, we're very happy that he has won such important victories in all these primaries.

Q There seems to be a little difference in the way Vice President Quayle defines it. When he's asked he's said, well, it shows people are angry, upset, and so forth. You seem to have a little different view on it. Is there a different message here or why does he have a --

MR. FITZWATER: No, it's just there's always a lot of different ways to describe an elephant and I'm sure everybody's words won't be exactly the same. But I would ascribe to everything I said and everything he said. (Laughter.)

Q You mean subscribe, don't you?

MR. FITZWATER: Subscribe, too. (Laughter.)

Q That, too.

- 10 -

MR. FITZWATER: I guess that's about all I've got.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:10 A.M. EST

#437-03/02

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

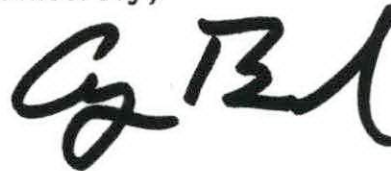
March 2, 1992

Dear Dr. Deisseroth:

I was so pleased that you came by the Houstonian with Mickey LeMaistre and Dick Johnson. Barbara and I are very interested in what you told us about your work on leukemia. We both hope we can be of some assistance as time goes by. Many thanks for sharing the encouraging news with us.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "G. B. Deisseroth". The signature is stylized with a large, looped "G" and a long, sweeping horizontal stroke.

Albert B. Deisseroth, M.D., Ph.D.
Chairman, Department of Hematology
Anderson Professor for Cancer Treatment
and Research
MD Anderson Cancer Center
1515 Holcombe Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77030

Jan Burmeister

THE WHITE HOUSE

Dr. Charles A. LeMaistre
7000 Staffordshire
Houston, Texas 77030



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Mickey:

Just a quick note of thanks for coming by the Houstonian to let us know how things are going at MD Anderson. Dr. Deisseroth's presentation was fascinating.

Thanks, too, for that picture which we will treasure. Warmest regards, in which Barbara joins.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush".



March 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR BOBBY HOLT:

If there is any extra inauguration money to be given out, I would appreciate a gift going to: The Bush Leukemia Fund, MD Anderson Hospital, 1515 Holcombe Boulevard, Houston, Texas 77030, attention: Dr. Albert Deisseroth.

Dr. Deisseroth is doing some amazing breakthrough work on leukemia, and unbeknownst to me they set up the Bush Leukemia Fund which has received the royalties from a book I wrote.

If no extra funds are available, no problem, but both Bar and I were thrilled with a report the doctor gave us on leukemia research, etc.

Thanks.

Cy

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Bobby Holt
Suite 6400
6 Desta Drive
Midland, Texas 79705

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Lewis B. Rome
Rome, Case, Kennelly and Klebanoff, P.C.
Post Office Box 588
Bloomfield, Connecticut 06002-0588

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 1992

Dear Lew:

Thank you for your letter regarding assistance for communities making the transition from defense to nonmilitary economies.

We should be and we are helping the individuals and communities affected by base closures and other realignments. To rebuild affected communities we are providing planning grants and assistance funds through the Department of Defense and the Economic Development Administration at the Department of Commerce. While we are unable to match dollar for dollar the money that we have been spending on defense, by coordinating all of the relevant Federal agencies through an interagency group known as the Economic Adjustment Committee, we will maximize the resources and assistance we are able to offer.

I am most concerned about the human impact of displacement, and that is why we have established a full range of transitional services for those whose jobs are eliminated. Through job retraining, priority placement with both government and civilian employers, and financial compensation, we are placing a high priority on assisting displaced workers.

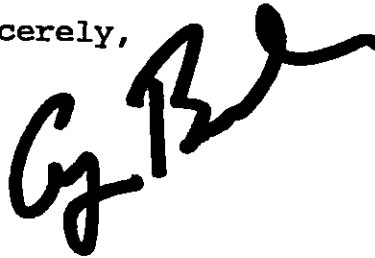
For example, Title III of the Job Training Partnership Act is now providing \$527 million for the Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance Program, which helps eligible workers who have lost their jobs. In addition, the Defense Conversion Adjustment Program provides another \$150 million to assist civilian workers directly affected by base closings or realignments, as well as workers affected by the cancellation or curtailment of defense contracts.

Jan's

Your thoughts are most helpful, and we will continue to do our best to assist the Nation in making the necessary adjustments from a Cold War economy to a globally competitive one.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "G. B. Rome". The signature is stylized with a large, looped "G" and a bold, sweeping "R".

Mr. Lewis B. Rome
Rome, Case, Kennelly and Klebanoff, P.C.
Post Office Box 588
Bloomfield, Connecticut 06002-0588

The Honorable William Donald Schaefer
Governor of Maryland
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

March 2, 1992

Dear Don:

This is a follow-up to my February 19th note and a response to your very thoughtful letter of January 21st suggesting how we might improve our public school infrastructure. While I share your concerns about our public schools, I do not believe the Federal Government should become directly involved in providing construction funds for America's public schools.

Historically, State and local governments have had responsibility for overseeing and funding our public schools, including constructing and maintaining them. The Federal Government has provided significant support for handicapped and disadvantaged students and for helping children start school ready to learn.

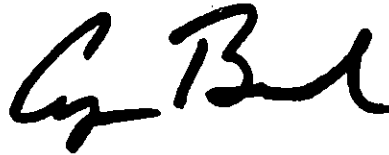
At Charlottesville, the Governors strongly urged that any additional Federal spending on education go to Head Start and similar programs designed to ensure that when children arrive at school, they are healthy and ready to begin their formal education. We have responded with major Federal spending increases in these programs, which I consider to be a worthwhile investment.

Finally, congratulations on your leadership in education reform and your support of the America 2000 education strategy. A bipartisan effort to promote education reform across America -- in every

Jan Burmeister

State and in every community -- will help ensure not only that we meet our six national education goals but also that all youngsters in America receive a quality education. I deeply appreciate your involvement in Maryland 2000.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "W. D. Schaefer", written in a cursive style.

The Honorable William Donald Schaefer
Governor of Maryland
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

FROM
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(2 copies of
entire outgoing)
done

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
The Ronald Reagan Presidential
Foundation
3400 Fox Plaza
2121 Avenue of the Stars
Los Angeles, California 90067



press

March 2, 1992

Dear Ron,

It was great seeing you and Nancy the other day. I am still livid at the press spin on that most pleasant visit. These are strange times with the national press. They took a very nice social 'drop by' and tried to put an ugly spin on it. You corrected all that- twice if I'm not mistaken- and they still persist on saying ugly things. Enough of that. We enjoyed the visit and are grateful to you and Nancy for showing us your lovely home. It is fantastic. Barbara is still raving.

Awhile back you asked about the Grace Commission results. I thought you might be interested in the attached report that was prompted by your inquiry.

My warmest regards always and, again, my most sincere thanks for our little visit.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature, likely of George H.W. Bush, is written over the "Sincerely," and extends down towards the "P>S>" section.

P>S> How do you like my new computing techniqe-
'self typed' no less.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

JAN'S

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 1992

Dear Ray:

Thanks for your comments about Henson -- he's doing a great job here.

Connie Horner tells me that she and her staff in Presidential Personnel are working with Jim Watkins to fill his open slots at Energy. I know that Connie met with Linda Stuntz and was impressed.

Barbara joins me in sending warm regards to you and Nancy.

Sincerely,



Mr. Ray L. Hunt
Fountain Place
1445 Ross at Field
Dallas, Texas 75202-2785

JAN 3

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 1992

Dear Andy:

Thank you for your letter of February 6. Please let me tell you how much I appreciate your support, and the support of the leaders of the Greek-American community, for our efforts to help bring the Cyprus dispute to an end. As you know, Prime Minister Demirel and I did discuss Cyprus, and I believe the Turks are committed to working toward a fair and just settlement. You should also know that the United States will continue its support for the U.N. Secretary General's mission. It is my firm hope that the parties can capitalize on the very real progress that has been made to achieve the lasting settlement that all Cypriots deserve.

Thank you again for writing and for your own active support of this process.

Sincerely,



Mr. Andrew A. Athens
UHAC National
400 North Franklin Street
Suite 215
Chicago, Illinois 60610-4403

920303

✓ dated 3/2/92
Records management

THE WHITE HOUSE

Charles Powell

country :
Robert

Jan



THE PRESIDENT

Dear Charlie -

I'm asking Robert to bring
this to you - simply to say
Barbara & I are thinking of
you and thinking of our days

THE WHITE HOUSE

Charles Powell

country :
Robert

together -

Hang in!

Warm Regards from
your friend

Cy B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1992

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH BOARD MEMBERS OF THE
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

DATE: March 2, 1992
TIME: 11:55 a.m.
LOCATION: Oval Office
THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS
FROM: LEIGH ANN METZGER

I. PURPOSE

To strengthen your personal relationship with this important constituent group. To provide the opportunity to this group to express their appreciation for your strong pro-life position.

II. BACKGROUND

The National Right to Life Committee (NRTL) is the nation's largest pro-life organization. It has affiliates in all 50 states and local chapters in over 3,000 areas.

NRTL and other pro-life organizations have met Vice President Quayle and former Chief of Staff Sununu for roundtable discussions in connection with the National Right to Life Day proclamation and the Rally for Life, both held every January. You participated in a photo op two months ago in connection with this proclamation, but NRTL was not present.

You have shot several video addresses and provided written messages to National Right to Life conventions as Vice President and President.

NRTL's PAC strongly supported your 1988 campaign, and has made your reelection one of its top priorities for 1992. Your consistent pro-life stand has earned you great admiration from the pro-life community.

In 1991 Dr. John Willke departed NRTL after 10 years as President to start Life Issues Institute, a pro-life education group. Dr. Wanda Franz became President after seven years as Vice President, and teaches full-time at West Virginia University.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

The Vice President

Dr. Wanda Franz, President, National Right to Life Committee

Robert Powell, Vice President, National Right to Life Committee

Dr. David O'Steen, Executive Director, National Right to Life Committee

Ms. Darla St. Martin, Association Executive Director, National Right to Life Committee

Ms. Jacki Ragan, Director of State Organizations, National Right to Life Committee

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer Only

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

-- You and the Vice President greet guests.

-- You and the Vice President talk with guests and pose for photos.

-- Guests depart.

VI. REMARKS

None required

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 1992

Dear Sandy:

Thanks for your letter of February 23. I am enclosing the note from Xia Di. I was glad to hear about him though it's too bad he has to be separated from his wife. I understand perfectly your wanting to finish up what you have on your docket next year. Though there have been some changes here, there is no immediate need in speechwriting.

It was great seeing you. Barbara joins me in sending warmest best wishes to you and Pauli.

Sincerely,



Dr. William K. Muir, Jr.
59 Parkside Drive
Berkeley, California 94705

JAN 5

DATE:

March 2, 1992

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

THE DAILY NEWS CLIPS

MARCH 2, 1992



THE OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS

William Raspberry

End of The Voter Education Project

Ed Brown is discouraged, frustrated and maybe just a little bit bitter. He's also unemployed—the Voter Education Project he headed having gone out of business for lack of money—but that's not what has him down.

"The fact of the matter is that I've been off salary—essentially working as a volunteer—since November, 1990," he said last week. "No staff, not even a secretary. I've been supporting myself by doing some consulting work."

"But what bothers me is *why* the VEP is going out of business, given the amount of good we have accomplished and the amount of work that remains to be done. But for the VEP, Bill Clinton probably would not be governor of Arkansas; John Lewis [of Georgia] and Mike Espy [Mississippi] might not be in Congress. Jimmy Carter might not have become president, and David Duke would probably be governor of Louisiana."

Some insiders might argue how critical was VEP's work to that list of elections—political victories always have a thousand "critical" elements. But no one who knows the Mid-South would dispute VEP's influence during its 30-year lifetime.

When the officially non-partisan organization was founded, originally as an arm of the Southern Regional Council, there were only some 1.2 million blacks registered to vote in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy. Today there are some 5.5 million. Before the mid-'60s, the region had fewer than 100 black elected officials; today it has more than 6,000.

The civil rights movement, the Voting Rights Act and other political and social transformations intervened, but there is no question that the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project helped change things.

Now it is in some ways a victim of those changes. Says Brown:

"We've helped to put an end to the racist rhetoric that marked the South, the 'Negro bashing,' as it used to be called, and we've gone a long way toward eliminating the well-founded fear that many blacks had about registering and voting. And now, although there is so much that still needs to be done—there are still some 4 million unregistered black voters in the region—it's like there's no longer any interest in our kind of work."

The number of foundations that have an interest in a liberal or progressive agenda has shrunk, and the

*The biggest problem
is that voters don't
understand the
power they
potentially hold.*

interest of those that remain has shifted. Their priorities now involve such issues as homelessness, affordable housing, the environment. And, of course, they, like the rest of us, are in the throes of a recession."

But it is also the changing political reality, acknowledges Brown, whose predecessors at VEP include John Lewis, Vernon Jordan and the late Wiley Branton.

VEP was at its strongest when impediments to black voting were at their highest. VEP had little difficulty in those days raising funds to dispatch its dozens of staffers across the South, leading registration drives, calling attention to the often artfully constructed barriers to voting, demanding the presence of federal registrars in particularly recalcitrant counties and, everywhere, impressing on black voters the importance of their political participation.

But while it's premature to say all the barriers are gone, the biggest problem in recent years has been internal—not literacy tests, poll taxes or balky registrars but voters who don't understand the power they potentially hold.

More to the point, it's a lot easier to raise money to resist Southern sheriffs or to expose bigoted courthouse workers than to persuade voters to register or transport them to the polls. The latter looks too much like ordinary apathy.

Part of it may be, Ed Brown acknowledges. But another part, he believes, has to do with the fact that so many poor blacks have not yet internalized the power they manifestly hold.

"I believe in my heart we could have helped to save Ray Mabus [the political moderate who recently lost a re-election bid as Mississippi's governor, largely because of a poor turnout of black voters], but we just didn't have the resources. Remember he was running at the same time Duke was running in Louisiana, and that's where we put our meager resources."

"Some people think the voting war is over because we have the Voting Rights Act, but it's clear to me what an intensive and targeted registration drive can do to make people's lives better. If we could just reduce that 4 million unregistered by half, it would make a tremendous difference not only in who gets elected but in how people get treated *after* the election, whoever wins."

Cheney Told to Probe Scientist's Charge of Misconduct, Waste by SDI Officials

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney has been ordered to investigate a Pentagon scientist's charges that officials of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization engaged in "violations of law and regulation, gross mismanagement, gross waste of funds" and "abuse of authority."

The directive was issued Friday by the government's Office of Special Counsel, an autonomous agency that found a "substantial likelihood" that the scientist's allegations concerning the space-based anti-missile program were well-founded.

The special counsel also conferred official "whistle-blower" sta-

tus on the scientist, Aldric Saucier, who was fired last month from his \$75,500-a-year post with the Army's Strategic Defense Command, the Army's component of the multibillion-dollar SDI program, popularly known as "Star Wars."

Saucier's dismissal, for what his military superiors termed "unacceptable performance," was temporarily set aside last week following congressional protests to Secretary of the Army Michael P.W. Stone.

"We accomplished our mission," Saucier said yesterday of the ruling by Robert D. L'Heureux, associate special counsel for investigation. Saucier said he was told that most of the allegations he made in a complaint to that office last November were endorsed for further investi-

gation. Congress established the U.S. Office of Special Counsel to protect the merit system generally and whistle-blowers in particular.

A civilian scientist with more than 25 years of government service, Saucier, who also worked at SDI organization offices in 1986-87 on detail from the Army, charged that the program was riddled with:

- False or misleading statements to Congress about the potential effectiveness and necessary development time and costs for Brilliant Pebbles, a proposed constellation of space-based interceptors that would circle Earth waiting to swoop in on and destroy enemy missiles.
- "Off-the-books" expenditures and diversions of appropriated funds, including false statements to Congress

to conceal" these expenditures.

- "Excessive reliance" on defense contractors to prepare duplicative research and studies that were not used.
- Wasteful research and development spending on SDI lasers instead of subjecting them to timely tests against actual ballistic missile targets.

In a letter to Saucier, L'Heureux said Cheney was initially being given 60 days to submit a report to the special counsel, but "these matters usually take somewhat longer." Under the law, the report must include a summary of any evidence obtained, a listing of any violations or apparent violations of any law or regulation, and actions taken or planned as a result of the inquiry.

Among the allegations Saucier made was that in February 1987, Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, SDI director, arbitrarily ordered a doubling of the then-proposed Strategic Defense System's kill ratio against enemy targets in a report that eventually went to Congress, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council.

Saucier said in an affidavit that Abrahamson "said the numbers didn't look good enough and instructed a secretary to change them on the word processor . . ."

Abrahamson, now with Hughes Aircraft, called the claim "pure nonsense." "I don't remember the incident," he said in a recent phone interview. "I could have told a boost phase designer that maybe we're

underestimating" the numbers, but "I never falsified any kind of study results."

Saucier, the Strategic Defense Command's chief scientist for advanced technologies and architectures, was ordered fired in January because superiors rated as unacceptable a study he had written proposing a modified Patriot system to track and respond to incoming enemy missiles, a move that he said could save billions of dollars.

Saucier's lawyer, Thomas Devine, legal director of the nonprofit Government Accountability Project, said the study was among the "relevant materials" the special counsel sent to Cheney for review, thereby making it "protected speech" and eliminating it as grounds for dismissal.

Study Decries Government 'Deadlock'

Big Issues Unaddressed Because Hill, Administration Fail to Cooperate

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

This is from the National Academy of Public Administration: Congress and the executive branch spend too much time bickering, don't communicate well on important issues, try to undercut each other's authority, and often seem hopelessly deadlocked. While this hardly comes as a surprise after more than a decade of bitter feuding between the Democratic-controlled Congress and the Reagan and Bush administrations, a recent study by the academy warns of long-lasting damage to government institutions unless reason prevails.

"Major issues now facing this country are not being addressed because of the distrust and deadlock that exist between Congress and the executive branch," said James R. Jones, chairman of the American Stock Exchange and a former House member, who headed the two-year study. "New attitudes and new devices are urgently needed in this critical relationship."

Alarmed by the disintegrating comity between the executive branch and Congress, the study finds that increased competition between the two branches of government has come at a high price.

Both Congress and the executive branch have often shirked their responsibilities for broad policymaking and effective management of federal programs because of the squabbling, the study found.

The executive branch frequently has released faulty or misleading information, which leads to inefficiency within programs and confusion on Capitol Hill. It also has refused to follow specific congressional



"Effective governance ... requires far more emphasis on shared powers, negotiation ... and cooperative management."

—study by the National Academy of Public Administration

al mandates, which has led to added tensions.

"Effective governance under modern circumstances requires far greater emphasis on shared powers, negotiation, shared accurate information and cooperative management than on the classical doctrine of the separation of powers," the study found.

As the rift between Capitol Hill and the White House broadened during the 1980s, Republican critics complained that congressional oversight had changed to meddling and "micromanagement" of federal programs.

Congress's obsessive use of "pork

barrel" projects and "earmarked" programs to help targeted districts added to the appearance of a Congress trying to run roughshod over administrative prerogatives.

Yet, after reviewing 10 case studies in which Congress intervened in major federal policy areas—including nuclear waste disposal, defense and strategic weapons, and human rights issues—the academy panel concluded that difficult situations often were improved as a result of congressional intervention.

"Congress does, at times, interfere with the executive branch's management of programs for parochial or political reasons ... [but] in the cases the panel examined, Congress was more constructive in policy and program implementation than its critics or the panel initially supposed," the report stated.

The study, entitled "Beyond Distrust: Building Bridges Between Congress and the Executive," offered these recommendations:

- A Joint Legislative-Executive Conference should be created to ensure vigorous debate about public policy choices while improving communication and understanding.

- Congress and the executive branch should support the creation of regular, structured staff-to-staff working groups, personnel exchanges and joint training programs.

- Congress and the administration should undertake performance-based reviews of programs and policies with citizen input. The executive branch should also develop well-integrated information systems to provide Congress and citizens with greater access to information about programs.

Black, Suburban Voters Courtied in Maryland

Candidates Step Up Last-Minute Appeals

By Richard Tapscott
Washington Post Staff Writer

Leading Democratic presidential candidates accelerated their broadcast advertising campaigns in Maryland during the weekend, setting the stage for the College Park debate last night and a final flurry of personal appeals before tomorrow's primary.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, entering the Washington television market after concentrating earlier on Baltimore, attacked what he characterized as a pro-business bias by his main rival, former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas.

Tsongas, meanwhile, picked up a strongly worded endorsement from the Baltimore Sun that praised his campaign for providing "a refreshing zest for hard truths and realism." Tsongas also won the endorsement yesterday of Prince George's County Executive Parris N. Glendening (D), whose county has become a major battleground in the presidential contest.

Both Tsongas and Clinton, who have been leading in polls of likely Democratic voters in Maryland, planned to campaign in the Washington suburbs this morning. Tsongas, who was endorsed by Gov. William Donald Schaefer (D) last week, is scheduled to visit a business in Prince George's County as well, and then travel by bus to Baltimore.

Last night, Clinton was scheduled to appear at a high school basketball tournament with his chief supporter in Baltimore, Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke, a Democrat, and to attend a reception in Little Italy. Today, Clinton also expects to campaign in northern Anne Arundel County.

The candidates' choices of last-minute campaign stops illustrate the importance of suburban and black voters in tomorrow's primary. Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey, who bypassed the Maryland debate last night to concentrate on western states, began airing radio spots in the Washington area this weekend featuring his endorsement by Sen. Decatur W. Trotter (D-Prince George's).

Maryland, which shares the primary spotlight this week with Georgia and Colorado, has evolved into a high-stakes prize for candidates eager to show strength outside their home regions.

Tsongas has put the highest premium on Maryland, having turned his attention to the state immediately after his victory in New Hampshire two weeks ago.

Tsongas may have stretched his lead over Clinton in the last week. In an independent survey released last night by Potomac Survey Research, a Montgomery County polling business, they were trailed substantially by former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., Kerrey and Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin. Still, pollster Keith Haller said more than a quarter of likely Democratic voters were undecided as of Saturday night.

"It's still a two-way race," Haller said. "It's still very possible for Clinton to close the gap, given the undecided vote. Clinton might catch Tsongas if the healthy undecided number switched in fairly dramatic terms due to some event at the debate."

Among Republicans in Maryland, President Bush was favored by two-thirds in Haller's poll. In a state with a moderate brand of Republicanism, conservative television commentator Patrick J. Buchanan was the choice of nearly a quarter of those surveyed. Buchanan expended little effort on Maryland, preferring to focus on the Georgia primary.

In television commercials that have been running for two weeks in Baltimore and Washington, Tsongas has stressed his call for the tax incentives he contends will begin the process of rebuilding the country's manufacturing base and lead the way out of recession.

Clinton countered this weekend with ads that label Tsongas "the best friend Wall Street has ever had." The Clinton ads directly question Tsongas's opposition to a small, middle-class tax cut and say that Clinton would "make the rich pay their fair share."

Marc Ginsberg, a Clinton spokesman, said that although his campaign is being outspent 2 to 1 in television ads, he hoped to focus Maryland voters on issues "rather than the slingshot from New Hampshire."

Tsongas's Maryland spokesman, Kevin Coates, called Clinton's televised attack "the act of a desperate man."

From the perspective of the Clinton campaign, Maryland has always presented a tough challenge because of Tsongas's strength among suburbanites, particularly in Montgomery County.

Polls and focus groups show that in that affluent, well-educated electorate, giving people more information about the differences between Tsongas's and Clinton's policies increases Tsongas's margin. In that respect, the voter near the Capital Beltway is different from the rest of the country, the Clinton advisers say.

Tsongas's voter base is suburban, affluent and educated; Clinton's base is in the city of Baltimore, on the Eastern Shore and in Western Maryland, surveys suggest.

The three other Democrats in the primary have won little strong support, so Clinton hopes to get a fair share of the 67 national convention delegates from Maryland even if he comes in second.

The black Democratic vote, which could be 25 percent of the statewide total, is particularly important to Clinton, who would benefit from a large turnout in the majority-black 4th District congressional primary. The new district covers western Prince George's and southeastern Montgomery counties.

Staff writer David S. Broder contributed to this report.

THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT

A Daily Digest

Kerrey Again Disputes Clinton's Electability

By Maralee Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writer

In between debates, some of the Democratic presidential candidates found time to try to score points during television interviews yesterday.

Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey, continuing his newest campaign theme, questioned Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's credibility and electability on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley."

Kerrey said Clinton's explanation of why he was not drafted during the Vietnam War raised questions about his credibility, and that, in turn, raised the issue of whether Clinton would be electable if he became the Democratic nominee.

"I'm not saying that because he didn't [serve in Vietnam], that he's unqualified. I'm just saying that I don't believe him when he says, 'I couldn't go,'" Kerrey said.

Kerrey said former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, who won the New Hampshire primary and Maine caucuses, is becoming "extremely pious and is beginning to sound like the Grinch who stole Christmas."

Former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., interviewed on the same program, said there is "not a dime's worth of difference" between Tsongas and Clinton. "One gives tax lollipops to business, the other to something he calls the middle class," Brown charged. "All economists acknowledge they'll do absolutely nothing to stimulate jobs and increase investment or saving."

Brown said he favored a flat tax of 13 percent and a value-added tax. He said he would abolish the corporate tax, the income tax, the payroll tax and gasoline taxes.

Two other Democrats, appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press," each insisted he would not get into the race and that the party's nominee will be one of the five now running, who include Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin.

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) said reports that he has an organization in place and is ready to run are "absolutely ridiculous." And Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), asked whether he thought his party's nominee would be one of the five, answered, "Oh, yes, I do." Bentsen said he was "out" for 1992.

Jean Kirkpatrick

'It Is Appropriate to Speak of Genocide'

The Iraqi government's horrific violation of human rights.

The United Nations Human Rights Commission is a seriously flawed institution whose members include the world's greatest human rights offenders—Iran, Iraq and Cuba, among others. Its powers to investigate are very limited, and its powers to deter abuse are almost nonexistent.

But from time to time, when a majority can be mustered to authorize an investigation and the investigator turns out to be energetic and courageous, an important report emerges. Dutch diplomat Max van der Stoep has produced such a report on the status of human rights in Iraq. He submitted it in mid-February to the commission meeting in Geneva.

Van der Stoep's report is shocking even to those who already understand that Saddam Hussein is a violent, brutal man who has deprived Iraqis of political, social, economic, indeed all human rights. So widespread was the fear of reprisal against themselves, their families and associates that victims of and witnesses to terrible abuses did not dare to speak to van der Stoep inside Iraq. Instead, he traveled to Geneva, London, the Hague, Iran and Turkey to hear testimony. The testimony depicts a regime that relies on ubiquitous terror to maintain the unlimited power of Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party.

Van der Stoep's report tells the story of arbitrary executions of individuals, families, whole villages; of arbitrary arrests and unspeakable tor-

tures, including electric shocks, burnings, beatings, rapes, and extractions of teeth and nails. It tells of the torture and murder of children, of sudden unexplained disappearances and of arbitrary sentences before arbitrary courts.

In Iraq, there is no freedom of thought, expression, religion, association or movement. There is no rule of law. All Iraqis live in fear. No one possesses rights against the state. All are subject to violent abuse.

Minorities are special targets, and none more so than the Kurds. "It is clear," van der Stoep reports, "that deliberate actions of the Iraqi government have caused refugee flows, forced urbanization and internal deportation." At least 2 million fled to the Kurdish hills in the spring of 1991. "Detailed reports allege the destruction of some 4,000 villages affecting well over a million people." Kurdish property was stolen, Kurdish farmland mined, populations gassed, denied food, fuel and medicine through an "internal blockade" — a kind of "siege within a siege."

Iraq's 1 million Assyrians have also suffered massacres, forced relocation and systematic destruction of villages, churches and schools.

The Shia of southern Iraq have been special targets of Saddam Hussein's regime. Thousands have been arrested, imprisoned, tortured and executed.

Van der Stoep tells us it is appropriate to speak of genocide.

His charges are carefully documented in a detailed report resulting from meticulously taken testimony, consideration of the defense's case and the Baghdad government's explanations. In carefully reaching his conclusions, he says the evidence shows remarkable consistency.

Being a straightforward, honest man, this *Special Rapporteur* has no hesitation in concluding that: "There have been massive violations of human rights with a number of victims in the hundreds of thousands if not much higher. . . . The government of Iraq is responsible."

International condemnation is not enough in the face of this intolerable situation. Van der Stoep recommends, therefore, that the commission send a team of monitors to Iraq to remain there until the human-rights situation has drastically improved. He says these monitors should have the right to move about freely, to visit prisons and other places of detention, to observe trials and to take testimony on abuses.

As yet, the commission has not acted on his recommendations. It is not certain that they will be adopted. The traditional position of U.N. majorities—majorities in which the Third World is always important—has been that the treatment of citizens by their government is a strictly "internal matter" in which other nations have no right to intervene.

China, for example, takes this position and argues that the U.N. has no legitimate interest in how it treats the sorely oppressed Tibetan minority.

But support for an expanded jurisdiction over human rights questions is growing. Last spring, on April 5, in Resolution 688, the U.N. Security Council condemned Iraq's repression of its civilian population as a threat to international peace and security, and therefore the proper business of the Security Council. Subsequently, the French Secretary of State for Human Rights, Bernard Kouchner, has spoken insistently of an international "right to intervene" in cases of massive human-rights violations.

This year, the 12 nations of the European Community as well as several Latin American and Scandinavian countries are co-sponsoring a resolution that will put human rights violations in Tibet on the agenda of the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Although the U.S. government has not yet agreed to cosponsor this resolution, America has taken a clear position, as stated by Assistant Secretary of Human Rights Richard Schifter in Geneva, that "human rights problems should no longer be considered as essentially within domestic jurisdiction."

It is clear that new doctrine is evolving in international law regarding human rights. The next urgent step in that evolution is for the commission to authorize monitors for Iraq and Tibet.

©1992, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

Marian Wright Edelman

The Right Middle-Class Tax Cut

A refundable tax credit for children is the way to go.

The rapidly emerging "conventional wisdom" in Washington is that a modest tax cut for middle-income families won't make much of a dent in the recession. But it still can make a big difference for millions of American families with children by establishing a refundable tax credit for children—one that would ensure that no child is left behind by reducing federal income tax liability for middle-income families and providing a tax refund to families with earnings too low to pay income taxes.

All of the core elements of a well-crafted tax relief measure have already been placed on the table by the president and key congressional leaders. The challenge now is to pull these pieces together into a focused initiative that targets help to those Americans hardest hit by changes in the economy and in government policies during the past two decades—low- and middle-income families with children.

■ President Bush's tax plan focuses middle-income tax relief on families with children by calling for an increase in the personal exemption for dependent children. In its details the president's proposal is very badly targeted—an increase in the personal exemption would provide the greatest benefits to families at the top of the income scale who least need help and would give nothing to struggling, low-income families who have been battered most by the nation's recent economic problems. But President Bush's proposal does have the virtue of recognizing that it is families with children who most need help.

■ In the Senate, Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) has improved on the Bush proposal, advocating a children's tax credit. Because it is not refundable, the Bentsen credit still would not help families with modest or no earnings—families with wages below about \$15,000 a year. But it would eliminate the other inequities inherent in the personal exemption by providing the same amount of relief to all the families above that level who owe federal income taxes.

■ The House-passed tax measure, on the other hand, is not targeted on families with children and is only temporary, but it does add one essential feature of tax relief: refundability. The

plan ties a temporary, two-year cut in federal income taxes to a percentage of Social Security payroll taxes paid by workers. The credit's refundability ensures that even workers in low-wage or part-time jobs would receive some help (although in many cases less than the \$400 per family maximum credit) under the plan.

The simplest, fairest and most effective vehicle for pulling the best of these competing proposals together is a refundable tax credit for children.

A refundable children's credit would reach those Americans who have lost the most economic ground—from 1973 to 1990 the median income of families with children fell by 6 percent, while that of families without children rose by 11 percent. It also should draw support from across the political spectrum. For example, conservatives and liberals on the National Commission on Children embraced the refundable children's credit as an important way of strengthening the economic base for families while preserving strong incentives to work and support children.

Most important, a refundable children's credit is fair. Under the president's plan to increase the personal exemption by \$500, a family with one child and an income above \$100,000 would get \$155. The same family with an income of \$30,000 would get \$75, and one with an income below \$15,000 would get nothing. One in four children in America would receive no benefit from an increase in the personal exemption, including millions of children whose parents are working hard at low wages.

The president's proposal would give families containing the poorest one-half of all children in America only one-fourth of the total tax relief (roughly \$1.2 billion). The other three quarters (about \$3.4 billion) would go to the more affluent half of America's families with children.

Far fairer would be a refundable tax credit that treats every child alike, helping the middle



BY MARGARET SEOTT

class and the poor at least as much as the affluent, rather than less. A refundable credit of \$225 to \$300 per child would give American families more help than the Bush plan and could be structured to spend about the same amount as the Bentsen and House of Representative credits. With Congress considering an overall tax package that costs as much as \$100 billion over five years, inclusion of a refundable children's credit still would have ample room for other priority tax members.

Of course, there are political obstacles to be overcome. For one thing, Congress must muster the courage to raise taxes on the most affluent Americans rather than pay for tax cuts with military savings that are desperately needed to finance other, too long-deferred domestic needs.

But at a time of very scarce federal resources, these are precisely the kinds of choices we must make. Going into a crucial election year, America's families are watching, waiting and hoping that we will leave no child behind.

The writer is president of the Children's Defense Fund.

Senate Democratic Plan For a Tax Bill Outlined

Wealthy Would Pay for Middle-Class Relief

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) said yesterday he is prepared to go along with most of President Bush's proposals for jump-starting the economy, but said that Democrats will insist on tax relief for the middle class paid for by raising taxes on the wealthy.

As the tax debate shifts from the House to the Senate this week, Bentsen said he is attempting to produce a proposal that would attract Republican support. But he said that as long as Bush is under fire from conservative challenger Patrick J. Buchanan, he held out little hope for a compromise on the major sticking point, the president's adamant opposition to any tax increase.

"I am trying to put some things in there anticipating what we could do to have a bipartisan solution to it and to move this economy forward and restore some fairness to the tax system," Bentsen said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

Bush has vowed to veto a tax bill approved by the House Thursday that would raise the top income tax rate from 31 percent to 35 percent and impose a 10 percent surtax on millionaires.

The Senate Finance Committee is scheduled to begin work Tuesday on a bill drafted by Bentsen that will use similar tax increases to pay for a \$300 tax credit for children in families earning less than \$70,000 a year.

Unlike the House-passed bill, which would permanently raise taxes but provide a tax credit of up to \$400 for the vast majority of working families for two years, Bentsen's tax credit would be permanent but would reach fewer families, mostly those in the middle-income range. Also, unlike the House version, Bentsen's tax credit would not be refundable. Refundable tax credits are paid in cash to those who don't need them to offset taxes—so they benefit the working poor, who often do not earn enough to owe much if any federal income taxes.

"What I'm going to do on that one is address the unfairness that has happened to middle-income taxpayers," Bentsen said. "If you look at the last 10 years, you'll see that their taxes have gone up while their income has gone down. You're seeing where both parents are working now, where they've added a month

to their work hours for a year, where they have less time for parenting."

The bill—which also will include a relaxation of restrictions on Individual Retirement Accounts, a reduction in the capital gains tax, investment tax incentives for business and the real estate industry, repeal of the luxury tax on airplanes and boats and provisions to expand the availability of health insurance—likely will reach the Senate floor next week.

Bentsen has negotiated the details of his \$60 billion to \$70 billion package with the 10 other Democrats on his 20-member committee, making concessions in hopes of nailing down their support for the proposed tax increases. For example, he may go along with a provision

***Bush has vowed to
veto a tax bill
approved by the
House.***

sought by Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (D-W.Va.) to help refinance a depleted coal miners' retirement trust fund. He also is attempting to placate Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), who has differing views on the tax credit.

Unlike House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), who enjoys a 23-to-13 majority in his committee, Bentsen's proposal could be scuttled if one committee Democrat defects. The nine GOP members appear united in their support for the president's plan, which resembles the Bentsen proposal in many ways but uses accounting changes instead of tax increases to pay for it.

"We're invoking what team spirit we have and solidarity," Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), a committee member, said last week. "I've not seen any opposition to a rate increase."

Sensitive to criticism that the Bush package offers nothing for the middle class, the Republicans on the Senate committee might resurrect a proposal from the president's State of the Union address to raise the personal tax exemption for children by \$500. There has been no serious talk among Republicans of mounting a filibuster to block the Democrats.

POLITICS

Straw Vote by GOP In California Gives Bush 89 Percent

President Bush yesterday won 89 percent of a nonbinding straw vote by delegates to the California Republican Party Convention after his supporters abandoned efforts to secure a formal endorsement that would have been more helpful to his reelection campaign.

Conservative challenger Patrick J. Buchanan, who got 11 percent, had been fighting to block the formal endorsement, which would have permitted the state GOP to work directly with the Bush campaign. A Buchanan backer told the Associated Press the move amounted to "a major defeat for George Bush."

Bush supporters insisted they could have won the formal endorsement but dropped the effort because Republicans did not want to suspend California GOP rules requiring strict neutrality until after the June 2 primary.

"They failed . . . to shut us out of the party mechanism," AP quoted James Neff, Buchanan's California state campaign coordinator, as saying. "After failing in that, we think a straw vote saying he's a great guy is like a straw dog. It has no bite."

Rep. Mazzoli's Ceiling

■ Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli (D-Ky.), who stopped accepting po-

litical action committee money during his hotly contested 1990 reelection campaign, has again lowered the ante. He says he will no longer take contributions of more than \$100.

The Louisville Courier-Journal said congressional experts knew of no others in Congress who had set such a limit, although former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. (D) has put a \$100 maximum on donations to his presidential campaign.

Mazzoli, an 11-term veteran, acknowledges that he has a built-in advantage of free mailing privileges and name recognition over any challenger. Long a supporter of campaign finance reform, Mazzoli said in an interview that the \$100 limit "makes me feel more comfortable. . . . Colleagues have come up to me on the floor asking 'Can you do it and really win a race?' I give them an honest answer. I don't know."

LaRouche Denied Funds

■ Lyndon H. LaRouche's jailhouse bid for the White House won't get public financing.

The Federal Election Commission, which formally denied the funds last week, cited LaRouche's history of "abuse and noncompliance," AP reported.

LaRouche got more than \$1.8 million in federal matching funds in the last four presidential races. He lost each one and is serving 15 years in prison for a 1988 fraud and tax evasion conviction.

—Charles R. Babcock

The Washington Post

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1992

'It's Time to Throw Out the Old'

Excerpts from a speech by Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) delivered at Boscauven, N.H., on Feb. 13:

As I've traveled around America, I see two Americas. The best of times and the worst of times.

If you're a junk-bond dealer, a corporate merger artist, or a CEO making \$5 million a year and you've got a golden parachute, it's the best of times.

But if you're a family out of work, if you're a young person wanting to go to college and don't know where you're going to get the money, if you're an elderly person wondering how you're going to get money for your heating bill or your health bill, it can be the worst of times.

Two Americas: The rich getting richer, the poor getting poorer, and the middle class paying for both. That's not our America. Our America is not an America in decline. Our America is not one going backwards. Our America is not one dividing people up. Our America is one America, working together, pulling together, with hope, with confidence in the future, and with the confidence that we can pass on to our children a better life than what we had. A unified people—not divided up—working together.

That's my America. That's your America. That's

FORUM

The 'Stump Speech'

the America of the Democratic Party. That's what we've always struggled for and fought for.

So I say it's time to throw out the old. Throw out the programs that don't work. Throw out trickle-down economics. Throw out those tax breaks to the wealthy. Throw out those policies that ship our jobs overseas. Throw out those policies that continue to spend our money on the Cold War when it's over.

It's time to go to George Bush and say, "George, we gave you your chance, you had four years, you failed, you flunked, now get out and let a real Democrat lead this country."

It's time for a new Democratic economic program. A Democratic economic program that focuses not on the few at the top, but the people down below, the working people of this country. A Democratic economic program that says "no more tax breaks for the rich," like capital gains. Two-thirds of the capital gains tax break goes to the richest one percent of our people. We've been trying that for ten years. It never seems to trickle down on us. It never does get down there.

You know that old philosophy that if you just give it to the rich, somehow it gets down to us—that if you give it to the big corporations, it comes down to us?

That's the same old principle that the best way to feed the birds is to give more oats to the horse.

It's time for the big corporations, and especially the multinational corporations, to pay their fair share in our country, so we don't have to raise any taxes on the middle class.

It's time for a new Democratic economic program that focuses on jobs and putting people back to work in this country. And we can do it. I have a plan, "A Blueprint to Build a New America"—five points where I point out how we can get the money down to these local communities . . . to get people back to

work, working on our infrastructure, roads and bridges, sewer and water systems, school improvement programs—the plans are on the shelf. They're there ready to go. But the money isn't. It's time to get the money down and put people to work.

And guess what happens when people like that go to work? They go downtown and they shop through stores. They buy clothes for their kids. They buy a carpet for the floor, and furniture for their house. They may buy a new car. They spend their money and the economy gets going again.

And what do we get out of it? We get a better infrastructure that allows the private sector to be more efficient and more productive. That's a Democratic economic program. . . .

It's time to build a new America. It's time to put our people to work. We have a window of opportunity and we can't let this opportunity pass. The Cold War is over. It's time now to build this country for the next century for our children and our grandchildren.

A new America that is built on working families and jobs. Not from the top down, but from the bottom up. It means a new America in which we encourage new technologies and the training and the retraining that goes with it. It means education.

It means a commitment to make sure that every child in America, no matter where that child is born or raised, no matter who that child is, gets early intervention, and early education programs, and gets that child prepared for school—no matter where that child lives.

It means making the federal government a partner with our elementary and secondary schools. In 1980, the federal government provided about eleven percent of the funds for an average school district. It's now down to about five percent. And you wonder why your property taxes are going through the roof? That's exactly why.

It's time to take the burden off the property taxpayers and make the big corporations and the multinationals belly up to the bar and help pay for education.

And it's time for us to turn another corner and have a national policy that says that every young person in America who is able and wants a college education will get a college education. I have proposed setting up five services: a national health services corps, a teacher corps, a conservation corps, a police corps and the military. If you want a college education, pick one of them—we'll send you to school and, when you get through, pay your country back with four years of service to America. . . .

I'm reminded of what Robert Kennedy once said. He said, "Some people see things as they are and ask why? And some people see things the way they ought to be and ask, why not?" I'm asking, why not?

Because I believe as deeply as I believe anything that we can do it. That we can build a better America. . . .

But we must have a government that cares and a government that understands that our policies and programs must not be suited just to benefit the few at the top, but the many at the bottom.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1992

Bush Courts Religious Right as Democrats Assail Record

Md. Debate Focuses on Rights, Gulf War

By David S. Broder and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Democratic presidential candidates ended their cross-country, tri-state debate marathon last night with a lively forum at the University of Maryland in which they focused more fire on President Bush's civil rights and foreign policies than on their differences with each other.

With Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey opting to stay in the West, the four other major Democratic candidates raked Bush for "expediency" abroad and exploitation of racial divisions at home.

In a line that drew sustained

applause from the audience at Tawes Auditorium, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton said Bush "still wants to play the race card against us, and I'm telling you, the Democrats are not going to let him do it. We're going to go up or down together."

The unity did not keep Clinton, Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin and former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. from raking former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas over the coals on his economic and energy policies. Nor did it inhibit Brown and Harkin from going after Clinton on his environmental record.

See DEBATE, A10, Col. 1

DEBATE, From A1

But compared to Saturday night's debate in Denver, where Clinton and Tsongas angrily challenged each other's veracity, this was a more temperate exchange. The traveling troupe touched down briefly in Atlanta for a mid-day session in which Clinton attacked Tsongas on economics and Kerrey, who participated via satellite, clashed with Clinton on the Arkansas governor's draft record and with Tsongas on health care.

The 26-hour debate-athon preceded Tuesday's voting in seven states: primaries in Maryland, Colorado and Georgia and caucuses in Minnesota, Washington, Idaho and Utah.

The civil rights discussion was prompted by a question asking the candidates to recount the personal experience that had shaped their view of racial relations. Brown spoke about the Watts riots in Los Angeles, Tsongas about his Peace Corps experience in Ethiopia, Clinton about his boyhood in a segregated Arkansas town and Harkin about his efforts to desegregate housing in Ames, Iowa, and his reaction to the "tiger cages" he saw in Vietnam during the war there.

When they finished, Clinton said, that "last week, Pat Buchanan [President Bush's challenger for the Republican nomination] went to the South and visited a Confederate cemetery and would not walk across the street to visit a black cemetery. He made a very pointed message of it. And George Bush has not called him on it yet because he wants to play the race card against us."

Moderator Robert G. Beckel, a former Democratic strategist, asked if the candidates believed the Republicans were deliberately using racial issues. "Even my 10-year-old daughter can tell you the Republicans have one strategy: divide and rule," Tsongas said. Harkin replied: "I believe George Bush has taken the party of Abraham Lincoln and turned it into the party of David Duke."

Even on foreign policy, which Democrats generally have conceded to be Bush's strong suit, the challengers showed no hesitation to criticize the incumbent last night.

After all four had rejected the use of political assassination against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, Beckel asked if they would have continued the Persian Gulf War, risking higher casualties, to remove Saddam from power.

Brown said the question could not be answered because "the whole war was bungled from start to finish." Clinton said Bush should have heeded what he said was the advice of Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf and continued the hostilities for another 36 hours to destroy the Republican Guard and make it easier for Saddam's internal enemies to depose him.

Harkin said both Bush and former president Ronald Reagan had "coddled Saddam" for years before the war and that he would have issued a clear ultimatum that "the first Iraqi to cross the border [of Kuwait] is a dead man."

Tsongas said he would not have gone after Saddam but criticized Bush's "expediency" in accepting Saddam's continued rule after comparing the Iraqi leader to Adolf Hitler. "That is not wisdom. That is expediency. That is ad hoc-ing your way through foreign policy."

"People say George Bush has all this foreign policy experience," Tsongas said. "But experience and wisdom aren't the same thing."

The forum began with a gang-up on Tsongas, who has been leading the field in the Maryland polls. Harkin led the attack on Tsongas's proposal for targeted capital gains tax cuts, saying that approach would "sell out the heart and soul of the Democratic Party."

As the others joined in, with Brown saying Tsongas was offering "lollipops" to business, Tsongas joked: "I have taken a strong anti-lollipop stand my entire life."

When Clinton added his comments, Tsongas, appearing irritated, said, "I just want to establish a pattern. I've answered every question. I've never mentioned anybody's name."

Harkin shot back: "Mr. Tsongas was the first one to attack me in Boston last summer. . . . No more of this self-righteousness."

Harkin was the aggressor on Clinton's environmental record, saying that Arkansas "has been rated last in environmental policy. . . . Don't read our lips. Read our record."

Clinton said, "we have had clean-

er water, cleaner air and tougher enforcement" of environmental regulations during his tenure than most other states. That prompted Brown to hold up several news stories that appeared to be critical of Clinton's record. But Clinton called them "political chicanery" and said, "You can't tell by newspaper headlines or by these fellows that are behind in the polls" what he had done.

When Beckel asked if they were afraid they were helping Bush by criticizing each other, the candidates agreed that this was just a healthy workout for the general election. They expressed general agreement on AIDS education and treatment, health care and greater aid to the cities.

The debate in Atlanta dealt largely with health care and economics but also produced another exchange between Clinton and Tsongas over the negative tactics that have dominated the Democratic race in the past week.

Tsongas renewed his call for a cease-fire in negative campaigning, saying he would "pull everything off" the air and run only substantive television ads or ones criticizing Bush. But Clinton said Tsongas had "dishonestly" attacked him and Kerrey over middle-class tax cuts and accused his rival of wanting to have it both ways in the debate over negative campaigning.

Clinton defended ads now airing in Maryland and Colorado that sharply criticize Tsongas's economic program. "I think the American people are entitled to know what the differences between our position are, and if you won't tell them, somebody needs to," Clinton said.

The candidates sparred over the best way to revamp the U.S. health care system, with Kerrey accusing his rivals of not being willing to go far enough. But Brown said none of the candidates could expect to succeed at solving the health care crisis until they confronted a medical lobby that he said contributes \$30 million to congressional campaigns every two years. "This is a matter of taking power back," he said.

Staff writer Kenneth J. Cooper contributed to this report.

Bush Courts Religious Right as Democrats Assail Record

Baptist Site Chosen After Buchanan Attacks

By William Booth
and John E. Yang
Washington Post Staff Writers

ATLANTA, March 1—President Bush came to worship this morning with the largest Baptist congregation in town, and while he kept his prayers to himself, his televised presence here was clearly designed to bolster support among the religious right, many of whom are threatening to convert to Patrick J. Buchanan.

"Around election time, it always seems our church is inundated with politicians looking for the conservative vote," said Mike Adams, as he settled into a wooden pew with his wife, Natalie, and 12-year-old daughter Emily for

the morning service at the First Baptist Church of Atlanta.

"If he's looking for votes, where else is he going to go in the South but the Baptists?" asked James Shoffner, a pragmatist, as he stood on the steps of the church, an imposing red brick building with towering white columns.

Will it work?

"Sure," Shoffner said. "It'll work." Shoffner noted that Baptists make up the overwhelming majority of Christians in the South, and that the First Baptist Church, with about 15,000 members, is the largest congregation in Atlanta. Plus, the services are televised.

The Baptists weren't being cynical. See BUSH, A8, Col. 1

In Georgia, Bush Seeks Support of Religious Right

BUSH, From A1

ical, just realistic. "I don't doubt that George Bush is a religious man," said Jim Rast, attending church with his wife, Dot, who wore her mink. "But we all know why he's here."

Earlier in the week, the Episcopalian Bush was planning to attend services with an old World War II buddy at Peachtree Presbyterian down the road.

But his campaign staff veered hard right and changed ecclesiastical venues after Republican challenger Buchanan unleashed attack ads accusing the Bush administration of investing tax dollars in pornographic and blasphemous art that denigrates the image of Jesus Christ. It wasn't subtle, and it wasn't exactly accurate, but it got the attention of the White House.

Bush did not address the congregation, but he and his wife, Barbara, were introduced by the pastor, the Rev. Charles F. Stanley, as "special guests." The couple stood briefly and bowed. Bush looked somber and serious. The event was televised on Stanley's television ministry.

During the morning services, five cameras panned the congregation, lingering often on the Bushes, alternating their images with shots of Stanley or one of the scores of blue-robed singers in the choir.

Stanley, a conservative pastor and a friend of Bush, kept his sermon free of profane politics. Instead, he asked the congregation to pray for the president's strength, wisdom and faith—not his victory in Tuesday's Georgia primary.

Stanley did, however, focus his remarks on the importance of courage. To illustrate, he chose the story of Joshua, another embattled political leader, who inherited the Nation of Israel from Moses and had to endure internal rebellions, warfare and the doubt of the masses.

Stanley also told the congregation, and hundreds of thousands of TV viewers, that he had shown Bush his favorite painting, an image of Daniel in the lion's den. "Daniel didn't have his eyes on the lions," Stanley said, even though their lair was filled with bones. No, Daniel



With South Carolina Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. at his side, President Bush responds to welcome from thousands of supporters at a rally in Savannah, Ga.

kept his eyes on a ray of sunlight, on the Lord.

Advice for Bush? Maybe, some of the members agreed.

"We're not political," said Shoffner. "But it is the political season."

Indeed. Across the street, about 20 members of the AIDS activist and homosexual-rights groups Act-Up and Queer Nation were chanting. "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Christian hatred has got to go."

Fanned the steps of First Baptist, however, it was hard to hear the protesters. People were asking who the protesters were.

"I think they're pro-choice," said one.

"Homosexuals," said a member with a hearing aid in each ear.

Later in the day, Bush continued his emphasis on "family values" at a sun-drenched rally in Savannah, hailing "the values that are close to

home." He told a crowd of several thousand: "I'm talking about jobs, I am talking about family, I am talking about world peace for ourselves and for all our kids—jobs, family, world peace."

He cast the presidential race as a choice about the world in which today's children will live. "People know that we're in a battle for the future," he said. "And it's about... the kind of legacy we're going to leave our kids. And so let some opponents sign the retreat, run from the new realities, seek refuge in a world of protectionism or high taxes or even bigger government. That's not the future we want for our kids."

Looking back on his first term and forward as he asked for a second one, Bush recalled the words of his mother, Dorothy Walker Bush. "I go back—I guess we all do—to

what our families said, and I go back to what my mother said: Try your hardest, do your best. Well, let me tell you something: I'm not done yet."

Bush got a warm reception in Savannah, where the local newspaper endorsed Buchanan on Saturday, saying Bush needed to be sent a message.

As before, the president never mentioned his challenger by name. "I'm going to try to keep it above the fray," he said. "I've got to be, continue to be the president of this great country—honored to be that president. And I've been trying to keep this on a positive plane."

A former Bush administration official and leading conservative, William J. Bennett, took on the president's challenger, saying Buchanan would be "impossible" as president.

Bennett said on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" that Buchanan "flirts" with fascism, appeals to the worst side of human nature and "can't even repudiate David Duke," the former Ku Klux Klan leader who also is seeking the Republican presidential nomination.

Buchanan "doesn't like—or says many critical things of—immigrants of color, of Israel, of Jews, even of... democratic theory," Bennett said. While he said he and other conservatives "may be unhappy with a number of things that George Bush is doing... we cannot allow this view of the world to overtake conservatism."

Bennett, former secretary of education and Bush's first director of drug control policy, said Buchanan is not "the heir to Ronald Reagan, which is what he would like to tell us he is. The Reagan doctrines and the Buchanan doctrines are not the same. When Ronald Reagan talked about civil rights and affirmative action, he talked about it in a way that suggested a more inclusive party...."

"You can talk about color consciousness and color blindness, and I think we should talk about it, and criticize reverse discrimination. But then let's talk about what the positive program is that will help black Americans. That is missing from the Buchanan campaign."

Partial Freeze on Federal Hiring Proposed by House Budget Panel

Pay Hike Delay, Higher Employee Pension Contributions Rejected

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Budget Committee last week adopted a budget resolution that would impose a partial hiring freeze on federal employment and make across-the-board program and administration cuts.

Adopted by voice vote Thursday night, the resolution rejected President Bush's recommendations to delay three months the annual pay raise for federal workers and to increase the monetary contribution of the 1.7 million employees in the Civil Service Retirement System (CSRS).

But the resolution did not spare the federal work force in other ways.

The proposal by committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.) offers two alternatives: Plan A, the "walls down plan," and Plan B, the "walls up plan."

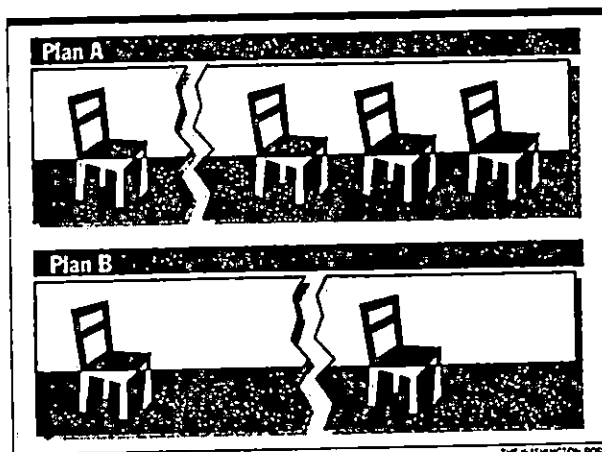
The "walls" refers to the separation in categories between defense and non-defense spending. Under the budget agreement, savings in one of the budget categories must be used to offset the \$399 billion deficit. Some lawmakers are trying to change the agreement so money saved through military spending cuts could be used in non-defense areas.

Plan A in the resolution says that for every four non-defense federal employees who leave through attrition, only three new ones could be hired. Under Plan B, only one employee could be hired for every two who leave. The savings under Plan A would be \$380 million and under Plan B, \$740 million.

The savings are based on the fiscal 1991 average employment level of 1,170,960 employees, an attrition rate of 8.1 percent and an average salary of \$29,600.

Panetta said the effect on federal employees would be "small compared to the hits they've gotten in the past."

Hiring freezes are a damaging way to reduce employment because managers have no control over who leaves and, more important, what positions are refilled. The committee left conditions of the freeze—for example, whether reductions would be counted at the departmental level or



Proposed freezes and cuts likely would affect employment levels in every federal department.

the program-office level—to the Appropriations Committee.

"Freezes are somewhat painless for management, but they're not very effective unless there is a great deal of flexibility," said Nicholas J. Nolan, executive director of the Federal Government Service Task Force, made up of legislators representing districts heavily populated by federal workers.

Nolan said the freezes and across-the-board cuts, which likely would affect employment levels in every department, "pose a new concern" for federal employees.

Responding to the resolution, Robert M. Tobias, president of the National Treasury Employees Union, said the committee rips "the guts from the federal service, leaving government with the structure and the mission but without the means to serve the public."

The resolution is expected to be on the House floor Wednesday and to be voted on Thursday.

The Budget Committee also voted to make a 1 percent across-the-board cut in executive branch spending under Plan A and a 2 per-

cent cut under Plan B. The savings would be \$2.29 billion and \$4.49 billion, respectively.

The budget resolution calls for another 5 percent cut in administrative spending in the areas of legislative operations, White House operations and Cabinet- and sub-Cabinet-level executive departments and agencies. Such a cut translates into a savings of \$112 million.

The administration has proposed permanently eliminating a federal employee's option to take a lump-sum retirement payment. The option is suspended this year, and the resolution opens the possibility it might again be available.

Bush's budget proposal planned to save \$460 million by delaying the annual pay raise for federal employees from January until April 1993. Increasing employees' contributions to the CSRS is estimated to save the government \$5.1 billion over five years. Employees in the plan now pay 7 percent of their annual salaries toward their future annuity. Under Bush's plan, they would pay 8 percent in 1993 and 9 percent every year thereafter.

Georgia Primary Holds Favorites' Feet to Fire

Weak Showings Could Wound Bush, Clinton

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA, March 1—There are growing signs that the two putative leaders in Tuesday's Georgia primary, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton on the Democratic side and President Bush on the Republican, could emerge wounded rather than revived.

Five weeks ago, Clinton saw Georgia as a firewall protecting his front-runner status because it is the site of the first test of southern voting and has the largest number of convention delegates of three states holding primaries Tuesday.

Bush is certain of winning a majority in a state where the outcome of the open Republican primary, which traditionally draws low turnout, is very hard to predict. But he nevertheless faces the possibility of a third embarrassment after Patrick J. Buchanan got 37 percent in New Hampshire and a slate of uncommitted delegates got 31 percent in the South Dakota primary.

Georgia Democrats appear virtually assured to cast a plurality of votes for Clinton, but victory here has turned from a front-runner's luxury to a requirement essential to his campaign's survival.

Success here will demonstrate only that Clinton can win in the South, the region most favorable to his candidacy. But if poll findings in other states hold, the contests on Tuesday in Colorado and Maryland offer Clinton's main competitor, former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, the strongest chance to be the first candidate to demonstrate vote-getting ability outside his home turf.

The most recent poll of Georgia voters by the Atlanta Constitution and WSB-TV shows that over the past month, Clinton's support has grown from 22 to 40 percent. Tsongas, virtually unknown here before his New Hampshire victory, has seen his support level quadruple from 5 to 20 percent. Backing for all the other Democratic candidates declined in the poll, from 27 to 10 percent for former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., from 7 to 5 percent for Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey and from 4 to 2 percent for Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin.

With the remaining 23 percent of the electorate undecided in the poll, Clinton has a shot at winning a solid victory of 50 percent or more, but trends during the four days of polling revealed some danger signs. Last Monday and Tuesday, Clinton's support was 42 percent, but it

fell on Wednesday and Thursday to 37 percent after Kerrey charged here that allegations of marital infidelity and draft evasion make Clinton unelectable in November.

Clinton's strongest base here is in black voters; with blacks, he leads Tsongas 41 to 12 percent. In 1988, blacks made up an estimated 36 percent of the Democratic primary electorate when Jesse L. Jackson was running, but this year such black leaders as Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) expect a sharp decline in turnout, which will hurt Clinton.

Tsongas today sought to weaken Clinton's support among blacks with a radio ad focused on Clinton's angry outburst against Jackson when Clinton, told that Jackson would be campaigning with Harkin, mistakenly assumed that meant Jackson had broken an early promise and endorsed Harkin. "He didn't wait for the facts," the ad says. "No, Bill Clinton didn't wait to find out if it was true. He just attacked. The man he attacked, Jesse Jackson, the Reverend Jesse Jackson.... Paul Tsongas doesn't go around attacking respected national leaders like Jesse Jackson."

Clinton said, "It's the kind of purely negative, personal attack that is wrong and has no place in this campaign."

He, Tsongas and Brown all attended black churches in Atlanta this morning.

The infidelity allegations, which in New Hampshire initially prompted some women to abandon support of Clinton, appear to have hurt him here more than the draft-dodging charges, which damaged his backing among men. Here, both the Atlanta Constitution poll and a poll by Cooper & Secrest Associates show Clinton running far better among white men than among white women, while the gender gap is not pronounced among blacks. The Cooper & Secrest poll found Clinton beating Tsongas 54 to 22 percent among white men but barely holding his own, 32 to 29 percent, among white women.

Tsongas held a modest 5-percentage-point lead over Clinton among whites in the Atlanta area and among young, college-educated whites, while Clinton had a 3-1 lead among rural whites, according to the Atlanta Constitution poll. White suburbanites are a minority in the South, but they are the fastest-growing segment of the population throughout the region. The core of Clinton's white support is old, poor and blue collar while Tsongas's is



Clinton shakes hands with a boy outside Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

young, affluent and professional/white collar.

Kerrey received a great deal of publicity last week when he made the charge of unelectability against Clinton, but the Medal of Honor winner has failed to make a dent in the polls. His advisers say his tactic is "delegate accrual," which is designed to build his number of delegates in the primaries and caucuses through March 17. But under Democratic Party rules, candidates must get at least 15 percent of the vote in a congressional district to qualify for delegates. That means Kerrey must sharply improve his poll standings when actual votes are counted.

While the Democrats are battling it out in three primary states today, Georgia is the only one of the three considered a testing ground for Bush and Buchanan. Buchanan has enlarged his New Hampshire attack on Bush for reneging on a "no new taxes" pledge. Buchanan also alleges that Bush violated his own commitment to fight enactment of "quota" legislation and accuses the president of condoning policies at the National Endowment for the Arts to fund such projects as a film of gay men in chains, leather harnesses and tight jeans. Buchanan has shown a clip as part of a campaign commercial here.

Bush campaign officials, who earlier had sought to dismiss the Buchanan challenge as a minor roadblock on the way to the nomination, have now flooded Georgia television stations with ads suggesting that Buchanan is an unpatriotic sexist. "He opposed Operation Desert Storm... and he even said women are less equipped psychologically to succeed in the workplace. Pat

Buchanan... wrong for America," one Bush ad declares.

Buchanan today responded with an anti-quota ad that begins by quoting Bush as saying, "I will not sign a quota bill." As film shows schoolchildren, the narrator declares: "George Bush made and broke many promises, but the one that hurts the most is the one that steals hope and fairness from our children. No matter how much we sacrifice, or how hard they work, George Bush is closing doors to their future. No one should be deprived of opportunity because of the color of their skin. We need a leader with the courage to stand up for our working families."

Despite Buchanan's challenge, "we'll be fine" in Georgia, White House Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner told reporters aboard Air Force One as Bush flew to Washington from Savannah, Ga., today. "It's a good state for us. It's obvious we're going to be fighting Buchanan for the next several weeks. He'll be in all the races. We'll win them all."

Skinner said he was "not overly concerned" about conservative Democrats voting in the Republican primary in Georgia, saying, "They've got some very exciting Democratic races."

Bush-Quayle campaign General Chairman Robert M. Teeter agreed: "Very few primaries are determined by a crossover vote.... We'll do fine here. We'll win."

Teeter said he thought Buchanan's television commercials "have turned on him" because they are "objectionable."

Staff writer John E. Yang contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1992

Excerpts From the Democratic Candidates' Debate in Maryland

Reuter

Following are excerpts from a televised debate among four Democratic presidential candidates at the University of Maryland last night. The participants were former California Governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, Sen. Tom Harkin (Iowa) and former Massachusetts Governor Paul E. Tsongas.

By all accounts the inner cities of most American metropolitan areas have deteriorated seriously. . . . Do you have any policies in mind, any specific measures . . . directed toward helping American inner cities regain some of their earlier vitality?

Tsongas: . . . There are two things we have to do. One, provide the fundamentals in terms of the programs necessary to make these cities viable. You talk about Head Start, health care, and for the homeless, that kind of thing. But ultimately . . . you have to see the government to leverage in private investment. . . .

So things like the free enterprise zones, the Urban Development Authority Grants program, incentives to get the private sector for the incentive to come in and invest in the cities. That is the only hope for cities long-term. . . .

Brown: I think this is one of the weaknesses in former senator Tsongas's plan, because it talks about capital gains breaks and things that might have some effect on starting up businesses. But the problem in this country is there are millions and millions of poor people who've fallen completely below the safety net and need immediate help. And I believe an enterprise zone in 50 of the hardest pressed areas, where businesses would go there, locate, hire the people there and be given a tax incentive, a tax break, for up to 10 years would put economic development in the private sector right where it's not now.

And, secondly, a welfare voucher wherein a person on welfare could trade in a welfare check to the employer and use that to build on a salary and then be able to keep the Medicaid, the food stamps and other benefits, and then reduce them over a five-year period.

And then the third thing, of course, is some kind of public service corps that would allow a public service entry opportunity for a lot of people that might not have another choice. . . .

Harkin: Unless and until we get rid of supply-side, trickle-down economics, none of the things that either Mr. Brown or Mr. Tsongas has said are going to work. . . .

Look what it's done to us. And yet Mr. Tsongas preaches more of the same philosophy. . . . What I say we have to do is to get jobs for people. The best social program is a good job, and that's true in our cities. That's why I've come up with an economic plan next year to put over a million people back to work, and most of those will be in our cities because I propose spending about \$35 billion out of the peace dividend. It's time to quit spending so much money in Europe and Japan defending them from who knows what. . . .

In every city in America, there are plans on the shelf for streets and roads and bridges, schools, improvement programs, sewer and water. . . . If we get that money down there, that's going to put people to work in the cities. . . .

Clinton: I released an urban policy [that] focuses on three things: increasing economic opportunity; giving people the power to change their own lives, and expecting them to behave responsibly in doing so; and re-creating a new sense of community in our cities. . . .

Emphasize less bureaucratic, more innovative partnerships for low-income home ownership. . . .

Take on the problem of crime and drugs in the cities. Do it in an aggressive way: drug treatment on demand; more police for community policing; more community-based boot camps for people who shouldn't go to prison but need to be reconnected to our society. . . .

Have a health care strategy that puts health clinics in inner cities and in the schools. . . .

Governor Brown, you've been quite critical of, among others, Senator Tsongas, about bringing business back into the Democratic Party. Do you believe, as many do, that without the support of at least part of the business community, that the Democrats can win the White House?

Brown: Business creates wealth. We want business, of course. But we also want social justice, and we want trade union capacity to survive and give workers the right to own a piece of management through employee stock options and to be able to use the pension funds, which are the deferred wages of workers. . . .

So it's a balance. Let's have a tax environment. And that's why I support a flat tax and a value added of no more than 13 percent, keep it stable, don't change it every two or three years. . . .

Tsongas: . . . The New Hampshire primary, I won among Democrats, that's known. When I got into the independents, the margin increased. And very few people understand, I came in third in the Republican primary; 3,600 Republicans who could have voted for their president or Pat Buchanan chose not to. There are moderate Republicans out there that will come to us if we give them a home, who are moderate and responsible on social issues, but want a Democratic Party that has economic messages that make sense. . . .

Clinton: . . . I think we should be pro-business and pro-growth. The difference between me and Senator Tsongas is I am for targeted incentives. . . . I'm for an investment tax credit, I'm for a new business tax credit, I'm for modifications in the real estate investment rules, I'm for indexing of capital gains. . . .

I am against an across-the-board cut in the capital gains tax. . . . Look what happened to General Motors. We cut the cap-



After the debate, the four participants shook hands. They are, from left, Bill Clinton, Tom Harkin, Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. and Paul E. Tsongas.

ital gains tax rate four times between '78 and '86. We got nothing for it. An across-the-board capital gains tax cut for investors is a mistake. . . .

Harkin: . . . Mr. Tsongas has just laid out what we Democrats are to decide. Are we going to be Democrats, are we going to keep the heart and soul of our party, or are we going to try to be more like Republicans?

Clinton: That's right. . . .

Clinton: I just want to establish a pattern. I've answered every question. I've never mentioned anybody's name, okay?

Harkin: Mr. Tsongas was the first one to attack me last summer in Boston, and don't you forget it, Mr. Tsongas. . . .

Clinton: No more of this self-righteousness, okay?

Each of you has espoused a proposal that would improve Americans' access to health care. . . . Exactly who is going to bear that burden of the cost for the increased access? And, two, by what means can you assure us that the prices will not continue to escalate for medical care?

Clinton: . . . You have to begin national health coverage with a cost control approach. . . . Mandate national insurance reform—broad-based community rating, nobody can be denied. That will save you \$35-\$50 billion. . . . Mandate a basic primary and preventive acute and comprehensive care package that has to be provided either by employers or by the government, with centralized billing to kill the growth of the paper. . . .

Give real incentives for people to join health care groups so that they stop the government from micro-managing the health care process. . . .

Those three things, if properly done, will save between \$80 billion and \$120 billion. Then you plow that money back into providing a universal coverage package, and in providing long-term care for the elderly and the disabled. . . .

Who will still have to pay? People who don't provide any coverage at all to their employees now will have to pay either into a government insurance program or a private one; but it will be a much lower premium than now would be available to them. And, secondly, people who would buy into the long-term care package would not have access to anything now would have to pay a small percentage of their income. . . .

Harkin: . . . If you want to really control costs, you've got to rethink health care in America, that health care is not something you get just when you get sick, but health care is something you get to keep you healthy in the first place. . . .

Once we do that and once we focus on preventive health care, we will save a lot of money. . . .

In Dallas, Texas last year, we had an outbreak of measles. It cost you, the taxpayers, about \$650,000 in hospital costs for these kids that got measles, had to go to the hospital. For \$9,000, we could have immunized every kid in Dallas. . . .

Secondly, we've got to cut down on paper work. Twenty-four cents of every dollar for health care goes for administrative costs. In Canada, it's only 11 cents. Third, we've got to cut. . . . the waste. . . .

Brown: . . . For 25 years, the Democrats have said in their platform: we want health care. . . . It doesn't happen. It doesn't happen because the power of the medical lobbies, the insurance companies and the equipment salesmen is too much. . . . Until you challenge that, the whole health care debate is empty and meaningless. And if you can challenge them, yes, control the greed with a single payer, put a lid on costs, then you're in a position to cover every single American, like they do in Canada. And then you're in a position to emphasize occupational health, environmental health, prevention, and ensure private choice of a diversity of health practices. . . .

Tsongas: As you know, when I left this area back in 1984, I had cancer. And I survived because of the medical care available here in this country. . . .

I care very deeply that what was available for me should be available for everyone. . . . There are two mandates. One, it's a right for every American; and two, don't bankrupt the country while you're at it. [Endorse] . . . the idea of managed competition. . . . in which the government mandates the coverage. But then you use the private sector to compete, to bring down costs. . . .

Now there are two choices. One, government is cost-efficient and can do this effi-

ciently. If you believe that, we have everything outside for you. The other approach is have the private sector compete head on head so that you have an incentive to get the best doctors, the best hospitals, the most efficient care. . . .

Then we have to do three things on the government side: One, change malpractice laws so that doctors do not practice defensive medicine; two, centralize reporting to cut down bureaucracy; and three, as Tom pointed out, preventive care. It's the critical component. . . .

Governor Brown, please describe for us in some detail the personal experience that most significantly influenced your thinking on the issues of civil rights and civil liberties. . . .

Brown: Being in the middle of the Watts riot when my father was governor of California and going into a church in Venice, California, and being screamed and yelled at in a way that I'd never experienced, and seeing the frustration, the rage, just the suppressed fury that was coming out at that historic moment in California and the life of this country. I saw there a reality that I knew just had to be dealt with. . . .

Tsongas: I lived . . . for two years in Ethiopia [in the Peace Corps]. And it was a very emotional experience for me—and I think a lot of you have heard me say it was the best years of my life. And when I was leaving Ethiopia, my students had a party for me. And during the discussion we were referring to an American Peace Corps volunteer who was black, who had left earlier. And in the warmth of the moment the students said to me that I was their friend, but he was their brother. . . .

And it was the first time that I had really come to grips with and been exposed to the idea that there are divisions that have to be healed, that you really have to take this seriously, that if we're going to be one nation healed, united, that this sense of separatism has to be destroyed. . . .

And an American president has an enormous responsibility to bring this healing together. . . .

Clinton: When I was a small boy I lived with my grandparents in a little community in southwest Arkansas, which had a very large black population. And my grandfather had a store in the predominantly black area of town. So I learned as a child—and I made friends with children who couldn't go to school with me; I made friends with children who lived in a part of town where their streets weren't paved and they didn't have indoor toilets. And it made a profound impression on me just because it was a part of my life, and I had a grandfather, thank God, who even though he had a fourth-grade education, taught me that it was wrong. . . .

It was my childhood and my grandparents and my personal acquaintance from early life with black Americans that gave me my deep hatred of racism and commitment to equal rights for all people. . . .

Harkin: Two incidents, one domestic, one foreign. The domestic one, I went to Iowa State University and found that black students couldn't find housing off campus, and we formed a group called the Student Committee on Racial Equality to break down the housing barriers against black students in Ames, Iowa, at Iowa State University. That was my first exposure to what I call the embedded racism, according to the laws that we had at the time and the housing codes. . . .

The second was when I was a staff aide in the Congress and I traveled to Vietnam and uncovered something which was called the tiger cages in Vietnam in 1970, and found that our government was paying and providing for these tiger cages to put political prisoners in on an island off the coast of Vietnam. Hundreds of men, women, children stuck in these cages in inhuman conditions, being tortured daily. . . .

And when I saw that I thought what is our government standing for? We ought to stand for human rights and civil liberties all over the world, and here we were behind the tiger cages. When we left Vietnam I exposed the tiger cages, lost my job in Congress; in fact, one congressman said I'd never work again in Congress. . . .

Sometimes there's a conflict between an endangered species such as the northern spotted owl and jobs. As president, how would you resolve these conflicts? And, specifically, do you think the Endangered Species Act should be relaxed in favor of jobs? . . .

Harkin: No, I do not believe it should be relaxed. We have the provisions in the law that would provide for a balance, for interests to protect the environment, to protect endangered species and to protect jobs. . . .

Tsongas: . . . I would not undercut the Endangered Species Act. This earth is a guardianship. It's not just today and tomorrow; it's here forever, and our generation has a responsibility to keep it intact. . . .

Now, it's here forever, and our generation has a responsibility to keep it intact. . . .

Brown: The environment and jobs, far from being incompatible, they go together. We're inextricably linked to nature. We're a part of nature and we respect it and we reverence it and we survive. . . .

Sure, protect and preserve the Endangered Species Act. . . .

But unless you're prepared to stand up to very powerful interests, nothing is going to happen. . . .

Clinton: . . . I do not believe the Endangered Species Act should be repealed. I think the decisions ought to be made under it based on science and not on politics, and I think we ought to stay with it. . . .

One of the big questions we have to resolve in this election is whether we really believe, as the vice president's Council on Competitiveness says, that environmental protection and economic growth are incompatible. I believe they are critically compatible and must go hand in hand. . . .

Harkin: That was a very nice flowery little speech, but we have to start reading the records and not reading our lips, my friends. The fact is that Arkansas has been rated last in environmental policy. . . .

Clinton: There are four states in this country in compliance with the Clean Air Act. One is Arkansas. There were three states who complied with the Community Safe Drinking Water Act early. One was Arkansas. There was one state that was first recognized by the EPA under Carter's administration, when I was governor, to run its own hazardous waste program—Arkansas. . . .

Brown: Okay, he talked about the record [holding up a newspaper headline]: "Clinton Trumpets Environmentalism as Arkansas Ratings Hit Sour Notes. Breaks Help Corporate Polluters." And Clinton defends clearcutting—the very way of logging which is going to kill the spotted owl. . . .

Clinton: This is an example of sort of political chicanery. I came out for a plan to dramatically reduce clearcutting in our national forests, something that I had no control over, it was all federal. . . . I endorsed the best plan we could get at the time, which left some clearcutting in, but drastically reduced it by more than 60 percent. . . .

Now, that headline doesn't tell you that, does it? . . .

This refers to the fact that I gave an investment tax credit to our timber companies and our paper producers to reinvest in our state, which is why we created jobs at 10 times the national average of the manufacturing sector in the 1980s. And what it doesn't say is these polluters are now emitting dioxin into the water stream in Arkansas at less than one-half the rate provided for by the EPA today. . . .

Look at the facts. . . .

Brown: Hey, wait a minute. Every major environmental organization says Arkansas is an environmental disaster. . . .

Harkin: That's right. . . .

Brown: And that is the fact. . . .

Tsongas: Let's keep this in perspective. On health care, on civil rights, on this issue, there may be differences between us. . . . But you've got to remember that whatever differences exist are marginal compared to George Bush. And that's what we are talking about. . . .

We just listened to a fairly heated exchange here. . . . You all have taken a lot of time attacking one another. . . . and the allegation is that what you're doing is playing into the hands of the Republicans by attacking each other as strong as you have. . . . Are you all hurting whoever is involved's chances in the end? . . .

Harkin: I think we ought to get the record out; we ought to look at the record. That's what we ought to look at. . . .

Clinton: This is a contest, and I don't have any problem with it. I just bore the brunt of all this last little round here. But we're all going to have to live with our record as well as our recommendations. . . .

Brown: No, I think there's a lot of vision yet to be had in this party. . . . We have to fight for the soul of this party—who are we, whom do we represent, and how are we going to restore true justice and the environmental quality of this country. . . .

Tsongas: Well, I think this format gives us an opportunity, I mean, a charge was made and a rebuttal. It works out fine. And the people can make up their minds. . . .

In a national survey it showed that kids in the United States do less homework but watch more TV than their counterparts in other advanced industrial nations. Not surprisingly, our kids score near the bottom of international tests. As president, what specifically would you do to turn that situation around? . . .

Brown: . . . The president is not going to get kids to do that extra hour of homework. . . .

We're talking about a culture here. . . . I'd like to figure out a way as president to upgrade the quality of the wasteland. . . . I'd put people on the Federal Communications Commission such as someone like yourself who would look with a jaundiced eye on what's happening to the television because we should have two or three learning channels with the best courses, paid for by the taxpayers, in universities like this and across the country, available to all our people. . . .

And I want to say, it's not just about science and math. It's also about art and music. . . .

Tsongas: . . . We live in a very Darwinian world. . . . If we're going to have a lesser standard in terms of graduation, in terms of promotion, in terms of the hours, in terms of the number of days in the year, we're not going to compete. And the end result of that is the decline of the American standard of living. . . .

I agree with Governor Brown. . . . The issue is the culture. . . . A nation is only as strong as its culture. And what we have not done in this nation during the '80s of greed and self-indulgence is to speak in cultural terms of spirituality, of giving our children some base so they know who they are and what they stand for and where their self-esteem has to come from. That's not just learning. . . .

Clinton: I believe a president can affect a culture, and a real education president could, I've devoted more time and more of my political capital trying to improve the education of our children than anything else in the last 11 years. . . .

Harkin: . . . What I have been calling for and I've been trying to move our educational system is early intervention programs. . . .

We have to rethink education in this country. . . .

Had you been president during Desert Storm, and you had made the same decision George Bush had to commit to Desert Storm, would you have gone on into Baghdad to secure Baghdad and the toppling of Saddam Hussein? . . .

Brown: . . . I don't believe we have the full facts on exactly what was possible leading up to the decision to commit men and weapons to that battle. . . .

I did oppose the commencement of hostilities, and I think the subsequent events have proved that decision right, because we're still just as dependent on oil. Saddam Hussein is still there in charge. And we're still facing the same kind of conflicts in the Middle East that we had a year ago. . . .

Is the answer yes or no?

Brown: I'm saying that whole war was bought from start to finish. . . .

Clinton: The answer to your question is, no. We would not have marched on Baghdad, because we gave seven of our Arab allies our word that we would not do that in return for their joining the United Nations coalition. What I would have done, however, is take General [H. Norman] Schwarzkopf's advice and avoid the RV price of the 100-hour war, stay another day and a half, destroyed a significant portion of the Republican Guard and 700 tanks and given the Iraqis their own chance to overthrow Saddam Hussein. . . .

Harkin: I think the question really is the wrong question. You're asking us what would we do with the mess that George Bush got us into. As president, we wouldn't have gotten in that mess, you see, because for several years before that, Bush and Reagan ended Saddam Hussein. . . . We tried several times in the Congress to put sanctions on Iraq. Every time the Bush administration said no, they would veto it. . . .

As president, I would have done what John Kennedy did during the Cuban missile crisis, not wait until you go to war. . . . What I would have done as president when he moved his troops up to the border, I would have said the first Iraqi to cross the border is a dead man, because he's going to be fighting the United States Army and the United States military. . . .

Tsongas: . . . The answer is no. We were there under U.N. resolutions, and we had a commitment to those and we had to stick to them. Let me make one point about George Bush. People say he has all this foreign policy experience. Well, experience and wisdom aren't the same thing. . . . And that's why we get ourselves into trouble. There are no basic principles that are permanent. . . .

If the Supreme Court overrules *Roe v. Wade* during this presidential campaign, what measures, if any, will you take to ensure a woman's right to an abortion?

Tsongas: . . . *Roe versus Wade* is the law of the land; it should remain the law of the land. And George Bush, who used to be in planned parenthood, and made that long journey, that long journey to the Reagan right to be anti-choice. That's the real George Bush. *Roe versus Wade* is going to be the law of the land when I'm president of the United States, period. . . .

Brown: I will do everything possible to re-nact it through congressional enactment, and I would just put my record before people. I appointed seven judges, they upheld the right of privacy, including the right of a woman to make her own choices and reproductive decisions. . . .

Harkin: First of all, we would codify *Roe v. Wade*. Secondly, I would not support any Supreme Court justice that didn't uphold the principles and *Roe v. Wade*. . . .

Clinton: I would go as far as we could to codify *Roe v. Wade*. We can do it completely, but we could do something with the Federal Reproductive Rights Act. I would rescind the gag order and I would oppose the Justice Department's present position on Operation Rescue. And then, if given the opportunity, I would appoint far higher quality, more excellent Supreme Court justices. We'd take it out of politics. And I would expect the judges to believe in the Bill of Rights, including the right to privacy. . . .

"It does seem a little lackluster this time for black voters." MABLE THOMAS.

Candidates Trade Barbs, Mostly Gently, in 3 Debates

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

COLLEGE PARK, Md., March 1 — For the second straight day, Bill Clinton and Paul E. Tsongas, front-runners in the contest for the Democratic Presidential nomination, came under attack today in a pair of televised debates in primary states, one in Georgia and the other in Maryland.

In Atlanta this morning, Mr. Clinton, the Governor of Arkansas, and former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California criticized Mr. Tsongas's tax proposals, which include cuts in capital gains taxes. Mr. Tsongas, the former Massachusetts Senator, did not counterattack. But Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska again raised the touchy issue of the military draft with Mr. Clinton and accused him of giving "a baloney answer" on health care.

Tonight, at the University of Maryland here, Mr. Tsongas was again assailed for his economic views, which his rivals compared to those of President Bush. Mr. Clinton's record on the environment in Arkansas was also roundly criticized, and he responded in kind, mocking his accusers.

But today's debates were relatively mild. Nothing was nearly as personal

'Baloney' and 'perfection' enliven a debate.

as the melee on Saturday night in Denver, when Mr. Tsongas and Mr. Clinton tore into each other with a fury that dismayed many senior party officials. The trigger was Mr. Clinton's assault on Mr. Tsongas's limited support of nuclear power.

"No one can argue with you, Paul; you're always perfect," Mr. Clinton said sarcastically, looking to the audience for confirmation.

Mr. Tsongas replied: "I'm not perfect. But I'm honest."

Coming after four days of verbal pitched battles among the candidates, the hostile tone of the Colorado debate produced calls from Democratic leaders for an armistice, and Mr. Tsongas appealed to his rivals to join in an agreement not to use any more attack commercials. That produced no results, but the candidates treated each

other more politely today.

Seven states hold primaries or caucuses on Tuesday, with 380 national convention delegates at stake. At the same time, American Samoa will hold caucuses to choose six delegates with half a vote each.

Mr. Clinton is ahead in Georgia, according to polls of Democrats, with Mr. Tsongas a rather distant second, but there are doubts about how many of the Clinton backers will actually vote. Voters can cross party lines for primary voting, and some rural conservatives, it is said, may choose to vote instead for Patrick J. Buchanan in the Republican primary, and many blacks may stay home.

Brown Strong in Colorado

In Maryland and Colorado, Mr. Tsongas has taken a narrow lead over Mr. Clinton. Maryland, where The Baltimore Sun endorsed Mr. Tsongas today, is considered a two-man race. But in Colorado Mr. Brown is nipping at the heels of the two leaders, with 19 percent in a Denver Post poll that was published this morning, as against 26 percent for Mr. Tsongas and 24 percent for Mr. Clinton.

Washington, which will hold caucuses rather than a primary, is considered a toss-up, but there, too, Mr. Brown is doing much better than anticipated with his grass-roots campaign, fueled by attacks on the influence of big money on elections.

Another caucus state, Minnesota, has been heavily organized by Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa, with the help of freshman Senator Paul Wellstone. Mr. Harkin, short of money, skipped the Georgia debate but took part here.

Idaho and Utah are the other two caucus states on Tuesday's schedule. The candidate with the most to lose on Tuesday may be Mr. Kerrey. As he said today the ABC News program "This Week," he has made "a strategic decision to spend the next three or four days in the West." He took part in the Atlanta debate by television link and skipped the College Park event when its organizers declined to allow him to do the same thing here.

The Nebraskan's problem is that for all his concentration in the West, he seems to making little impact there. In Colorado, for example, the Post's poll shows him at 7 percent, trailing "undecided and uncommitted." He campaigned in Salt Lake City today, hoping perhaps to spring an upset there.

Questions on Public Service

In the Georgia debate, Mr. Kerrey asked Mr. Clinton how he could justify his backing of a program that would allow the repayment of college loans through public service when he had not served his country in Vietnam or spent time in the Peace Corps. Mr. Clinton has apparently suffered in the patriotic South because he did not serve, and Mr. Kerrey said this week that that would make him "an unelectable nominee" in the general election.

"I opposed that war," said Mr. Clinton of the conflict in which Mr. Kerrey lost part of a leg and won the Congressional Medal of Honor. "I thought it was a terrible mistake."

When Mr. Kerrey also attacked Mr. Clinton's ideas on health care, the Arkansas Governor responded with criticism of Mr. Kerrey's own health care program, which he said included "nine separate tax increases."

But it was Mr. Tsongas, who seems within reach of establishing himself as a national rather than a regional contender, who attracted most of the critical comment in the Atlanta debate. The chief topic was Mr. Tsongas's opposition to a middle-class tax cut, which Mr. Clinton strongly favors.

Mr. Tsongas would use the proceeds of higher taxes on the rich not to cut taxes for the middle class but to pay for

reductions in capital gains taxes, which, he says are needed to rebuild the economy. Mr. Clinton said the defining question was "whether you give it to the middle class or to people who buy stocks," attempting to link Mr. Tsongas to the upper classes.

Then Mr. Brown, who favors a flat tax, joined in the comment, "Lollipops for business are no better than lollipops for the middle class."

During a stop at his Atlanta headquarters, Mr. Tsongas told his supporters that he was different from his party's 1988 nominee, without mentioning Michael S. Dukakis, another Massachusetts Democrat, by name. His negative ads and his sharp riposte on Saturday night, Mr. Tsongas said, showed that "in a situation when the campaign has gotten very rough, this is one Greek who fights back."

One person in the crowd held a sign that said, "I'm Not Perfect, I'm Honest." Another supporter, Jennifer Kasper, a 32-year-old architect, said of the former Senator, "He's like a bad-tasting pill that you have to take to get rid of a sickness."

At the Salem Baptist Church, Mr. Tsongas got a muted reception from the black congregation. The pastor, the Rev. Jasper Williams, hugged him, but did not issue the endorsement that the Tsongas entourage had predicted.

Also in pursuit of black votes, Mr. Clinton visited two black churches be-

Face to face, in Colorado, Georgia and Maryland.

fore heading for the Carter Center for the Georgia debate. At one of them, the Ebenezer Baptist Church, where the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was pastor for many years, Kerrey supporters greeted him with critical placards.

A few hours later, at College Park, just outside the District of Columbia, the liberal Mr. Harkin took the offensive. He accused Mr. Tsongas and others of advocating "trickle-down economics" on the Reagan-Bush model and said that the Democrats had to stop trying to behave like Republicans.

Environmental Record 'a Joke'

There was a fair amount of wrangling over economic issues, but no real personal venom until Mr. Tsongas said, "I've answered every question and I've never mentioned anyone's name." Mr. Harkin quickly told him he had started the name-calling months ago and said he should stop being "sanctimonious."

Then the Iowa described the record of Arkansas on the environment as "a joke" and told Mr. Clinton that "flowery speeches" were inadequate. Mr. Brown joined in attacking Mr. Clinton, accusing him of supporting businesses that polluted. Mr. Clinton shot back the suggestion that people look at the record and not pay attention to "people behind the polls."

Mr. Clinton drew applause from the audience when he accused Mr. Buchanan of racist behavior and said Mr. Bush "has not called him on it." No Democratic candidate, the Arkansas said, would play the racial card.

Mr. Tsongas said today's debates, with charge and rebuttal among the candidates, had worked well and had not damaged the Democratic Party.

Both of today's debates were carried on the C-span cable television network, and the Maryland event was broadcast on local public television.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Humiliating Israel

WASHINGTON

The depth of James Baker's anti-Israel animus was displayed last week when he complained to Congress, "Nobody else is asking us for \$10 billion in addition to the \$3 billion to \$4 billion we give every year with no strings attached."

That was a lie twice over. Secretary Baker is a lawyer who weighs his every word. He knows that Israel asks only for a cosigner on a loan from private banks, has offered to pay the 2 or 3 percent set-aside costs and is by no means "asking us for \$10 billion."

He knows, too, that \$1.2 billion a year comes right back to us as repayment for military aid we "sold" Israel to offset our sales of advanced jets and tanks to its enemies. And most of the economic aid is for goods that must be purchased in the U.S. So much for "no strings" from an Administration that just forgave Egypt's \$7 billion debt.

The Iceman of Foggy Bottom is prepared to practice such deception to accomplish one goal: to limit the settlement of the West Bank to Arabs only. The majority of Jews in Israel believe that would lead to an independent P.L.O. state at their jugular.

To this war-inviting end, Mr. Bush has taken two steps that would have been anathema to any previous U.S. President:

First, he has held hostage Jews fleeing from feared pogroms in Russia and Ukraine. Unless Israel knuckles under to Mr. Bush about the West Bank, there will be no help in borrowing money to house the refugees.

Second, he is unabashedly seeking to topple the Government of an ally. His message to Israelis is unmistakable: Vote out Mr. Shamir and his party of the right — or else.

How can he get away with this strong-arm stuff? Why isn't he concerned about public opinion and Congressional reaction?

Here's why: On the left, he has the editorial support of our leading liberal newspapers; on the right, he sees The Wall Street Journal's news pages savaging Israeli's supporters in the U.S.

In the Congress, he has the support of Patrick Leahy, overseer of foreign aid appropriations, into what the Vermont Democrat thought was a compromise that would assert mutual interests: deducting from the loan guarantee the amount Israel chose to spend on settlements on disputed land.

But now President Bush's operatives are gleefully passing the word that they have compromised that compromise. They will let Congress

authorize the loan guarantee — but only if it gives the President and Mr. Baker the power to withhold its use if Israel does not obey the Bush Administration's West Bank dictates.

Such an abdication of responsibility would transfer power from Congress to the executive branch concerning Mideast affairs (and be a step in the direction of a line-item veto, which every President seeks).

Too many supporters of Israel in the U.S. are persuaded that it's O.K. for Mr. Bush to direct a Labor victory, because they think Yitzhak Rabin will stop the settlements, hand over the West Bank and call that peace.

But Mr. Rabin is on the record against political settlements — not settlements needed for Israel's security, which he supported as Prime Minister in the 70's. He is no Peres patsy. If a Labor-Likud unity government emerges, as is likely, Mr. Bush would be infuriated at its refusal to accept his Solomonic decision to cut Israel's territory in half.

If Mr. Bush succeeds in turning the Leahy compromise into a Leahy double-cross, Mr. Baker will tell Israel: "Take it and leave it." Take the guarantee to borrow the refugee-housing money and leave the West Bank to exclusive Arab development — and, ultimately, Arab sovereignty.

No self-respecting nation can ac-

Should an ally be forced to sit up and beg?

cept such a dishonorable deal. Better to withdraw the guarantee request and let the Russian refugees live in tent cities — call them "Bushvilles" — throughout the West Bank. Perhaps televised suffering will appeal to the world's conscience.

Mr. Bush put a leash on Israel when it wanted to respond to Iraqi Scud attacks. He has been trying to bring Israel to heel by electing his choice of a Prime Minister. And now he wants Congress to let him force the people of Israel — desperate to house refugees from feared religious persecution — to sit up and beg.

Too much. In trying to humiliate the only free nation in the Middle East, George Bush and his hatchetman at State demean us all. □

Blacks Feeling Like Wallflowers As No Candidates Come Courting

By RONALD SMOTHERS
Special to The New York Times

SPARTA, Ga., Feb. 29 — With only days to go before the Georgia Presidential primary, Marvin E. Lewis, who is black and is the superintendent of schools in rural Hancock County, had seen and felt little indication that there was a campaign going on.

Hardly any campaign signs have sprouted along the lonely, bumpy roads of this central Georgia county, which has a population that is 80 percent black.

Only a few local black officials, like Betty Hill, the chairwoman of the county commission, have received calls soliciting their support, and those have been from the Atlanta headquarters of Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas. But few others here have heard or seen anything locally that would suggest the nation was in the midst of picking candidates for its highest office.

Missing a Black Candidate

"At this point no one has contacted the black voters in Hancock County, or the white voters either, for that matter," Mr. Lewis said. He conceded that with a population of 10,000, the county was not likely to be a top priority for candidates, but he added, "I do think there would be more interest here and more attention given if there was a black candidate in the race."

Mr. Lewis's views echoed those of many black voters and officials interviewed across the South recently. They

tend to be disappointed that there is no black candidate emphasizing issues of importance to them, or pushing the debate in that direction. And among the five Democratic contenders, they tend to find Mr. Clinton the most appealing.

The concerns of blacks loom large now because black voters are a crucial force in a series of Southern primary contests that could prove to be pivotal in the Presidential campaign.

In Georgia and other Southern states, blacks make up 25 percent to 30

Continued on Page A13, Column 1

The South

Black Voters Unexcited by White Democratic Field

Continued From Page A1

Governor of California, have records suggesting a potential to appeal to blacks, but they have yet to court those voters in the South.

Finally there is a Southern Governor, Mr. Clinton, whose easy and practiced manner of campaigning is solicitous of black voters and feels familiar to them, but who also supports the death penalty, which many blacks and major civil rights organizations oppose as disproportionately meted out to black offenders. Mr. Clinton has also long been associated with the Democratic Leadership Council, which has been accused by some Democrats, including Mr. Jackson and the national party chairman, Ronald H. Brown, of being antagonistic toward growing black influence in the party.

A 'Narrow Focus'

From his vantage point as a non-candidate who has not yet endorsed any of the Democratic hopefuls, Mr. Jackson said in an interview that he is troubled by the "narrow focus" of the Democrats. They are concentrating on winning endorsements from black officials, he said, and doing little "bottom-up" campaigning that would take them to places like Hancock County to highlight the problems of such poor rural communities.

"They seem to be working on media messages and I hear more about how their campaigns are being packaged," said Mr. Jackson, who won six Southern states in 1988 and placed second in two others. "They are gripped by pro-

fessional handlers and focus groups and polls. This takes away passion."

Mr. Jackson and others predict that black turnout in this year's primaries is likely to be lower than in previous years. David Bostis, a senior researcher with the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a Washington research organization that focuses on issues of importance to black voters, agreed, but added that both interest and turnout is likely to pick up in the general election in November. He said black voters by the fall will be focusing on the results of redistricting, is likely to add new black Congressional districts in Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Endorsements for Clinton

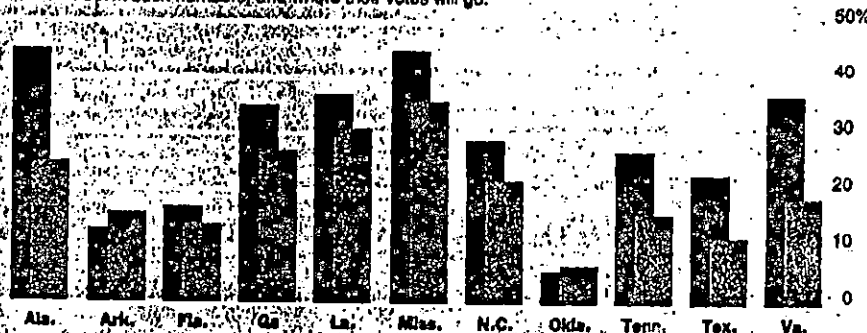
In Mississippi it is the support of Representative Mike Espy, the state's only black Congressman, that is giving Mr. Clinton an edge and making him the candidate with the only sharply etched profile among black voters in the state. Ed Cole, the chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Party, said that Mr. Clinton's being from the South was significant factor among black voters, but there were other factors in his favor as well.

"Clinton has good general support among white Democrats here and there is the feeling that he can pull some whites back to the party," said Mr. Cole, who is black. "But at the same time his record suggests that he has an appreciation for the way to go about bringing blacks and whites to-

Pivotal Region, Pivotal Voters

Black voter turnout in the 1988 Democratic primaries in the South far exceeded the percentage of black people in the total population. But this year, with Jesse Jackson on the sidelines, candidates are wondering whether black voters will turn out in such numbers, and where their votes will go.

■ Black voters as a percentage of Democratic primary voters
■ Black people as a percentage of total 1990 population*



Sources: Polls conducted by The New York Times and CBS News/Census Bureau

*Population figure does not include people living abroad

The New York Times

gether."

In Georgia in particular, Mr. Clinton's array of endorsements has scored away some candidates who might otherwise have sought the black vote, said State Representative Michael Thurmond, a black who supports Mr. Tsongas. Mr. Clinton has been endorsed by Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, former Mayor Andrew Young and Representative John Lewis.

Mr. Thurmond said that the absence of Mr. Jackson or another black candi-

date was causing many black voters to become "more discerning and analytical." This trend, he said, will help Mr. Tsongas as the campaign moves to more industrialized states with significant black populations, because he discusses the rebuilding of industry.

State Representative Mable Thomas, who is supporting Senator Kerrey in the Georgia primary, acknowledged that this year's contest seemed "lackluster" after the excitement of having

Mr. Jackson in the two previous races. She said, "Few among black voters say this year of any of the candidates: 'I know him,' as they could with Jackson."

More national news
appears on pages B8-B9.

Voters

In Two Regions With Primaries Tomorrow, People in Denver the Primary Emotion is Anger: Express Disdain for Candidates

By DIRK JOHNSON
Special to The New York Times

DENVER, March 1 — A weed never stands a chance along Fenton Street, where manicured lawns and sculptured bushes surround tidy brick-and-shutter homes. The sidewalks are clear and clean, except for a chalked outline for hopscotch. And bumper stickers pledge allegiance to the flag and the Broncos football team.

Like most Americans, the people on Fenton Street, in the southwest Denver neighborhood of Bear Valley, consider themselves to be the bulwark of the great middle class, the taxpaying, law-abiding, family-centered voters being wooed by the Presidential contenders. But with the Colorado primary set for Tuesday, the candidates of both parties seem about as popular in this neighborhood as crabgrass.

"It's a heck of a poor choice we've got," Gill Hassinger, a 55-year-old engineer, said with a grimace and a shake of the head. "The average person on the street could do better than any of this crew."

When voters here look at the smiling faces of the Presidential contenders in television advertisements, they see mostly warps.

Anger on Both Sides

Republicans on Fenton Street are angry at President Bush for breaking his no-tax pledge and taking so long to notice the recession. But at the same time, many see Patrick J. Buchanan's message of "America First" as a bit naive, even frightening.

Democrats speak with exasperation about fumbled opportunities. Finally, after 12 years, they say they appear to have an invitation to the big dance — the Inaugural Ball. But no one seems groomed and fit to escort them.

"They've got a chance, and they're blowing it," said Dennis Schroeder, a 35-year-old photographer. "I think the Democrats just don't know how to win anymore."

Democratic voters here look at Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, who was once viewed as the party's front-runner, and they see too much baggage to fit aboard Air Force One. They look at Paul E. Tsongas, the former Massachusetts Senator, and they see reminders of Michael S. Dukakis, the 1988 nominee whose candidacy they would like to forget.

Sorting Through the Issues

The Democrats here also say Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska has often seemed bored with the campaign, and they are not terribly excited about him, either. They listen to Senator Tom Harkin, the populist from Iowa, and wonder if he is running for the presidency of a union local. And then there is Edmund G. Brown Jr., the former California Governor, who is best known in the campaign for waving his toll-free campaign number.

But like them or not, one of these seven candidates is almost certainly going to win the Presidency this fall. So the voters on Fenton Street — teachers, truckers, police officers and aerospace engineers — are sorting through the issues.

A generation ago Democrats outnumbered Republicans in this neighborhood. But Ronald Reagan swept the area in 1980 and again in 1984, and a majority of voters here supported Mr. Bush in 1988.

The quest of the Democratic Party to regain the White House rests in large part on bringing voters like those on Fenton Street back to their fold. And some voters here say they are ready to return.

"The middle-income person just can't get ahead anymore," said Donna Gordanier, 41, an investigator for the Denver prosecutor's office. She and her husband live in an attractive

"They've got a chance and they're blowing it."

I think the Democrats just don't know how to win anymore." DENNIS SCHROEDER



Eric Laro photo for The New York Times

"They've got a chance, and they're blowing it," said Dennis Schroeder, a 35-year-old photographer who lives in southwest Denver. "I think the Democrats just don't know how to win anymore." He played with his children recently outside his Fenton Street home.

ranch-style home. But the living room is mostly empty. "We can't afford to buy furniture," she said.

Ms. Gordanier, who voted for Mr. Bush last time, said she did not believe he cared enough about middle-income people. She said that she left the Democratic Party long ago because it seemed too liberal but that she is now considering a vote for Mr. Tsongas, who is leading the Democratic field in surveys here. "He's not against business," she said. "I like that."

Many Democrats on Fenton Street said they initially supported Mr. Clinton, in part because he was cast as the candidate with the best chance to unseat Mr. Bush. But some now say they are troubled by the allegations of mar-

riage for her 12-year-old daughter.

"If a candidate can fix the health insurance situation, they've got my support," said Ms. Trujillo, a Democrat who has not decided which candidate to support.

Tom Bailey, 62, who makes harpsichords and describes himself as a liberal, said he would vote for Mr. Harkin even though he does not believe that the Iowa Senator has a chance at winning. "I think the Democrats were too hasty to cast him aside," Mr. Bailey said. "In these economic hard times, I think his message would have strong appeal."

Among the Republicans, virtually all criticized Mr. Bush for raising taxes. But few spoke highly of Mr. Buchanan. "He's not a conservative," said H. K. Merrill, a 56-year-old aerospace engineer. "He's a reactionary."

Mr. Merrill said he had never missed an election but might stay home from the polls this year. "We don't have a good choice," he said. But other Republicans said life would be worse under a Democratic President. "The Democrats just want to give everything away," said Laurie Fong, 32, as she balanced a crying baby in one arm and reached for a toddler with the other.

Bush's Leadership Praised

"We were married 12 years before we could buy a house," she continued. "We sacrificed. A lot of people aren't willing to do that. And the Democrats cater to them."

Other Republicans said they had not forgotten Mr. Bush's strong leadership in the Persian Gulf war. "He showed he had guts," said Mike Busby, a 29-year-old trucker who served in the Navy.

But Mr. Hassinger, the civil engineer, said Mr. Bush's "bumbling" of economic issues outweighed all else. "There is absolutely no way I would vote for Bush again," he said. "He's just too insulated. He doesn't know that people are struggling."

Sounding a bit pained, he added, "I guess I'll have to vote for a Democrat."

A neighborhood seems ready to vote 'no.'

tal infidelity, along with reports that he sought to avoid service in the Vietnam War.

"I just can't stand Clinton's moral values," said Clara Voss, 69, who sat in an easy chair beneath a portrait of Jesus. "If you can't be true to your wife, how can you be true to your country?"

Mrs. Voss, who has voted for Republicans for many years, said she would vote for Mr. Tsongas on Tuesday. Bill Voss, a union worker and lifelong Democrat, said he, too, would vote for the former Massachusetts Senator, but added that any of the Democrats would be better than Mr. Bush.

Above all other issues, most voters in this neighborhood cited health insurance as a primary concern. "Our benefits get lower, and we have to dish out more," said Sharon Trujillo, a 40-year-old telephone company clerk who attends night school. As a single parent, she said, she worries about health cov-

In Expectations Game, Beating Odds Means All

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Feb. 29 — When Gov. Bill Clinton faced the television cameras the night of the New Hampshire primary smiling broadly, few in the crowd showed surprise. The Arkansas Governor may have lost the primary to former Senator Paul E. Tsongas, but he had achieved another, perhaps more consequential victory: he had beaten the point spread.

If what matters in July is the delegate count at the party convention, in February and March what matters more is the impression of untapped strength. A stronger-than-anticipated showing proves the candidate is picking up steam, and this in turn generates cash and coverage. A weaker-than-expected showing, even if it is a victory, suggests a campaign in retreat.

Since no candidate wants to be forced into the position of actually having to do well in order to do well, every early primary battle is preceded by a battle over expectations, with its own strategies, codes and subterfuges. While the candidates work the crowds wearing confident grins, their advisers prophesy doom to the electoral oddsmakers, a skeptical crowd

Candidates try to gain without having to win.

of reporters, columnists and freelance pundits. In this shadow campaign, victory belongs to the one who does the best job of selling his candidate short.

As voters prepare to go the polls in more than a dozen states over the next 10 days, the game of expectations is going full swing. It can be seen at the fringes of campaign rallies, in airport lounges and in dark corners of hotel bars — in short, wherever reporters and campaign advisers rub shoulders.

Touting the Other Guy

It begins sometimes with a lament over being out-organized and out-spent, sometimes with an inflated estimate of how well the competition ought to be doing.

"He has to win big, very big in Georgia," a Tsongas aide says of Mr. Clinton. "He's been working this crowd for eight years."

A Clinton aide says of Mr. Tsongas, "He needs to win Maryland and then to find a state, maybe Florida, to continue the momentum."

On the Republican side, the stakes of the game have been raised by having a sitting President in the race. "George Bush cannot claim victory without winning 75 percent plus," says a top aide to his challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan. "He's an incumbent President with the entire weight of the state and national party behind him."

But an adviser to Mr. Bush counters, "I don't think there's any such thing as a good showing any-

more, short of coming in first."

The expectations game is sometimes complicated by an opposing impulse: the temptation to project oneself as a winner.

This was the early strategy that the Clinton campaign pursued in the hope of depriving competitors of money and endorsements. But after the campaign suffered several setbacks, Mr. Clinton's campaign aides are back at the gaming table, telling reporters in confessional tones that they will be satisfied with second-place finishes in states like Maryland and Colorado.

An inevitable paradox of the expectations game is that once a candidate wins, the expectations automatically go up. This is the awkward situation now facing the Tsongas campaign.

"We never use the 'w' word around here," Peggy Connolly, Mr. Tsongas's press secretary, said recently when asked which state her candidate expected to win next. "What does 'win' mean, anyway?"

For losers of the game there are some obvious consolations. Doing worse than expected in one state means that doing better becomes easier in the next. Thus Senator Bob Kerrey, who trailed badly in New Hampshire, Maine and Iowa, can hardly help but beat the odds. "I believe that we can do pretty well compared to people's expectations," his media adviser, Bob Shrum, recently.

The cardinal rule is never to let enthusiasm color projections. The worst thing players can do is to set an expectation for their own candidates that can later be used as benchmarks for failure.

Turning Victory Into Failure

One legendary such blunder was committed in 1972 by Senator Edmund S. Muskie's campaign manager, who announced publicly that she would "cut her throat" if her candidate did not receive 50 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire Democratic primary. Her optimism had the devastating effect of turning Mr. Muskie's numerical victory with 46 percent of the vote into a strategic failure.

"She set the Muskie minimum," said Frank Mankiewicz, who was the campaign director for Mr. Muskie's rival, George S. McGovern. "School was out." Emboldened by this gaffe, the McGovern campaign set out to win one of the great victories of the expectations game.

"We told people, 'We'll be lucky to get in the double digits,' knowing that our polls showed us in the 30's," Mr. Mankiewicz said. Mr. McGovern received 37 percent of the vote, and eventually won the Democratic nomination.

Months of jiggering with expectations can leave even a candidate confused. When Fred R. Harris, the former Senator from Oklahoma, bowed out of the 1976 Presidential race, he confessed to having lost track of the score. "You couldn't call it victory because we didn't run that well," he said. "But we ran just well enough to keep going, so it really wasn't defeat. We didn't know what to call it, and we just decided to call it quits."

Baltimore Suburb Seems Receptive to Tsongas Appeal

By JEFFREY SCHMALZ
Special to The New York Times

TOWSON, Md., March 1 — Yes, many people in this Baltimore suburb aren't exactly sure what his name is. And, yes, they aren't exactly sure what his policies are. But they know one thing about Paul E. Tsongas: They're leaning toward voting for him.

"I like that guy with the funny name that has a 'G' in it," said Allan Cohn, a 39-year-old insurance salesman. "Tsongas? He was asked."

"That's him — he's the one. Tsongas," Mr. Cohn said, repeating the name as if to help himself remember it. "He seems genuine, real."

Two days is a long time in politics, and by Tuesday, when Maryland holds its primary, a candidate's friend may have become an enemy. But for now, on the streets and in the homes of this white-collar Baltimore suburb where Democrats outnumber Republicans 2 to 1, choices are being made not so much from the intellect as from a visceral reaction. That, it turns out, bodes well for Mr. Tsongas and ill for his closest rival, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas.

A Matter of Trust

"Tsongas has a strength from living with problems," said Jeanne Stevenson, a 68-year-old retired apartment manager. "He had cancer. His father was an immigrant who struggled. Clinton? I don't know, there's something uncomfortable about the man. My inner sense is there's something under the surface."

Jay Klein, 38, who works for a collection agency, had a similar problem with Mr. Clinton. "It's hard to pin down," Mr. Klein said. "Clinton's a good politician, but I don't know what's going on deep inside him. There's something about him I don't trust."

In chats with more than 70 people — 50 of them Democrats — in their living rooms and offices and on street corners, most of the Democrats supported Mr. Tsongas, a former Senator from Massachusetts. Seven backed Mr. Clinton. No one said they planned to vote for Senators Bob Kerrey of Nebraska or Tom Harkin of Iowa, or for former Gov. Edmund G. Brown of California. All three candidates have run minimal campaigns in Maryland.

Time and again, Clinton opponents said their decision was based not on questions of whether Mr. Clinton had an extramarital affair with Gennifer Flowers or about a letter he wrote during the Vietnam War expressing opposition to the draft. Instead, they used words like "too slick" or "just another politician" or "too driven."

But it seemed likely those perceptions were part of an erosion of trust rooted in the allegations of infidelity and draft evasion. Nearly everyone in town, even those who groped for the name "Tsongas," readily knew the name "Gennifer Flowers."

'A Republican in Disguise'

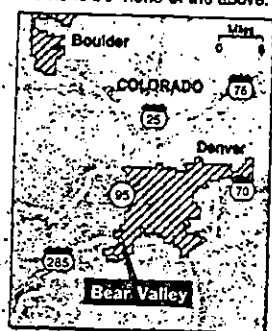
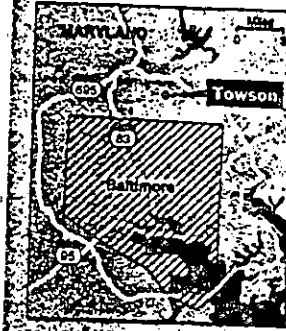
Mr. Clinton has his supporters, too. "I'm voting for Clinton," said Craig Horn, a 30-year-old investment counselor. "I like him. Tsongas is a Republican in disguise. But no one knows Clinton, other than the furor over the controversies."

But if those who opposed Mr. Clinton seemed a bit guilty about their conclusions — and some did — it remained their conclusion nonetheless. "I know Americans have to grow up about the private lives of their politicians," Mr. Klein said. "Still, I can't help wonder-

All this is not to say that the issues are not considered. Mr. Tsongas is perceived here as offering the best plan for turning the economy around. But even when campaign issues crop up, they are often framed not only on their own merits, but also as reflections of

Close-Ups: Maryland and Colorado

In Towson, voters said they were leaning toward Paul E. Tsongas. In Bear Valley, the people's choice seems to be "none of the above."



Photograph by Marty Katz for The New York Times

"Let's face it, he's never going to be President of the United States," said Elsie Heyman, in Towson, Md., saying that she will not vote for Gov. Bill Clinton.



"I like that guy with the funny name that has a 'G' in it," said Allan Cohn, an insurance salesman in Towson, Md., referring to Paul Tsongas.

the face and say we're going to have to work hard to make things better."

At once Southern and Northern, its accents changing from speaker to speaker and from block to block, Towson (the first syllable rhymes with how) is not typical of Maryland. While most statewide polls put Mr. Tsongas ahead of Mr. Clinton by about 10 points, the former Senator's level of support seems larger here, consistent with the vote in the New Hampshire primary that had him running especially strong in white upscale areas like this one.

Still, Towson is like much of America. It seems to be in the middle of an architectural wrestling match, the coupas on its 19th-century buildings trying and failing to stave off the sleek new steel-and-glass office buildings.

Downtown is yesterday: an Elks lodge and the 1855 courthouse, and the bells of the Church of the Immaculate Conception filling the noon air. On the periphery of the town is today: the new mall and the occasional homeless beggar and the traffic without end along the endless highway strip of fast-food restaurants and convenience stores.

Teacher Sees a Similarity

For Helen Little, a 70-year-old Republican who is a retired teacher, there is a similarity between the town and the nation: a fine past, but a present that is not horrible but is not as good as the past.

"Everything isn't as nice as it used to be," she said in a walk around town, referring to both Towson and the United States.

Like some Republicans here, she groped for ways to support President Bush. "I blame Bush and I don't blame him. I think he should be able to cut government, but I know it can't be done."

Some seemed to treat him as a nice boy who had not lived up to their hopes. "I think he's tried to do the right thing," said Marchia Jakovicks, 46, a bank manager. "I think his advisers aren't giving him the full picture."

It's Into the Woodshed

But other Republicans viewed the President as a bit of a brat who needed to be spanked. He is still part of the family and they will be there for him in November, but for now it's into the woodshed with Patrick J. Buchanan.

"Reagan and Bush lied to me," said Tom Bodie, a 51-year-old lawyer. "They said they would dismantle the bureaucracy, and their way of doing that was the savings-and-loan mess. I'm going to vote for Buchanan to send a message loud and clear to George Bush to get his act together."

Ms. Jakovicks said she was tired of politicians. "As a young person I was in awe of the Kennedys, and I was baffled," she asserted. "George Bush has tried, but he's a politician. I'm voting for Buchanan simply because he's not a politician."

Then she laughed and said: "That's quite a leap, isn't it? From the Kennedys to Pat Buchanan."

character.

"Tsongas is willing to take a chance," Charlotte Snyder, a 44-year-old librarian, said of the candidate's opposition to a middle-class tax cut. "He's got the moxie to look people in



King Fahd announcing a new constitution yesterday in Riyadh.

Uneasy Debate For Jews in U.S. On Loans Issue

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 1 — When the issue of new loan guarantees for Israel first came before Congress last September, American Jewish groups organized a national lobbying campaign replete with faxes, letter-writing and thousands of volunteers bused into Washington to press the Israeli case with lawmakers.

But when the issue came up again recently after being postponed for four months, lobbying by Jewish organizations on Israel's behalf was so low-key it was almost invisible.

Some Congressional Democratic leaders overseeing foreign aid felt comfortable publicly criticizing Israeli settlement practices and siding with the Bush Administration in demanding a freeze on building in the West Bank as condition for the loan guarantees. Some Administration officials say that aside from a few muted statements and some quiet letter-writing, they are struck more by what Jewish organizations have not been saying than what they have been saying.

Support and Uncertainty

Interviews with a wide spectrum of Jews from around the country find that while they still strongly support the loan guarantees, they are uncertain of how to go about pressing the case.

For them the issue has become complicated if not traumatic. In part this is because President Bush's attack on Jewish lobbying on the issue last September intimidated many American Jews and made leaders of Jewish organizations wary of confronting Mr. Bush for fear that he would again take his case to the American public.

In part, it is also because pushing aggressively in public for loan guarantees for Israel at a time of deep recession in America increasingly seems impolitic. Finally, because President

Continued From Page A1

the loan guarantees on Israel's freezing its settlements, and because Israel rejects such linkage, many American Jews find themselves in the position they hate most: having to choose between policies of their own Government and policies of the Israeli Government. A result has been debate and mixed emotions where there was once near-unanimity.

"What I am finding when I travel around the country is American Jews who feel caught between a rock and a hard place," said David A. Harris, executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee. "People are not fully happy with some of the ways Israel is behaving, but they don't have confidence in the script being written by the Administration either."

'It Scares Us'

Mr. Harris added: "We are not only missing the violins in the relationship, we are missing the whole orchestra. What you have here are two countries that have so much in common but are increasingly losing sight of it. It worries us. It troubles us. It scares us, because many of us can see what happens down the road if this continues."

For many American Jews, the complex sentiment is being echoed: Jews are neither comfortable with some of the recent actions of the Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, nor trusting of the motives of President Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker Jr. "I feel that basically what Bush and Baker are doing is right," said Sally R. Gilbert, director of the Jewish lecture series in El Paso. "They are holding up a mirror to Israel, saying 'take a look at yourself,' and those of us who want to see Israel with a healthy society and a healthy economy think it is the kick they need to build a better society."

"But on a gut level, I just don't trust Bush and Baker. I don't know where they are coming from. I can't put my

finger on it, but you read their body language and you feel something is missing. It is like you believe in the prescription, but you don't trust the doctor."

The proposed \$10 billion in loan guarantees over five years would help Israel settle Jewish émigrés from the former Soviet Union by enabling the Israeli Government to borrow money from private banks at interest rates lower than it would normally be able to obtain. Israel would be obligated to repay all the loans, but the United States, as the guarantor, would by law have to set aside money that would be used in the event of an Israeli default; the amount is expected to be roughly \$300 million under a formula used by the Office of Management and Budget.

It is clear now that for many American Jews, nothing did more to undermine trust in President Bush than his Sept. 12 news conference, which was called to counter pressure from pro-Israeli lobbyists.

Referring to those who wanted to push the loan guarantee issue through despite his appeal for a delay, Mr. Bush said, "I am up against some powerful political forces, but I owe it to the American people to tell them how strongly I feel" about deferring the loan guarantee issue until after Arab-Israeli peace talks got under way in Madrid last fall.

"We're up against very strong and effective groups that go up to the Hill," Mr. Bush said. "I heard today there was something like a thousand lobbyists on the Hill working the other side of the question. We've got one lonely little guy down here doing it. I am going to stand for what I believe here. And I believe the American people will be with me."

After Mr. Bush's remarks provoked a flood of supportive mail to the White House, much of it anti-Semitic, he apologized to leaders of Jewish organizations for having stirred such feelings, which he said he did not intend.

Nevertheless, said Steven M. Cohen, professor of sociology at Queens College and an expert on American Jewish public opinion: "That press conference has become part of American Jewish lore. When the President suggests that lobbying on behalf of Israel is an act of disloyalty to the United States and is illegitimate — and whatever Bush said that is what Jews heard — it hurts and makes Jews feel vulnerable."

That lurking fear that the President would, if pressed hard enough, be prepared to make aid to Israel a national issue definitely accounts for some of the lower-key lobbying by Jewish groups since September, said Mr. Cohen.

"People know that it is still out there — this potential for challenging the legitimacy for Jewish political activity on behalf of Israel — and they don't want to revive it," Mr. Cohen said.

A very prominent Jewish lobbyist in Washington, who asked not to be identified by name, was more blunt. "I think

Bush's attack on lobbying resonates four months later.

it was a scary incident," he said. "And there are people who are still convinced that it was a calculated effort to intimidate the Jewish community — and it worked."

The choice not to confront the President has not come easily and it has been accompanied by a lot of resentment of the Administration percolating just beneath the surface that could erupt at any time.

"There is a great deal of anger among Jews in America about how the Administration is handling things," said Carol Nelkin, a Houston lawyer active in local Jewish causes.

"It seems to me that whether or not you are in favor of settlements or stopping them," she said, "the tone of the Administration is one that seems hostile to Israel, beyond what is necessary, and that is something I take personally."

Debate Is Recast

Another element shaping the mood is the fact that Mr. Bush has recast the debate. In September, it appeared that the issue was whether or not to grant loan guarantees, period. Now the debate is whether to grant loan guarantees linked to a freeze on Israeli settlements, as Mr. Bush wants, or unlinked to such a freeze. Because Jews are deeply divided on the settlements question, the message to Washington has become somewhat blurred.

The overwhelming majority of American Jewish organizations, like the Israeli public itself, believes that a

certain amount of settlements are justified in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, for security or nationalist reasons. And some leaders, like Shoshana S. Cardin, chairwoman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, take the position: "We don't accept linkage of the loan guarantee to settlements. We refuse political linkage."

Others argue, however, that whether or not one accepts linkage is now irrelevant: President Bush has made the link and therefore Israel and its friends have to make a choice.

"What you find in our community today is a growing opposition to settlements, not so much on ideological grounds, but on logical grounds," said Mark B. Rotenberg, a Minneapolis lawyer active in local Jewish causes.

"Whatever you feel about settlements, it just doesn't make sense to a lot of people for Israel to risk the loan guarantees, and risk an erosion in its relationship with the United States, just to build one more settlement."

Still others, though, believe that President Bush has actually done Israel a favor by finally demanding that its Government halt a settlement policy that they believe is hurtful to the chances for peace with the Arabs.

David W. Belin, a Des Moines lawyer who runs a national organization to counter Jews' marrying outside their faith, said: "Israel cannot remain a democracy holding territories occupied by large amounts of Arabs. If it were not for the loan guarantee issue, new settlements would be going through like an express train. At least one good thing about the loan guarantee issue is that it is going to finally force a real debate on settlements in Israel."

Related to this is an increasing feeling among many American Jews that since Israel is going to hold an election June 23, and Mr. Shamir will square off against the more dovish Labor Party leader, Yitzhak Rabin, Israelis will in effect be voting on whether they want loan guarantees or settlements, so let them decide. Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, said, "We should hold back and hear what the Israelis have to say."

Finally, another big change since September has been the combination of the end of the cold war and the onset of a deep recession, making foreign aid the most unpopular issue on Capitol Hill.

"Look, there is a certain turning inward all over the country," said Wayne L. Feinstein, executive vice president of the San Francisco Jewish Federation. "Our community is very aware of the AIDS crisis. You can't walk out of your office here for lunch without bumping into homeless people. The economic environment now for foreign aid is very hostile. Without a President really ready to explain to the American people why loan guarantees are in their interests, and won't really cost taxpayers anything, it is very hard to fight this environment."

Continued on Page A6, Column 1

Ethiopia Unable to Get U.S. Aid Despite Reforms

By JANE PERLEZ
Special to The New York Times

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Feb. 26 — After encouraging the new Ethiopian Government to embark on the country's first effort at democracy and offering economic aid if it went ahead with political liberalization, the United States finds itself unable to deliver the promised assistance.

Economic aid to Ethiopia, which was allied with the Soviet Union for more than a decade but with which the United States previously had close ties, has become a victim of the American Presidential campaign, say American officials here and in Washington.

The officials here say they understand the election-year hostility to foreign aid, but are perplexed by the inability to deliver the comparatively small amount of \$60 million for economic and democracy projects intended to get one of Africa's poorest countries on its feet.

Without economic aid to help revive its agriculture and industry, Ethiopia will continue to be dependent on the world for food handouts, said Willard J. Pierson, the director of the office of the

A victim of the American Presidential race.

United States Agency for International Development here.

He and other officials point out that since the Ethiopian famine in 1984, Washington has spent \$1.2 billion on food relief that kept starving people alive but also bred dependence on aid. A modicum of economic aid made economic sense, Mr. Pierson said.

"The alternative is more and far larger levels of humanitarian assistance," he said.

Democratic Moves Cited

In contrast with the hard-line Marxist Government that was toppled last year after 17 years of war, Mr. Pierson said, the new Government of President Meles Zenawi had made significant strides in human rights and appeared headed toward a market economy.

These moves deserve support, he said.

At the heart of the inability to deliver economic aid is a legislative restriction that prohibits the United States from giving aid to a foreign government that is in arrears on debt payments. About a dozen countries, most of them in Africa, fall under this provision, known as the Brooke amendment.

The amount owed by Ethiopia is small compared with the arrears of many other countries, officials said. Ethiopia owes \$5.5 million from the mid-1970's, lent to it for military aircraft that the Pentagon now says were never delivered, American officials said. An additional \$2 million is owed on housing loans, they said.

Because of its early enthusiasm for the new Government, the State Department urged Congress last fall to grant a one-year waiver of the Brooke amendment as it applied to Ethiopia.

The waiver, which Congress agreed to, was attached to last year's foreign aid bills. But the bills failed to win approval and are unlikely to be revived this year.

Tax Lobbyists Scrambling To Catch Up on Capitol Hill

By KEITH BRADSHAW

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 1 — In the dark of Monday night, long after gaggles of schoolchildren have clamored back onto tour buses and the last Congressional aide has disappeared into the subway, a scraggly line will form outside the Dirksen Senate office building for a pre-dawn vigil.

Clad in sneakers, racing tights and zippered jackets, bicycle messengers will bide their time for hours, holding places in line for tax lobbyists in pinstripes and lawyers in tasseled leather shoes. The goal of this ritual, which will cost the lawyer-lobbyists \$20 an hour for each messenger, will be a coveted seat in the Senate Finance Committee's cramped hearing room on Tuesday, when the panel begins drafting tax legislation.

Washington's tax-lobbying season, while slow to start this year, is beginning to build. Executives are flying in

to plot industry strategies, members of Congress gather in marble-floored conference rooms and tax lawyers clog the flow of people through Congressional offices.

"The telephone is ringing every 20 seconds," said one aide to a Senator on the Finance Committee. "I can't sit here and take a bite from a sandwich."

The lobbying now under way in the Senate stands in sharp contrast to the action last week in the House, which moved so fast in approving a Democratic tax plan that lobbyists had little time to lay their strategy. Representatives were amazed.

"Nobody's lobbying for this bill except the realtors," Representative Timothy J. Penny, Democrat of Minnesota, said shortly before the vote on Thursday. "I guess that's unusual. Usually a tax bill has an army of lobbyists on both sides."

Lobbyists from many industries

Continued on Page D4

Continued From First Business Page

complain that President Bush's call on Jan. 28 for tax legislation by March 20 has given them little time to organize. The American Textile Manufacturers Institute, for example, is still holding meetings with its member companies to figure out what measures to support.

Other interest groups are also scrambling. "What is happening to the corporate lobbyists is a lot of them don't know what is going on, and there's not much time, so what do we do?" said Mark A. Bloomfield, the president of the American Council for Capital Formation, a business lobbying group that seeks tax credits for corporations that invest heavily.

No Time for Food Stunts

One result of the compressed tax legislation season is that lobbyists have organized few promotional stunts, like sending free food to Congressional offices. "There haven't been any pizzas yet," one Senate aide said.

So far, the real estate industry lobbyists are looking like this year's winners, while the automobile industry has little to show for its less aggressive efforts.

Houses and cars have long been centerpieces of economic-recovery programs, and the industries that make and market them have sought comparable tax breaks this year. But the bill passed by the House on Thursday included \$7.4 billion in tax reductions through 1997 that are specifically aimed at helping the real estate industry, including a measure to let people withdraw money from their Individual Retirement Accounts to help pay for houses.

The auto industry, by contrast, won only a \$100 million tax break — a measure that would allow annual inflation adjustments on the price threshold for cars before luxury taxes are assessed. The current threshold is \$30,000.

The Home Builders' Strategy

Gerald M. Howard, the legislative counsel of the National Association of Home Builders, said his trade group began preparing studies in the summer that would demonstrate its case, then started a full-fledged lobbying effort in September.

Mr. Howard said the association would have several lobbyists at Tuesday's Senate hearing, all but one of them in the hallway, rather than in the hearing room.

"It's much more effective if you're in the hall, because you can catch people going in or out," he said. "To tell the truth, I'd rather not have a seat in the room."

The auto makers had sought a pair of tax breaks for corporate buyers of

cars, which would have totaled about \$7 billion through 1997. One of the moves, worth about \$1 billion, would have raised to \$16,000, from \$12,600, the portion of a car's price that a company may deduct as a business expense over five years. The other move, worth up to \$6 billion, would have speeded up this depreciation schedule, allowing companies to write off the \$16,000 over three years.

Lobbyists from Detroit used several political advantages in seeking special treatment. President Bush's January trip to Tokyo to seek trade concessions put a spotlight on the industry's troubles. And General Motors' announcements last week of a \$4.45 billion annual loss and plans to close a dozen plants presented the image of an industry facing financial disaster.

But several Congressmen said the auto industry's meager gains in the House showed that its lobbying was, at best, inadequate, if not inept. The lackluster effort also irritated two of the industry's strongest Democratic supporters on the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee: Sander M. Levin of Michigan, who led the push for auto tax breaks, and Don J. Pease of Ohio, whose district has three large car factories.

"In terms of their lobbying, I didn't hear from a single auto industry person that I know of," said Mr. Pease, who ended up opposing the proposed incentives for corporate buyers of cars. "I might have gone the other way or given Sandy Levin more support if I'd heard from Ford, G.M. and Chrysler."

The ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, Bill Archer of Texas, and another Democrat on the committee, Charles B. Rangel of New York, also said they had not heard from the auto industry.

'We're Trying to Do Better'

Lobbyists from General Motors, which led the industry's advocacy of the tax-law changes, did not return repeated calls for comment. W. Gray Terry, a G.M. spokesman, said the company was still developing its views on the tax issues and had been busy explaining its planned factory closings to legislators.

Lobbyists from the Ford Motor Company and the Chrysler Corporation said they made an earnest, though not all-out, effort to win tax relief.

"We've talked to a lot of staff, a lot of members of Congress," said Robert G. Liberatore, Chrysler's executive director of public policy and legislative affairs. "In the Ways and Means, Sandy Levin sort of took the lead in talking to the Democratic caucus, but we also talked."

Out Of Control

By R. Taggart Murphy

Sixty years ago, Japanese military units operating in China led Japan to disaster. Groups such as the Kwangtung Army, which took over Manchuria, were subject to no effective political control. And they were driven more by inter-service rivalries than by long-term geopolitical strategy.

The behavior of many Japanese corporations in global markets today suggests a disturbing parallel in the damage they could ultimately do to Japan and in the sense that no one in Tokyo really knows what to do about it. The implication that Japanese companies are out of control flies in the face of conventional wisdom — particularly the Japan Inc. view that sees corporations as creatures of the economic bureaucracy responding to orders from the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

The bureaucrat-industry nexus that led to Japan's phenomenal economic success is rooted in wartime arrangements. The goal of victory in war was replaced in 1945 with the goal of reconstruction, which in turn evolved into unlimited industrial expansion. But still, the bureaucracy sets broad strategic parameters and creates a favorable environment for industry, while individual corporations — through intense competition, product innovation and marketing blitzkriegs — carry out the economic expansion.

Within this framework, the bureaucracy has the final word, but it lacks both the instruments and political legitimacy to shift goals for Japan, even when unlimited industrial expansion is leading to a collision course with the rest of the world. To paraphrase the distinction first formulated by the political scientist Chalmers Johnson, the Japanese bureaucracy has always had a developmental rather than a regulatory function.

The crux of the danger today is that the regulatory weakness leaves few effective instruments to restrain large corporations. The typical in-

Japan can't stop its corporate global expansion.

struments by which capitalist economies control economic enterprises are the enforcement of antitrust laws, the requirement to earn profits and compete in open capital markets, the sanctioning of bankruptcy or takeovers, the power of unions to bargain for wages and reasonable working hours, the ability of suppliers to extract fair prices — none of which concern the biggest Japanese companies very much.

Thus the president of Toshiba can announce that he is prepared to lose money for 10 years to establish Toshiba's dominance of flat panel video displays for television. And Toyota can flood world markets with cars at a time of horrendous global overcapacity and the worst auto recession ever.

Thoughtful Japanese understand the danger of provoking waves of hostility that may bring about barriers to Japanese goods and capital. Akio Morita, the chairman of Sony, recently wrote in one of Japan's leading journals that Japanese management methods give corporations such a competitive advantage that they may provoke unwelcome restrictions abroad.

But Mr. Morita admitted he was not sure how to induce corporations to head off anti-Japanese sentiment abroad. Like nervous civilian ministers in the cabinets of the 1930's, no one in Tokyo knows a way to bring the Toyotas of Japan into line.

Paradoxically, the U.S. could actually arm the Japanese bureaucracy with the justifications it needs to restrain corporate behavior. The U.S. plays a unique role in Japan — providing for its security — and it is only half-jokingly that Japanese commentators often refer to the U.S. as Japan's only effective opposition party. The formidable task of arming the bureaucracy, however, would require a radical overhaul not only of U.S. negotiating style vis-à-vis Japan (no more botched trade missions disguised as Presidential visits) but also of our understanding of Japanese capitalism.

It would further require a willingness to look at our own industrial structure strategically — to admit that some industries are more important to our long-term health than others. Then our negotiators can aim at concrete results rather than making meaningless and needlessly irritating calls for "open markets" and "level playing fields," neither of which mean anything in the Japanese context.

R. Taggart Murphy, an investment banker, is writing a book on finance and Japan.

Review/Television

Some 'Today' Segments Bigger Than Bite-Size

By WALTER GOODMAN

"Today" is showing signs of life. One week last month the NBC fixture narrowly beat out ABC's "Good Morning America" for first place among network morning programs for the first time in more than two years. Although it has since slipped back, the program's new executive producer, Jeff Zucker, predicts a winning record by the end of the year.

The most noticeable of Mr. Zucker's innovations is a readiness to let the topical segments of the two-hour program run on longer than the customary three to five minutes. All

A few reports venture beyond the usual three to five minutes.

The early-morning shows carry extended reports on exceptional occasions, but most of the time they stick safely with bits-and-pieces programming that puts little strain on viewers' attention spans. Can it be that the audience has been underestimated? That remains to be seen, but one can already glimpse what the team of Jeff Zucker, Bryant Gumbel and Katherine Couric are up to.

Ms. Couric made a strong start in December in an interview with David Duke that Mr. Zucker sensibly allowed to continue for eight minutes. To break in earlier would have been like interrupting a slugging match before the final bell. Although Ms. Couric was obviously guided by a script, discreetly placed below a camera range, her attitude seemed authentically prosecutorial, as she hammered away at Mr. Duke's knowl-

edge, credentials and attitudes toward blacks and Jews. When an answer displeased her, she called it "a now-familiar response."

Mr. Duke made an easy mark, but even viewers who might have been taken aback by the starchiness of the interviewer could probably agree that if anyone was asking for it, this sometime Kluxer was. Will Ms. Couric show similar spirit toward politicians she finds more appealing?

Some weeks later, in a regression to commercial-television news judgment, Mike Tyson was awarded more time than David Duke. The 10-minute rape-trial report in February was neatly packaged — an account of the verdict followed by interviews with the prosecutor and with a boxing expert — but the spotlight, as usual, was on Mr. Tyson himself, with little attempt to move beyond personality to issues of law, race, sex and celebrity stirred up by the case. When, at the end, Mr. Gumbel said, "There is an awful lot more going on in the world this morning," it could have been taken as an apology.

The results of the Feb. 18 New Hampshire primaries were appropriately covered by "Today," but no more fully than by "Good Morning America," which originated from New Hampshire in the days leading up to the vote. Both programs presented Patrick J. Buchanan, Paul E. Tsongas, Bill Clinton and a representative of the Bush campaign, and no doubt "CBS This Morning" would have done likewise if it had not been otherwise occupied with the Olympics.

The questioning by Mr. Gumbel and Ms. Couric was professional (although there is something overly cozy about a television host calling a Presidential hopeful "Pat"), and it was no fault of theirs that they could not get much beyond the rote claims of victory by all contestants. (Perhaps out of exasperation, Bryant, as all guests call him, committed the



Katherine Couric and Bryant Gumbel, co-hosts of NBC's "Today."

following metaphor in a question to Pat: "Money being the mother's milk of politics, let's talk about how deep your well is.")

The next morning brought a smartly conceived interview by Mr. Gumbel with two of Mr. Buchanan's sometime talk-show colleagues: John McLaughlin, who presides over NBC's "McLaughlin Group," and Michael Kinsley, of CNN's "Crossfire." "Is he anti-Semitic?" inquired Mr. Gumbel. "Is he racist?" When his guests said they thought not really, Mr. Gumbel pressed on: "When he's talking about taking America back, who's he taking it back from and for?" The insistent questioning brought out some illuminating, if defensive reflections on the candidate's attitudes.

The now-and-then effort by "Today" to break out of a long-established all-network format, although far from revolutionary or as yet particularly daring, is entirely welcome; the more the better. Mr. Gumbel has always been a tough interviewer, and Ms. Couric has been showing that she can be tough, too. If Mr. Zucker can help them move away from personalities and onto issues, as they did in a longish segment on Friday about violence in the schools and an earlier one on United States-Cuba relations, that would really be cause for congratulation, if not necessarily for improved ratings.

No, Gumbel/Couric are never going to be MacNeil/Lehrer; on the other hand, Bryant and Katie may be easier to take at 7 A.M.

Bush Urges Georgia to Reject Buchanan Appeal

By ROBIN TONER
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, March 1 — Struggling to hold the line against Patrick J. Buchanan, President Bush swept through Georgia this weekend urging Republican primary voters to reject the politics of protest and "send this President back for four more years."

The President's anxious courtship signified the stakes in Tuesday's primary here and the clear concern among the President's allies over the outcome. Georgia marks the first head-to-head contest between Mr. Bush and the conservative commentator since New Hampshire. Mr. Buchanan's attack commercials have turned it into a bitter affair and helped produce the extraordinary spectacle of a President encamped for the weekend in a primary state.

There is considerable disagreement among Mr. Bush's advisers and allies over how much of a problem he faces here, with many, including Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, projecting that Mr. Buchanan could win a percentage in the mid-30's, but others are projecting both better and worse showings for the President. Still, a veteran Southern Republican close to the Bush campaign asserted that the outlook here was considerably better for the President than it seemed last week.

'Galvanized the Female Vote'

Since then, the Bush campaign has taken to the airwaves with commercials that highlight Mr. Buchanan's opposition to the use of force in the Persian Gulf and some of his controversial statements over the years, including the suggestion that women were psychologically unsuited for certain jobs. "We've completely galvanized the female vote with this ad," said the Southern Republican, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified.

The Bush allies were also arguing, again and again, that Mr. Buchanan's ultimate defeat was simply a matter of time. Paul Coverdell, the former Peace Corps director and a candidate for the United States Senate here, said Mr. Buchanan could attract 30 percent to 39 percent of the vote here but added, "The point is George Bush is going to win every delegate in the state of Georgia, and he's going to go to South Carolina and do the same thing."

Pointing to the stage where the President was about to speak, Mr. Coverdell added, "At some point, I expect to see the President to be stand-

ing up there, and Pat Buchanan to be standing up there with him, understanding what we have to do to preserve a conservative Government."

The battle between Mr. Bush and Mr. Buchanan here has a far different tone from the economically driven struggle in New Hampshire; in Georgia, Mr. Buchanan has emphasized issues like racial quotas and Federal financing for the arts, while Mr. Bush has countered with an appeal to the South's military tradition and also emphasized the "bedrock belief in family and in faith, in community and in country."

Today was emblematic. Both Mr. Bush and Mr. Buchanan began with church, a nod to the power of the conservative Christian vote in this primary. Mr. Bush attended the 9 A.M. service at Atlanta's First Baptist Church, presided over by Dr. Charles F. Stanley, who has an active television ministry. Mr. Stanley introduced the President and Mrs. Bush as "very special

A rival's threat forces Bush to encamp in a primary state.

guests" and said he had shared with Mr. Bush his favorite artwork: a rendering of Daniel, with his gaze fixed on a ray of light, impervious to the lions.

But Mr. Bush seemed unable to ignore the lions.

In Savannah today, he talked of opponents who would "run from the new realities, seek refuge in a world of protectionism, or high taxes, or even bigger government." In Atlanta on Saturday, he talked of "those talking heads out there, the folks who don't seem to feel good unless they find something bad to say about the country."

One of the biggest unknowns here is the impact of Mr. Buchanan's television campaign, which has accused Mr. Bush of financing "pornographic and blasphemous art" through the National Endowment for the Arts and of backing a "quota bill" that was "closing doors" on American children. The advertisement refers to the civil rights legislation passed by Congress last year and signed into law by Mr. Bush.

Its supporters, Democratic and Republican, vehemently denied that it would encourage racial quotas in the workplace.

Some Republicans asserted that Mr. Buchanan's appeals would backfire, particularly among Republican primary voters in Atlanta's suburbs. Gov. Carroll Campbell of South Carolina, a top Bush ally, asserted today that it was "demeaning that Mr. Buchanan would come to the South and talk about issues as if 'this was some tobacco road and we were all a bunch of boobs.'"

But other politicians, aligned with Mr. Bush, worried that the commercials, including the one about the endowment for the arts, could take a toll on Mr. Bush, especially in rural Georgia.

Another big unknown is who will vote in the Republican primary, since this is a state where Democrats and Republicans can cross party lines on Election Day. Some Democrats suggested Mr. Buchanan's campaign was gaining among the Democrats who were backers of Ronald Reagan in rural Georgia. John Henry Anderson, a former state Democratic chairman, said, "People are so upset with President Bush that they're looking for an opportunity to vote against him twice."

Mr. Buchanan had spent much of last week in South Georgia, hitting small towns and cities, striking a range of themes, from arts financing to foreign aid, which he assails as an unfair allocation of taxpayer dollars. His campaign was rich with symbolism, including a visit to a Confederate memorial at Stone Mountain on Saturday. Mr. Buchanan also, repeatedly, hit racially oriented themes.

Mr. Buchanan asserted that the Voting Rights Act was "an act of regional discrimination against the South" and said all states "should be under the same laws." The law, intended to counter decades of systematic denial of the franchise to blacks, requires that certain states, most of them in the South, undergo special Federal scrutiny of their election laws.

Mr. Bush's trip this weekend seemed aimed at both shoring up party regulars and the party's conservative wing. He seemed almost wistful in Savannah today. "Since the day I took the oath of office, I've made it my duty to look for what is right for America," he said. "I go back to what my mother says, 'Try your hardest, do your best.' Well, let me tell you something — I'm not done yet."

Tsongkerclintkinbro Wins

By John Allen Paulos

WITH PHILADELPHIA primaries, caucuses, a glut of rules on eligibility, incessant polling, media watches and reams of punditry, the Democratic candidates' spin doctors have ample material from which to fashion an argument that their man is the front runner.

Further evidence for this came over the weekend in the balloting that took place in Nebrarkamassacalowa.

The 55 voting members in this little known state's caucus ranked the five candidates as follows:

Eighteen members preferred Tsongas to Kerrey to Harkin to Brown to Clinton. Twelve members preferred Clinton to Harkin to Kerrey to Brown to Tsongas. Ten members preferred Brown to Clinton to Harkin to Kerrey to Tsongas. Nine members preferred Kerrey to Brown to Harkin to Clinton to Tsongas. Four members preferred Harkin to Clinton to Kerrey to Brown to Tsongas. And two members preferred Harkin to Brown to Kerrey to Clinton to Tsongas.

To determine the winner, Tsongas supporters stolidly argued that the plurality method, whereby the candidate with the most first place votes wins, should be used. With this meth-

Political math is the game of the name.

od and 18 first place votes, Tsongas wins easily.

Ever alert for signs of a comeback, Clinton supporters argued that there should be a runoff between the two candidates receiving the most first place votes. Clinton handily beats Tsongas in such a runoff (18 members preferring Tsongas to Clinton, but 37 preferring Clinton to Tsongas).

Brown's people had to be a little more ethereal to come up with a winner. Their suggestion: the candidate with the fewest first place votes (Harkin in this case) should be eliminated first; then the first place preferences for the others should be adjusted (still 18 for Tsongas, now 16 for Clinton, now 12 for Brown, still 9 for Kerrey). Next, the candidate among the remaining four having the fewest first place votes (Kerrey in this case) should be eliminated and the first place preferences for the remaining candidates adjusted. (Brown now has 21 first place votes.) This procedure of winnowing the candidates by removing at each stage the one with the fewest first place votes is continued. Using this method, Brown is the winner.

Kerrey's campaign manager demonstrated that more attention

should be paid to the overall rankings, not just to the top preferences. He argued that if first place votes are each accorded 5 points, second place votes 4 points, third place 3 points, fourth 2 points and last place 1 point, then associated with each candidate will be a number that will accurately reflect that candidate's support. Since Kerrey's count of 191 is higher than anyone else's, he wins.

Finally, Harkin, being a macho sort, responded that only man-to-man contests should count. Pitted against any of the other four candidates in a two person race, he comes out the winner. For example, he beats Kerrey 28 votes to 27 and Clinton 33 votes to 22. Harkin claims that he therefore deserves to be the overall winner.

All the numbers concocted here (and manipulated by drawing upon the work of the American mathematicians William F. Lucas and Joseph Malkevitch and the 18th century philosophers Jean-Charles de Borda and the Marquis de Condorcet) are intended to show how the choice of a voting method can sometimes determine the winner. Although such anomalies don't always result, every method of voting is subject to them.

In listening to the candidates' arguments and weighing them, Nebrarkamassacalowans recalled the advice that the old lawyer gave his protégé: "When the law's on your side, pound the law. When the facts are on your side, pound the facts. And when neither is on your side, pound the table."

John Allen Paulos, professor of mathematics at Temple University, is the author of "Beyond Numeracy."

Delay Debate on the Economy

By Henry Kaufman

The Bush Administration and Congress have locked horns over taxes and Government spending in which neither side is likely to prevail. In today's stagnant economy, the lowest consumer confidence in 17 years, great volatility in financial markets and heavy debt burdens, standard political maneuvering carries real dangers. The risks are particularly high if the Federal Reserve, waiting for a resolution of the fiscal debate, hesitates and fails to bring about an adequate flow of credit and lower interest rates.

Neither President Bush's proposals nor Congress's counterproposals are likely to have more than a marginal impact on the near-term course of the U.S. economy. They are modest in scope or purpose. The large questions — about health care, military retrenchment, infrastructure, education and job training and the financial implications of all of this — are notably absent from the narrow fiscal debate. The proper forum for debate over these issues is the Presidential campaign, not a hasty legislative confrontation.

Therefore, I recommend a moratorium on formal deliberation on all fiscal initiatives until after the November election. The leadership of both parties in Congress should suspend consideration of the President's tax plans and its own competing proposals until the voters have chosen both the next President and an approach to addressing longer-term issues. Routine consideration of the technical details of the 1993 budget submission should proceed according to the Congressional timetable.

Henry Kaufman heads a money-management firm bearing his name.

After the election is soon enough.

In the meantime, the President and Congressional leaders should turn the spotlight back on the Federal Reserve and monetary policy. This would focus on the distinctly financial impediments to business expansion. The Fed needs to ease monetary policy even more, to insure the continued rehabilitation of borrowers and financial institutions. That is essential for a sustainable business recovery.

A fractious and ultimately inconclusive debate over fiscal policy, by contrast, can produce financial uncertainty. It can accentuate volatility in the financial markets, lead to a reversal in the gradual progress in lowering intermediate and long-term interest rates and jeopardize further improvement in the stock market. As a result, the financial improvement that began last year may become disorderly — or stop altogether.

The latest recession has been more severe and enduring than most economists had forecast because of unprecedented debt, a burden that has to be lifted before normal economic activity can be restored. What's been happening in recent months is only a first step. Here are some important aspects:

- New bond issues by American companies surged to almost \$15 billion a month in January-February, compared with \$10 billion a month in 1991. This financing allows corporations to strengthen their balance sheet.

- The strong market rally has encouraged companies to raise a large amount of capital through the issuance of new stock. In January

issues totaled \$8 billion, up from the monthly average of \$6.5 billion last year. This allows companies to reduce leverage and strengthen their overall financial condition.

- Mortgage refinancings are running at a pace some six or seven times greater than two years ago. With loans at interest rates perhaps 2 percentage points lower, a homeowner with a \$120,000 mortgage, about average nowadays, can reduce the monthly payment by about \$200 — or \$2,400 per year. That is fully 6 percent of the median household income. In addition, lower short-term rates are automatically enjoyed by homeowners with adjustable rate mortgages.

- State and local governments, whose budgets are hard-pressed by the decline in the property tax base, have taken advantage of lower interest rates to float new bond issues to pay off existing higher cost debt.

- All this also helps relieve strain on banks. The economy cannot function well when banks are constrained by a capital shortage and weak assets. Many banks have been able to go back into capital markets to improve their financial condition. Keeping capital markets open to banks is essential to easing the credit crunch.

Financial rehabilitation has made a good beginning but, unfortunately, has a long way to go. The process is fragile and easily stunted. Regrettably, the debate on fiscal policy spawns uncertainty. The financial markets will react, and sometimes overreact, to each twist and turn. Volatility will stay high. The window of opportunity for corporations and households to fulfill their financing plans may shut prematurely. As a consequence, the process of financial improvement can easily grind to a temporary halt. The result will be to delay an enduring business recovery.

So let's postpone the fiscal debate and look to monetary policy to stimulate an economic rebound.

The Outlook

Look for Jobless Rate To Stay High in '90s

NEW YORK

Despite all the talk of an imminent economic recovery, the nation's unemployment rate hasn't budged. That dismays many people, but it shouldn't surprise them. Employers typically hesitate to do much rehiring until convinced that the recovery is for real.

In fact, the unemployment rate may rise this year. Audrey Freedman, a labor economist at the Conference Board in New York, notes that as soon as some new jobs are created, the unemployed, especially men, start hunting for work again and thus swell the labor force faster than jobs open up.

But what may be surprising, and surely more dismaying, is a strong likelihood that unemployment may stay relatively high for most of the 1990s.

At 7.1% of the labor force, unemployment isn't nearly as bad now as during the 1981-82 recession. However, the current rate, like that in the previous downturn, understates the problem. Add to the 8.9 million jobless last month 6.1 million part-timers who would prefer to work full time and 1.1 million so discouraged as to quit looking for a job, and the adjusted rate hits 10.4%, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Moreover, the strong economic growth that drove down unemployment in the 1980s isn't likely this time around. The National Association of Business Economists notes that according to the median forecast in its latest survey, inflation-adjusted gross domestic product will grow only 2.3% from the 1991 fourth quarter to the 1992 fourth quarter. That's less than half the approximately 6% averaged in the first year of postwar economic recoveries.

Meanwhile, industry is slashing costs, and many announced payroll cutbacks won't be completed for a year or more. Edward Yardeni, chief economist at C.J. Lawrence Inc., contrasts the General Motors plan to wipe out 74,000 jobs in the next several years with the fact that "in a normal recovery, 100,000 auto workers would be rehired."

And however painful the downsizing in manufacturing, Stephen Roach of Morgan Stanley & Co. notes, "it hit a sector that employed only about 20% of the work force. Now it's the turn of the service industries, which, he says, "generated a net addition of nearly 20 million jobs" in the 1980s and employ more than 75% of U.S. workers. Banks, insurers, retailers and others are cutting

back. Even the health-care industry, which created 425,000 jobs in the past year, will eventually slow its unsustainable growth as efforts to curb the cost spiral take effect.

The upshot, Mr. Roach estimates, "could be a hiring shortfall of at least four million workers in the service sector over the next five years."

Meanwhile, changes in the economy could aggravate what Mrs. Freedman calls "a mismatch" of jobs and people—people with the wrong skills or few skills, with the wrong or inadequate work history, or living in the wrong sections of the country.

The deficiencies of American schools—widely lamented but nonetheless still unaddressed—are especially likely to hobble efforts to reduce unemployment at a time when work is growing more and more technologically sophisticated. Many new immigrants are poorly educated, too, or handicapped by poor English. So, many workers simply won't be up to the demands of the job market. They will be left out.

Mrs. Freedman cites another long-term structural problem, the aging of the work force. As people grow older, they are less willing to move to a new area and less able to adapt to changes in job demands.

Some companies will respond to any shortage of skilled labor by pushing automation. They may well succeed. Many of the educated entrants into the labor force will be people weaned on computer games and comfortable with data processing, and they gradually will enable employers to finally reap the productivity gains that computers have long promised but only erratically delivered. But that will push marginal job-seekers out into the cold completely.

Such problems, Mrs. Freedman says, will probably override any tendency for demographic changes to cause a general labor shortage. True, the numbers of young people hunting for their first job will be relatively low, and the entry of women into the labor force has slowed, possibly because a mini-baby-boom may be keeping many of them home. In any event, the labor market has already adjusted to the huge influx of baby-boomers, which ended a decade ago.

Most of the people who are or will be leaving the job market—people in their late 50s to mid-60s—are the Depression babies. Like the new entrants, they are a relatively small group. So, the U.S. doesn't face the sort of labor shortages it might be if hordes of workers were retiring and relatively few were coming in to replace them.

A major imponderable is the proposed U.S.-Mexico free-trade agreement. Whether the U.S. will reject it—or turn generally protectionist—is difficult to predict. So are the possible consequences for American jobs.

Amid the problems, Mrs. Freedman notes a helpful trend: the increasingly fluid patterns of work—the increases in self-employment, in part-time and temporary work, in people holding two jobs. The result, she says, will be a drop in the hours many people work but not a rise in unemployment.

That may help, but nonetheless unemployment seems likely to run fairly high in the 1990s. And if the government tries to cure what are basically structural problems with broad, stimulatory fiscal and monetary policies, it may create few jobs but risk damaging America's long-term competitiveness and once again accelerate inflation.

—HENRY F. MYERS

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Tensions between Iraq and the U.S., already escalating over Iraq's refusal to cooperate with the destruction of military equipment, are likely to rise further as the United Nations tries to force Baghdad to accept a series of additional tough inspections.

Friction escalated over the weekend, when Iraq refused to allow U.N. specialists to begin destroying equipment used in manufacturing Scud missiles, a step the specialists were preparing to take under terms of U.N. resolutions that ended last year's war against Iraq.

But U.S. officials said the mission to destroy missile-making equipment is just one of a series of U.N. missions to inspect and destroy military-related equipment planned this month that are likely to displease Saddam Hussein and could produce more disputes. "I think we're going to go ahead and turn up the heat on inspections regardless of their reaction," said one U.S. official.

President Bush may have strong domestic as well as foreign-policy incentives for confronting Iraq in coming weeks. If Mr. Bush's political problems at home persist, he will find it increasingly tempting to focus attention on Iraq, if not through military action then at least by turning up the heat in the international debate over Saddam Hussein's actions.

The situation may come to a head next week, when the U.N. Security Council is to meet with a high-level Iraqi delegation to explain its complaints about Iraq's behavior. If Iraq doesn't offer more cooperation then, the U.S. and other members of the Security Council are likely to take steps to increase the pressure on Baghdad, perhaps by isolating it economically beyond existing sanctions.

And while one U.S. official insists the U.S. and its allies don't have any "appetite" for military moves now, they also might begin considering steps for creating military pressure.

There are moves short of direct military action that the U.S. and its allies could take to turn up the heat on Saddam Hussein. For instance, they could again begin focusing attention on Iraq's treatment of its Kurds in the north, who have been suffering under a months-long economic blockade imposed by Baghdad in an effort to squelch unrest and insurrection. Under one proposal being discussed informally at the U.N., the Security Council would create a special envoy to investigate Saddam Hussein's treatment of Kurds in the north and Shiite Muslims in the south of Iraq.

Tensions between Iraq and the U.N. began rising last week, when the U.N. team assigned to destroy Scud-making machinery was forced to put off its plans because Iraq refused to cooperate. Iraq, which doesn't dispute that U.N. resolutions require it to destroy Scud missiles themselves, argued that the equipment the U.N. targeted had uses other than Scud missile production and could easily be converted to strictly civilian use. As a result, Iraq argued that the equipment shouldn't be destroyed.

Iraq sent a letter Friday to the Security Council. But by late Friday, the 15-member council had rejected Baghdad's arguments and warned of "serious consequences" if Iraq doesn't cooperate.

U.S. and U.N. Set to Step Up Pressure on Iraq

Dollar Faces a Test Late This Week, When U.S. Reports February Jobs Data

By CANDACE CUMBERBATCH

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—The dollar will be put to the test late this week when the February U.S. employment data are reported, currency specialists say.

Recently, the dollar was snapped up on speculation that a U.S. economic recovery is close at hand; now market participants are on the lookout for data to justify those purchases.

The jobs statistics may help determine whether the dollar regains its swift upward momentum or is hit by another wave of profit-taking, like the one last week.

Some economists say there was probably a rise of 6,000 in non-farm payrolls and a 7.2% civilian unemployment rate in February. In January, non-farm payrolls plunged an unexpected 91,000, and the jobless rate was 7.1%. The latest data will be

released Friday.

Last month, the dollar rallied despite news about the January non-farm payrolls drop. But it climbed too far too fast in subsequent weeks and has become vulnerable, traders say. Non-farm payrolls are closely watched because they are believed to be one of the best indicators of the economy's health.

Late Friday here, the dollar was quoted at 1.6390 marks and 129.50 yen, up from 1.6340 marks and 129.05 yen late Thursday. The dollar rose Friday as traders squared their positions before the weekend. But it was under downward pressure for much of the week because it was unable to top resistance around 1.6650 marks and 130 yen when it did strengthen.

In early trading Monday in Tokyo, the dollar was at 129.55 yen, up from 129.33 yen at Friday's Tokyo close. The U.S. currency also was trading at 1.6437 marks, up from 1.642 marks Friday.

As for the February non-farm payrolls data, "any type of a plus number" would probably be enough to encourage dollar bulls, says Randolph Donney, research director at Pegasus Econometrics Group Inc. in Hoboken, N.J.

If the employment report is unexpectedly strong, the dollar will likely attract enough buying to test the resistance levels that caused problems last week, he says.

Joseph Volpicella, foreign exchange manager at Westpac Banking Corp. in New York, says the dollar seems to be taking U.S. economic data "in stride" even though some reports haven't been very favorable.

Tuesday, for instance, the Conference

Board reported that its consumer confidence index hit a 17-year low in February. The drop was primarily due to worries about grim conditions in the job market, analysts say.

Despite that bad news and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan's description of the report as "quite disturbing," the dollar managed to finish that day's dealings firmer.

Although the U.S. economy is still giving plenty of mixed signals, economists say there is some evidence that growth is quickening.

As far as jobs are concerned, the electronics industry is "one area that seems to be showing a little better activity," says Michael Niemira, an economist at Mitsubishi Bank Ltd. in New York.

While many analysts warn that the U.S. economy isn't out of the woods yet, there hasn't been much pessimism about the economy in the foreign-exchange market so far this year. That's largely because traders are looking months ahead and betting that U.S. growth will speed up at just about the time growth cools off sharply in Germany and Japan. Indeed, the dollar is still well above its 1991 closing levels of approximately 1.52 marks and 125 yen.

Key Currency Cross Rates Late New York Trading Feb. 28, 1992

	Dollar	Pound	S Franc	Guilder	Yen	Lira	D-Mark	F Franc	Cdn/Dlr
Canada	1.1823	2.0773	.79589	.64116	.00913	.00096	.72135	.21217	
France	5.5725	9.791	3.7513	3.0220	.04303	.00453	3.3999		4.7133
Germany	1.6390	2.8797	1.1033	.88883	.01266	.00133		.29412	1.3663
Italy	1230.5	2162.0	828.34	667.30	9.502		750.76	220.82	1040.8
Japan	129.50	227.53	87.176	70.228		.10524	79.012	23.239	109.53
Netherlands ..	1.8440	3.2399	1.2413		.01424	.00150	1.1251	.33091	1.5597
Switzerland ...	1.4855	2.6100		.80359	.01147	.00121	.90635	.26658	1.2564
U.K.	.56915		.38314	.30865	.00439	.00046	.34726	.10214	.48139
U.S.		1.7570	.67317	.54230	.00772	.00081	.61013	.17945	.84581

Source: Teletype

U.S. and U.N. Set to Step Up Pressure on Iraq

By GERALD F. SEIB

WASHINGTON—Tensions between Iraq and the U.S., already escalating over Iraq's refusal to cooperate with the destruction of military equipment, are likely to rise further as the United Nations tries to force Baghdad to accept a series of additional tough inspections.

Friction escalated over the weekend, when Iraq refused to allow U.N. specialists to begin destroying equipment used in manufacturing Scud missiles, a step the specialists were preparing to take under terms of U.N. resolutions that ended last year's war against Iraq.

But U.S. officials said the mission to destroy missile-making equipment is just one of a series of U.N. missions to inspect and destroy military-related equipment planned this month that are likely to displease Saddam Hussein and could produce more disputes. "I think we're going to go ahead and turn up the heat on inspections regardless of their reaction," said one U.S. official.

President Bush may have strong domestic as well as foreign-policy incentives for confronting Iraq in coming weeks. If Mr. Bush's political problems at home persist, he will find it increasingly tempting to focus attention on Iraq, if not through military action then at least by turning up the heat in the international debate over Saddam Hussein's actions.

The situation may come to a head next week, when the U.N. Security Council is to meet with a high-level Iraqi delegation to explain its complaints about Iraq's behavior. If Iraq doesn't offer more cooperation then, the U.S. and other members of the Security Council are likely to take steps to increase the pressure on Baghdad, perhaps by isolating it economically beyond existing sanctions.

And while one U.S. official insists the U.S. and its allies don't have any "appetite" for military moves now, they also might begin considering steps for creating military pressure.

There are moves short of direct military action that the U.S. and its allies could take to turn up the heat on Saddam Hussein. For instance, they could again begin focusing attention on Iraq's treatment of its Kurds in the north, who have been suffering under a months-long economic blockade imposed by Baghdad in an effort to squelch unrest and insurrection. Under one proposal being discussed informally at the U.N., the Security Council would create a special envoy to investigate Saddam Hussein's treatment of Kurds in the north and Shiite Muslims in the south of Iraq.

Tensions between Iraq and the U.N. began rising last week, when the U.N. team assigned to destroy Scud-making machinery was forced to put off its plans because Iraq refused to cooperate. Iraq, which doesn't dispute that U.N. resolutions require it to destroy Scud missiles themselves, argued that the equipment the U.N. targeted had uses other than Scud missile production and could easily be converted to strictly civilian use. As a result, Iraq argued that the equipment shouldn't be destroyed.

Iraq sent a letter Friday to the Security Council. But by late Friday, the 15-member council had rejected Baghdad's arguments and warned of "serious consequences" if Iraq doesn't cooperate.

The Outlook

Look for Jobless Rate To Stay High in '90s

NEW YORK

Despite all the talk of an imminent economic recovery, the nation's unemployment rate hasn't budged. That dismays many people, but it shouldn't surprise them. Employers typically hesitate to do much rehiring until convinced that the recovery is for real.

In fact, the unemployment rate may rise this year. Audrey Freedman, a labor economist at the Conference Board in New York, notes that as soon as some new jobs are created, the unemployed, especially men, start hunting for work again and thus swell the labor force faster than jobs open up.

But what may be surprising, and surely more dismaying, is a strong likelihood that unemployment may stay relatively high for most of the 1990s.

At 7.1% of the labor force, unemployment isn't nearly as bad now as during the 1981-82 recession. However, the current rate, like that in the previous downturn, understates the problem. Add to the 8.9 million jobless last month 6.7 million part-timers who would prefer to work full time and 1.1 million so discouraged as to quit looking for a job, and the adjusted rate hits 10.4%, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Moreover, the strong economic growth that drove down unemployment in the 1980s isn't likely this time around. The National Association of Business Economists notes that according to the median forecast in its latest survey, inflation-adjusted gross domestic product will grow only 2.3% from the 1991 fourth quarter to the 1992 fourth quarter. That's less than half the approximately 6% averaged in the first year of postwar economic recoveries.

Meanwhile, industry is slashing costs, and many announced payroll cutbacks won't be completed for a year or more. Edward Yardeni, chief economist at C.J. Lawrence Inc., contrasts the General Motors plan to wipe out 74,000 jobs in the next several years with the fact that "in a normal recovery, 100,000 auto workers would be rehired."

And however painful the downsizing in manufacturing, Stephen Roach of Morgan Stanley & Co. notes, "it hit a sector that employed only about 20% of the work force. Now it's the turn of the service industries, which, he says, 'generated a net addition of nearly 20 million jobs' in the 1980s and employ more than 75% of U.S. workers. Banks, insurers, retailers and others are cutting

back. Even the health-care industry, which created 425,000 jobs in the past year, will eventually slow its unsustainable growth as efforts to curb the cost spiral take effect.

The upshot, Mr. Roach estimates, "could be a hiring shortfall of at least four million workers in the service sector over the next five years."

Meanwhile, changes in the economy could aggravate what Mrs. Freedman calls "a mismatch" of jobs and people—people with the wrong skills or few skills, with the wrong or inadequate work history, or living in the wrong sections of the country.

The deficiencies of American schools—widely lamented but nonetheless still unaddressed—are especially likely to hobble efforts to reduce unemployment at a time when work is growing more and more technologically sophisticated. Many new immigrants are poorly educated, too, or handicapped by poor English. So, many workers simply won't be up to the demands of the job market. They will be left out.

Mrs. Freedman cites another long-term structural problem, the aging of the work force. As people grow older, they are less willing to move to a new area and less able to adapt to changes in job demands.

Some companies will respond to any shortage of skilled labor by pushing automation. They may well succeed. Many of the educated entrants into the labor force will be people weaned on computer games and comfortable with data processing, and they gradually will enable employers to finally reap the productivity gains that computers have long promised but only erratically delivered. But that will push marginal job-seekers out into the cold completely.

Such problems, Mrs. Freedman says, will probably override any tendency for demographic changes to cause a general labor shortage. True, the numbers of young people hunting for their first job will be relatively low, and the entry of women into the labor force has slowed, possibly because a mini-baby-boom may be keeping many of them home. In any event, the labor market has already adjusted to the huge influx of baby-boomers, which ended a decade ago.

Most of the people who are or will be leaving the job market—people in their late 50s to mid-60s—are the Depression babies. Like the new entrants, they are a relatively small group. So, the U.S. doesn't face the sort of labor shortages it might be if hordes of workers were retiring and relatively few were coming in to replace them.

A major imponderable is the proposed U.S.-Mexico free-trade agreement. Whether the U.S. will reject it—or turn generally protectionist—is difficult to predict. So are the possible consequences for American jobs.

Amid the problems, Mrs. Freedman notes a helpful trend: the increasingly fluid patterns of work—the increases in self-employment, in part-time and temporary work, in people holding two jobs. The result, she says, will be a drop in the hours many people work but not a rise in unemployment.

That may help, but nonetheless unemployment seems likely to run fairly high in the 1990s. And if the government tries to cure what are basically structural problems with broad, stimulatory fiscal and monetary policies, it may create few jobs but risk damaging America's long-term competitiveness and once again accelerate inflation.

—HENRY F. MYERS

Dollar Faces a Test Late This Week, When U.S. Reports February Jobs Data

By CANDACE CUMBERBATCH

SPECIAL TO THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK—The dollar will be put to the test late this week when the February U.S. employment data are reported, currency specialists say.

Recently, the dollar was snapped up on speculation that a U.S. economic recovery is close at hand; now market participants are on the lookout for data to justify those purchases.

The jobs statistics may help determine whether the dollar regains its swift upward momentum or is hit by another wave of profit-taking, like the one last week.

Some economists say there was probably a rise of 6,000 in non-farm payrolls and a 7.2% civilian unemployment rate in February. In January, non-farm payrolls plunged an unexpected 91,000, and the jobless rate was 7.1%. The latest data will be

released Friday.

Last month, the dollar rallied despite news about the January non-farm payrolls drop. But it climbed too far too fast in subsequent weeks and has become vulnerable, traders say. Non-farm payrolls are closely watched because they are believed to be one of the best indicators of the economy's health.

Late Friday here, the dollar was quoted at 1.6390 marks and 129.50 yen, up from 1.6340 marks and 129.05 yen late Thursday. The dollar rose Friday as traders squared their positions before the weekend. But it was under downward pressure for much of the week because it was unable to top resistance around 1.6650 marks and 130 yen when it did strengthen.

In early trading Monday in Tokyo, the dollar was at 129.55 yen, up from 129.33 yen at Friday's Tokyo close. The U.S. currency also was trading at 1.6437 marks, up from 1.6442 marks Friday.

As for the February non-farm payrolls data, "any type of a plus number" would probably be enough to encourage dollar bulls, says Randolph Donney, research director at Pegasus Econometrics Group Inc. in Hoboken, N.J.

If the employment report is unexpectedly strong, the dollar will likely attract enough buying to test the resistance levels that caused problems last week, he says.

Joseph Volpicella, foreign exchange manager at Westpac Banking Corp. in New York, says the dollar seems to be taking U.S. economic data "in stride" even though some reports haven't been very favorable.

Board reported that its consumer confidence index hit a 17-year low in February. The drop was primarily due to worries about grim conditions in the job market, analysts say.

Despite that bad news and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan's description of the report as "quite disturbing," the dollar managed to finish that day's dealings firmer.

Although the U.S. economy is still giving plenty of mixed signals, economists say there is some evidence that growth is quickening.

As far as jobs are concerned, the electronics industry is "one area that seems to be showing a little better activity," says Michael Niemira, an economist at Mitsubishi Bank Ltd. in New York.

While many analysts warn that the U.S. economy isn't out of the woods yet, there hasn't been much pessimism about the economy in the foreign-exchange market so far this year. That's largely because traders are looking months ahead and betting that U.S. growth will speed up at just about the time growth cools off sharply in Germany and Japan. Indeed, the dollar is still well above its 1991 closing levels of approximately 1.52 marks and 125 yen.

Key Currency Cross Rates Late New York Trading Feb. 28, 1992

	Dollar	Pound	FFranc	Guilder	Yen	Lira	D-Mark	FFranc	CdnDlr
Canada	1.1823	2.0773	.79583	.64116	.00913	.00096	.72135	.21217	
France	5.5725	9.791	1.7513	3.0228	.04303	.00453	3.3999	4.7133	
Germany	1.6390	2.6797	1.1033	.88883	.01266	.00133		29.412	1.3863
Italy	1230.5	2162.6	828.34	667.30	9.502		750.76	220.82	1040.8
Japan	129.50	221.53	87.176	70.228		.10524	79.012	23.239	109.53
Netherlands ..	1.8440	3.2399	1.2413		.01424	.00150	1.1251	33.091	1.5597
Switzerland ...	1.4855	2.6100			.00559	.01147	.90635	26.658	1.2564
U.K.	.56915		.38314	.30865	.00439	.00046	.34726	1.0214	.48139
U.S.		1.7570	.67317	.54230	.00772	.00081	.61013	.17945	.84581

Source: TeleRate

Tsongas, Clinton Differ on Strategies For Spurring U.S. Economic Growth

By DAVID WESSEL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Paul Tsongas says the U.S. economy isn't growing as fast as it should be. Bill Clinton says the same thing. Mr. Tsongas says he knows why. So does Mr. Clinton.

The agreement stops there. Mr. Tsongas says the U.S. economy needs more, and cheaper, capital. Mr. Clinton says it needs more, and better, education and training.

More than their disagreement over cutting taxes for the middle class—Mr. Clinton wants to, Mr. Tsongas doesn't—this debate defines the differing economic views of the two Democratic front-runners. Mr. Tsongas supports bigger tax cuts for business and investors; Mr. Clinton supports a scheme for improving schools and forcing employers to do more training. The third leading candidate, Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey, mixes the two approaches, giving equal weight to capital investment and education.

Mr. Clinton and his advisers are comfortable with the contrast with Mr. Tsongas. "Franklin Roosevelt didn't get the country off its back by saying that the only thing we have to fear is a lack of venture capital," the Arkansas governor said last week as he went on the offensive against Mr. Tsongas. Attempting to highlight the contrast, Mr. Clinton is running ads and stating in Democratic debates, as he did in Georgia and Maryland yesterday, that he would "put people first."

Mr. Tsongas's camp is understandably uneasy about being described as the presidential candidate who values machines over people. "I'm for people, too, but we have to give them someplace to go to make a living," the former Massachusetts senator said over the weekend. In his economic manifesto, Mr. Tsongas argues that "the health of our school systems is the major... determinant of our long-term economic and social viability." But styling himself as a "pro-business Democrat," Mr. Tsongas also argues that nothing is more important than "the original act—the creation of national wealth."

"The first thing to be said is that both of them are right," says Dale Jorgensen, a Harvard economist who is in neither candidate's camp. To assure that the U.S. economy is healthy and competitive in the next century, it needs both more capital investment and better education, he says. But Mr. Tsongas's and Mr. Clinton's differing emphases lead them to significantly different economic prescriptions.

Mr. Tsongas proposes an investment tax credit that his staff estimates might cost \$5 billion a year, and a cut in the capital-gains tax rate that would cost another \$5 billion a year if not more. Both are aimed at reducing the cost of capital to businesses so they will invest more. He hasn't spelled out any detailed scheme for improving education and says little about apprenticeship or job training. Like Mr. Clinton, he would spend more on the Head Start preschool program and provide more government loans for college tuition.

Mr. Clinton, in contrast, backs a much narrower investment tax credit and capital-gains tax cut. (The two combined would cost less than \$1 billion a year.) Drawing from his highly publicized campaign to improve Arkansas's schools, Mr. Clinton would establish national exams for all elementary and secondary school students, fund a national apprenticeship program for non-college-bound high school students and use the tax code to force employers to provide training to all their workers.

Kerrey's Straddle

Straddling these two camps, Mr. Kerrey backs both an investment tax credit and a cut in the capital-gains tax so that only profits in excess of inflation are taxed. He would offer "partial government backing" for loans to small-sized and medium-sized businesses. And he would create a \$1 billion fund to make grants to local school systems with innovative ideas.

The contrast between Mr. Clinton and

Mr. Tsongas reflects the men to whom they turn for economic advice. Mr. Clinton is clearly influenced by Robert Reich, a political economist at Harvard University's Kennedy School whom he met when both were Rhodes Scholars at Oxford University.

"The only unique resource within a nation is its people, their skills and education," Mr. Reich argues. Using the economists' jargon for education, he adds: "[Mr.] Clinton has focused his career on human capital; that's the centerpiece of his philosophy."

Mr. Tsongas has listened for years to George Hatsopolous, a Massachusetts entrepreneur who is something of an evangelist on the subject of using tax policy to reduce the U.S. cost of capital. "We are underinvesting in every conceivable area," says Mr. Hatsopolous, chairman of Thermo Electron Corp. of Waltham, Mass. "There is really nothing else wrong with this country."

The debate between Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas mirrors a debate among economists over the relative importance of the cost of capital and the quality of education—and over the degree to which government can influence either.

Comparison With Japan

One school, which includes many advisers to Republicans, says that the cost of capital is lower in Japan than here, and blames U.S. tax and other policies in part for the disparity. But many liberals read the history of the 1980s as proof that lowering the cost of capital doesn't accomplish much. "The cost of capital has been falling for four years," says Jeff Faux of the Economic Policy Institute, a liberal think tank. "We ain't seen no investment boom yet."

Bush Stresses Family Values As His Theme

But New Rhetoric May Face A Formidable Obstacle In President's Policies

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAVANNAH, Ga.—Struggling to fend off GOP challenger Patrick Buchanan, President Bush has returned to one of the principal themes of his re-election campaign: family values.

Stressing issues ranging from school prayer to child care, the president told a riverfront rally here that "America is first as long as we put the family first."

The president's immediate aim, two days before the hotly contested Georgia primary,

was to blunt Mr. Buchanan's charges that he has waffled on proposed federal tax breaks for families and subsidized pornography through the National Endowment for the Arts. Eyeing the general election, he hopes to reinforce the "traditional values" advantage that GOP candidates have enjoyed over Democrats for a generation.

But the incumbent's pro-family rhetoric faces a formidable obstacle: his record. Statistics indicate that the well-being of American families has declined on his watch. After growing for most of Ronald Reagan's presidency, median family income shrunk during the first two years of the Bush administration.

The proportion of families headed by a single parent, continuing a long-term rise, has reached one in four. Home ownership among two-parent and mother-child families is down, while the proportion of adult children living with their parents is up. And Americans are increasingly "stressed out and heavily taxed by the joint demands of work and family life," according to a new study by Harvard and Case Western researchers.

CAMPAIGN
★ 92

Education and Investment

Democratic candidates Bill Clinton and Paul Tsongas take differing approaches to the long-term issue of how to make the U.S. economy more competitive:

THE CLINTON PLAN

- A permanent investment tax credit, but only for small and medium businesses. Costs about \$400 million a year.
- A cut in the capital-gains tax, but only for investment in small start-up companies. Costs about \$200 million a year.
- Increased funding for Head Start.
- Required national exams for elementary and secondary school students.
- Establishment of a national apprenticeship program for non-college-bound high school students.

- Allowing college students to repay government loans either as a percentage of their future income or by doing national service.
- Requiring companies to spend 1.5% of payroll to train workers or to contribute to a government training fund.

THE TSONGAS PLAN

- A broad, but temporary, investment tax credit. Costs about \$5 billion a year.
- A cut in the capital-gains tax only for equity securities, with a declining rate the longer the securities are held. The rate would decline more rapidly for investments in new businesses. Costs about \$5 billion or more a year.
- Alteration of director-liability laws and elimination of quarterly profit-reporting requirements for publicly held companies to encourage longer-term approaches.
- Increased funding for Head Start.
- Allowing college students to repay government loans as a percentage of their future income.

Neither reducing the cost of capital nor beefing up education is likely to have much effect on the U.S. economy's current sluggishness; both are fundamentally long-term strategies. Nobel Prize-winning economist Robert Solow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology says he would choose a little from each candidate's menu. He is a big fan of the broad kind of

investment tax credit Mr. Tsongas proposes, but opposes a cut in the capital-gains tax and, like Mr. Clinton, endorses making employers responsible for training workers. "I know it [mandated training] is vulnerable to being Mickey Mouse," he says. "But in the great American society, everything is vulnerable to Mickey Mouse."

To be sure, families are buffeted by long-run trends that would adversely affect any president. Yet even some of Mr. Bush's allies say his efforts to ease family pressures have fallen short. Republican Sen. Dan Coats of Indiana says the administration has "a ways to go" in translating its concern into action.

Liberals such as Rep. Patricia Schroeder of Colorado complain that Mr. Bush vetoed family-leave legislation. Conservatives such as Gary Bauer, who heads the Family Research Council, say Mr. Bush hasn't taken bold enough stands in the "cultural civil war" against unwholesome TV programming and other threats to children. David Blankenhorn, who runs the New York-based Institute for American Values, asserts that Mr. Bush lacks "a coherent policy agenda to promote family well-being," saying he could start by promoting laws that make divorce tougher to obtain.

On one policy step that nearly all sides favor—increasing families' take-home pay—Mr. Bush's centerpiece proposal is a \$500 per-child increase in the personal income tax exemption that isn't even part of the economic "action plan" he has demanded Congress pass by March 20. "It's an insult to families," complains Robert Rector of the conservative Heritage Foundation, which has proposed a larger tax break. And Mr. Bush's proposed exemption increase would do nothing for families too poor to pay income taxes.

When Mr. Bush speaks of family troubles, he taps a deep vein of public discontent. "This election is about the stress that middle-class families are now experiencing," says William Galston, a University of Maryland political scientist. Bush campaign chairman Robert Teeter adds that Americans increasingly fear "the social fabric is coming apart." More than just financial strains, the pressures extend from lack of so-called quality time to worries about drugs, violent crime and moral decay.

Ever since social upheaval split the Democratic party in the 1960s, the GOP has cast itself as a defender of family values against Democrats who would undermine them by supporting such causes as gay rights and abortion rights. Mr. Bush's own handsome family and Barbara Bush's popularity lend credibility to his rhetoric, providing positive images that may offset negative social trends. On any issue, GOP pollster Richard Wirthlin has observed, "it's the emotion that drives [voter] behavior."

Not all the emotions are kinder and gentler. When Mr. Bush attacked the "dis-mal welfare system" as anti-family in his State of the Union address, critics saw an attempt to exploit racial divisions. At a



George Bush

time when the president espouses tax breaks for middle-class families with kids, his calls for "personal responsibility" among welfare clients "begins to smack of the Willie Horton overtones," says Isabel Sawhill of the Urban Institute.

Bush-Quayle campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke maintains that the president has done more to strengthen families "than we've seen in decades." In 1990, Mr. Bush signed a five-year, \$18 billion increase in the Earned Income Tax Credit for working families with children, and funding increases have boosted enrollment by 73% in Head Start for poor children. Department of Health and Human Services spokeswoman Alize Glen dismissed as "absurd" the charge that Mr. Bush is playing racial politics with welfare.

Mr. Bush's saving grace could be the weakness of the opposition. The three leading Democratic candidates are all vulnerable to GOP broadsides on values: Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton has struggled with allegations of infidelity, Nebraska Sen. Robert Kerrey is divorced and single, and former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas has actively promoted gay rights.

The recession creates "a much tougher environment to make that [family-values] message sell," says Republican pollster Vince Breglio. "The question is, who is the opponent?"

America's Real Trade Enemy Is Washington

Sens. Tom Harkin (D., Iowa) and Bob Kerrey (D., Neb.) have been trodding the campaign trail complaining about the damage inflicted on American workers by the "unfair" trade practices of Japan. In fact, costs to American workers from unfair trade practices abroad pale beside the costs inflicted by Congress.

There is no way of accurately measuring the effect of "unfair" trade practices on U.S. employees, although protectionists toss out numbers constantly. They never mention the "unfair" tactics of the U.S., although U.S. protectionism raises the cost of goods American workers buy, forcing them to bid for higher wages that reduce the number of available jobs.

But for purposes of argument, let's imagine that U.S. exports—currently \$420

U.S. quotas on imports of textiles or automobiles. So let's stick with the theoretical \$42 billion to be wrested out of the Japanese and all other trading partners.

Now let's turn to some burdens the congressional colleagues of Sens. Harkin and Kerrey have dumped recently on U.S. workers. In an article in the Winter 1992 issue of Policy Review, Murray Weidenbaum, director of the St. Louis-based Center for the Study of American Business, calculates that environmental legislation alone now costs each American family more than \$1,000 a year. He quotes an estimate by Paul Portney, senior economist for Resources for the Future, that the 1990 Clean Air Act will cost \$29 billion to \$36 billion a year, which wipes out a good chunk of our theoretical \$42 billion with only one act of Congress. Mr. Portney, by the way, figures benefits from the act at \$6 billion to \$25 billion, far below the costs.

Spending to comply with the Clean Air Act will show up in GNP, but because economic waste lowers living standards, that will be scant comfort to American workers, or, for that matter, American business. General Motors CEO Robert C. Stempel told Fortune magazine that costs associated with the Clean Air Act will consume 25% to 28% of his capital budget. GM lost a phenomenal \$4.5 billion last year and is having trouble competing with Japanese imports, a situation that won't be improved by the auto price increases the new burst of federal regulation will necessitate.

Small and medium-sized businesses—responsible for the spectacular 1980s' U.S. job growth—will fare even worse at the hands of this 800-page act. "About 150,000 small businesses will have to obtain clean air permits," Mr. Weidenbaum writes. "Just to obtain one set of the permits will force a small company to spend between \$10,000 and \$15,000 to collect the data and do the paper work. The monitoring devices needed to track emission rates will cost an

additional \$10,000 to \$50,000."

Keep in mind that this is only one of a spate of new regulatory measures from Washington. There's also the Pollution Prevention Act of 1990, which will require each manufacturing facility with 11 or more employees to provide an annual report on how it uses any one or more of 300 chemicals. "Ecologists should mourn for the trees that will be cut down to provide the paper for all the reports that will be prepared, in triplicate at least..." writes Mr. Weidenbaum.

He notes that the U.S. budget for fiscal 1992 finances the largest number of federal regulators ever—122,400. In the Reagan years, the number had been cut to 106,000 by 1989 from 121,700 in 1980. Could that be

The U.S. budget for fiscal 1992 finances the largest number of federal regulators ever, 122,400.

why the U.S. economy grew so steadily?

Congress spawns some headaches indirectly. The current frozen state of U.S. bank lending—which has put economic growth on ice as well—can be blamed in part on more stringent bank regulation, including increased capital requirements. This was the regulators' response to the savings-and-loan fiasco, which Congress caused by corrupting the S&L industry with unlimited guarantees of its borrowings. More economic intervention is the normal congressional remedy for problems caused by its past interventions. Similarly, the Food and Drug Administration, feeling the hot breath of Rep. John Dingell (D., Mich.) and his share of a 30,000-member army of congressional staffers, has tightened its death grip on innovation in medicine and biotechnology. Monsanto has spent \$1 billion on biotech research and de-

velopment but, because of federal slowness in approving its products for boosting agricultural productivity, has reaped no return on that huge outlay.

The FDA's agenda has now fallen under the control of the national litigation networks operated by plaintiff lawyers, who now can parlay a single damage award in any court into a massive raid on corporate treasuries. Small business doesn't escape here either, because of the soaring cost of liability insurance. Some choose to "go bare," preferring possible bankruptcy from a damage award to the certainty of huge insurance premiums. In short, they engage in a crap shoot, knowing that the plaintiff bar has loaded the dice.

Mr. Weidenbaum sees the Americans With Disabilities Act, another harsh regulatory measure with an angelic title, as yet another Godsend (read it Congressed) for lawyers. This law barring discrimination against the disabled is so vaguely written, he notes, that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission says it will have to evaluate claims on a case-by-case basis. In other words, every case will need a lawyer, who will of course win a piece of the claim.

Why hasn't George Bush resisted the tidal wave of reregulation? He probably has been intimidated by the motherhood-and-apple-pie titles the legislators have devised. "How can you be against clean air?" he will be asked, as if clean air, and not political power, were the issue. A source close to the president admits that Congress, backed by lobbies, has seized control of regulators, who are more afraid of being called before a congressional committee than of being called on the carpet by the White House.

Yet senators tour the country telling workers they are victims of a foreign power's unwillingness to accept a "level playing field." That playing field, and all the nation's wealth on it, doesn't slope toward Japan—but toward Washington.

Global View

By George Melloan

billion annually in constant dollars—would rise 10% with a large-scale removal of "unfair" trade practices in Japan and elsewhere around the world. That would boost U.S. exports a nice \$42 billion. Since exports are equal to about 10% of U.S. gross national product, that improvement would add about one percentage point to GNP.

That's not nothing and it would be even better if the U.S. reciprocated by reducing some of its own unfair barriers to trade. Those reductions would not show up directly in U.S. GNP, but they would improve U.S. living standards and affect GNP indirectly. That's because the improved ability of foreigners to sell in the U.S. would earn them more for buying U.S. goods. Trade is a two-way street.

But there is no sign that Sens. Harkin and Kerrey would fight hard for enlarging

How Bill Clinton Got Away With It

By SUZANNE GARMENT

Where has Jennifer Flowers gone?

True, in this era of endless scandal no one can be sure that she really is gone. Even as you read this page, some tireless reporter protecting the public's right to know may be seeking further evidence of her alleged affair with presidential candidate Bill Clinton. Or our journalistic sleuth may be out stalking another of the women with whom Mr. Clinton has, as they say, been linked.

Still, a month after Ms. Flowers made her charges public in the Star, we do not hear much from or about her in the national press. This virtual silence is highly atypical in modern sex-and-politics scandals. Nearly as unusual is the huge volume of self-criticism, even more than in the Gary Hart case, coming from journalists themselves. Very few of them have insisted that citizens had to know about Ms. Flowers in order to judge Mr. Clinton's moral fitness for the presidency. We do hear the argument that the issue is not adultery but whether Mr. Clinton lied about it. Yet even this case has not been made very aggressively.

Change of Heart?

Does all this mean that the Flowers vacuum is one sign of a real change of heart? Will we soon see this change reflected in the way the press treats personal scandals?

Maybe, but don't bet on it. There were special reasons why Ms. Flowers faded as fast as she did. Some of them were the built-up residue of two decades of sex-scandal coverage. Some were specific to the Clinton scandal itself. In the future, we are not likely to see these factors working together so effectively.

The first special feature of this scandal was Ms. Flowers' unprecedentedly high rating on the tackiness scale. Though all these scandals—"classic blimbo scandals," as they are known to serious students of the phenomenon—are necessarily tacky to some degree, that degree has increased over the past two decades. Yes, Fanne Foxe, the first of this post-Watergate line, was a stripper. But when she jumped into the Tidal Basin in 1974, she almost surely did not intend to expose her car-mate, Rep. Wilbur Mills, and thereby make herself famous. Very different was someone like Paula Parkinson, who on the heels of the 1981 scandal that linked her to Rep. Tom Evans offered to sell videotapes of herself in bed with other legislators.

As the commercial possibilities in these scandals became more apparent, journalists grew more embarrassed at the way

their high-minded efforts to explore the character issue were exploited by low-class moneygrubbers. Press people expressed increasing cynicism about the women in these imbroglios. By the time the Miami Herald found presidential candidate Gary Hart sharing a townhouse with Donna Rice in 1987, the press snickering about her presumed greedy opportunism began well before she did her first TV commercial.

Thus the trend line in press discomfort has sloped steadily upward, but Jennifer Flowers sent it through the ceiling by sur-

"The character issue" might impel reporters to cover Jennifer Flowers, but their own personal histories might make some of them just as happy to drop the matter.

passing all her predecessors in entrepreneurial vigor. She did not merely create a scandal and then capitalize on her press-generated fame. No, her genius was to eliminate the middleman altogether by taking the payment for her Star story up front. She appeared before the country and the press with her mercenary motives hanging out for all to see.

And—here was the humiliating part for journalists—the press took the bait anyway, and mainstream press representatives showed up at Ms. Flowers' press conference right alongside reporters from the TV tabloid shows. This time journalists could not escape knowing exactly what they were doing.

By the time of the Clinton scandal, journalists had eaten of the tree of knowledge in yet other ways. After the Gary Hart spectacle, there was much debate about the press and politicians' private lives. Just as important, though, was something not in question at all: Journalists had taken the frontrunner for a major party's presidential nomination and made him history in a breathtakingly swift and direct way, without the need of intervention by voters or other politicians. Journalists covering the Clinton affair knew with certainty that they could well make such a thing happen. They went ahead and started doing it anyway. This same knowledge, though, made it hard for them to disclaim moral responsibility for the consequences. Here was an additional reason for a loss of journalistic confidence.

But we cannot conclude that journalists will continue to grow more self-critical, because of the Clinton case's idiosyncratic features. Mr. Clinton was not just a passive beneficiary of the public's distaste for sex scandals: He used that distaste with

brains and great spirit. In his public statements, he branded the press a co-conspirator against him. More important, he took the blows that the scandal dealt him—and no Gary Hart he—came up strong and smiling, giving no indication that the scandal had eroded his energy or self-confidence. It was his good fortune to have the citizens of New Hampshire render a verdict soon after the Flowers charges. And it was no surprise, in polls at the time of the vote, to see people rating Mr. Clinton low on credibility but high on leadership. For a potential scandal-hunter in the press, there

is nothing like a distinct "who cares?" from the public to make the quest seem less appealing.

In addition, Mr. Clinton was not just the frontrunner in some presidential primary race, but the frontrunner of the Democratic Party, out of office to these many years. One of his many strengths was his claim that he was by far the most electable of the Democratic field. Most journalists covering the campaign seemed to believe him. He did not position himself as a liberal, but no one doubted that President Clinton's nominees to the federal bench would stand far to the left of those likely to emerge from a second-term Bush administration.

Mr. Clinton was also, when his scandal broke, a candidate personally well-liked by political reporters. He could talk the language of both policy analysts and political technicians, just as the reporters could. Like many of them, he came of age during the sexual revolution, after the pesky problems of morality and birth control had been swatted away as obstacles to extramarital sex but before the women's movement and AIDS had once again taken much of the fun out of the enterprise. The looming imperatives of "the character issue" might impel such reporters to cover Jennifer Flowers, but an awareness of their own personal histories might also make some of them just as happy to drop the matter after a decent interval.

By Mr. Clinton's side was Hillary Clinton. She was the very model of the well-educated, liberated, independent, socially aware professional woman. Her home, career and reputation were under grave threat from Jennifer Flowers, a very different sort of woman exercising a very dif-

ferent sort of power. Women journalists, professionals like Mrs. Clinton, cannot have relished the idea of prolonging the highly symbolic clash.

And, as a final generational matter, the press watched the Flowers controversy metastasize into the scandal over how Mr. Clinton avoided military service. As we have been told many times, he, like a number of influential journalists covering the campaign, was a member of the Vietnam generation—by which is meant the part of that generation that went to good colleges, opposed the war and tried to escape the draft. It was natural that when the draft scandal broke, Mr. Clinton received, along with the attacks, a good deal of sympathy from journalists who wrote pieces reminding readers that once upon a time, what Mr. Clinton did was not considered dishonorable, at least in some circles.

But this second scandal, unlike the Flowers episode, has already grown far beyond the power of any Clinton sympathizer to minimize or control. If Mr. Clinton is done in by scandal during this campaign, it will be more because of his alleged draft evasion than his alleged adultery. Thus Mr. Clinton's draft problem has provided another good, solid foundation for journalistic guilt.

What If He's a Republican?

Because of all these forces in operation, we really do not know whether the press's agonies over Bill Clinton are the foreshadowings of a new attitude toward politicians and their private lives generally. What will happen the next time Flowers-like charges are made? What if the alleged sinner is a Republican? What if he does not have Mr. Clinton's preternatural ability to come up smiling? What if he has arch-conservative positions on social issues? What if the complainant is not some easy-to-disdain figure like Jennifer Flowers but someone with an education and a career?

When accusers and targets like these appear on the scandal horizon, we will see whether we have been dealing with sober professional second thoughts since the Clinton affair, or whether it's business as usual when strangers or enemies are the targets. Probably it will be the latter. And, of course, there is always the possibility that next week we will wake up to some fresh Jennifer Flowers bombshell...

Mrs. Garment, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author of "Scandal: The Culture of Mistrust in American Politics," (Random House, 1991).

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Political discourse, as conducted by the pundits in our nation's capital, resembles the noise in an agitated dog pound. Somebody yelps out a phrase, and suddenly all the mutts are barking it at once. It makes conversation pretty difficult.

One such phrase is "negative campaigning," which Ted Koppel furrowed his thoughtful brow over the other night. Now "negative campaigning" reminds me of the philosopher Gilbert Ryle's essay on "systematically misleading expressions" — ways of speaking that, if you don't stop to think about them, only get you into deeper and deeper confusion, until you wind up in the U.S. Senate.

It's a stupid expression. "Negative" campaigning can mean anything from criticizing your opponent's record to insulting his mother. The latter is clearly out of bounds, unless his mother was Eleanor Roosevelt.

But criticizing his record? If you can't do that, what are you supposed to talk about? If Thomas Jefferson had been averse to negative campaigning, the Declaration of Independence would have been a catalog of George III's finer qualities, ending with the apologetic proviso that we think, however, that we might do even better under just about any other king.

Joseph Sobran, a senior editor of *National Review*, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Barking up the negative campaign tree

Instead, Jefferson ripped into King George's record, without stooping to snide references to his ancestry. The rest is history.

When you think of it, politics itself is negative. The big question, as Lenin said, is who will do what to whom. In modern America, this means who will take whose money. Government is the agent of those who are too refined to do their own mugging.

President Bush has now decided, after some initial hesitation, to take the negative road against Pat Buchanan. He has boldly assigned his underlings to hint that Mr. Buchanan is anti-Semitic. This theme was sounded in the space of a few hours by Samuel Skinner, the president's chief of staff, and by Dan Quayle, the junior vice president from Indiana.

Negative is one thing. Unfair is another. Surely, if you studied all the people Mr. Buchanan has punched out over the years, you'd find that very few of them were Jewish. On the other hand, it's heartening to see this administration's sudden solicitude for minority groups, even if it comes too late to do Willie Horton much good.

The only minority group the Bush people have overlooked is conservatives, who have been deserting this president and may not be coaxed back by slurs on their cham-



"I WORKED MY TAIL OFF, GAVE THE BEST YEARS OF MY LIFE, BUT DID I EVER GET NOMINATED?!"

pion. But this president's talents do not include politics. It's a good question whether he would score lower on a polygraph or an IQ test.

Negative campaigning is a sign that the outcome of an election is

somewhat unpredictable. Under our "two"-party system, this is the exception. The options are so few they aren't even options, except in the sense that using a noose and swallowing hemlock are options.

John Stuart Mill argued that those who don't pay taxes shouldn't be allowed to vote. By the same token, those who don't vote should be exempted from paying taxes.

This suggestion will be called im-

practical, because it would result in only a few hundred people voting in every national election. That's the point. Despite all the propaganda about how lucky we are to live in a democracy, everyone knows the vote is just about worthless. No rational being thinks it compensates him for the constant plundering he suffers at the hands of his rulers, or offers him any defense against the political predators.

Allowing the taxpayer to opt out would be a genuine advance for freedom. It would force the politicians to give the people something for their money (as distinct from giving some people other people's money). It would protect citizens who aren't part of any organized interest group. It would allow the drudges of the state to stage their own peaceful strike. It would be a handy index of democracy's real value to the individual. Short of revolution or assassination, it would be the ultimate form of negative feedback — or, you might say, constructive criticism.

That is why the politicians will never allow it to happen, if they can help it. They know well enough that their activities are a perennial net loss for productive citizens. When they say nasty things about each other, they aren't telling us the half of it.

CLARENCE PAGE

Memo to Justice Clarence Thomas: Turn back before it's too late.

I know you're still miffed at liberals and feminists for giving you such a hard time during your confirmation hearings.

I'm sure you just couldn't wait to get onto that lifetime seat so you could get even. That's fair. I understand your anger.

But do you have to take it out on innocent folks?

I could draw no other conclusion from the cruelty that rang out of your dissent in the recent case of *Hudson vs. McMillian*, a dissent in which you were joined only by your mentor-apparent, Justice Antonin Scalia.

For those of us who are trying to figure out the unfolding mysteries of Clarence Thomas, it was a defining moment. It was also a disaster.

It was a blow not only to the Constitution but also to the core of human decency that is essential to American conservatism and to the republic, if either is to be prevented from sliding into the slag heap of totalitarianism.

You don't have to be a coddler of criminals to understand why the Eighth Amendment's protections against cruel and unusual punishment should apply to the case of Keith Hudson, an inmate at the Louisiana State Penitentiary in Angola who was beaten by two guards while he was handcuffed and shackled.

Their supervisor, watching it all, only cautioned them "not to have too much fun." Thanks, Chief. As it turned out, the guards had just enough "fun" to loosen Hudson's teeth, crack his dental plate and bruise his face, lip and mouth. More "fun" like that and Hudson would be dead.

Nevertheless, it was not enough "fun" to move you or Justice Scalia to let Hudson keep the \$800 a magistrate awarded him for his pain and suffering.

In your minority opinion, you and your running buddy cited precedent—it has only been since 1976 that the Eighth Amendment was applied to conditions within a prison and not just to the nature of sentences and other official "punishments."

Inmates getting beat up by guards is a social ill, you were willing to allow, but one that is perhaps better left to the states to handle, unless the injuries amount to "significant harm," a hair-thin distinction Hudson's injuries did not meet to your satisfaction. After all, you wrote, the Bill of Rights is not a "national code of prison regulations."

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Dissent driven by cruelty?

As for your colleagues in the court's majority? Well, they're just soft on crime.

"Today's expansion of the cruel and unusual punishment clause beyond all bounds of history and precedent is, I suspect, yet another manifestation of the pervasive view that the federal Constitution must address all ills in our society," you wrote.

So, ol' Chief Justice William Rehnquist and the rest of those Reagan conservatives who last year declared some coerced confessions to be "harmless error" are really just a bunch of softies on crime after all.

What bunk. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor put that hogwash in its proper place in her majority opinion: "To deny, as the dissent does, the difference between punching a prisoner in the face and serving him unappetizing food is to ignore the concepts of dignity, civilized standards, humanity and decency that animate the Eighth Amendment."

Just so. No one says prison is supposed to be a pleasant place. But the measure of our Constitution's strength as well as our nation's moral authority is to be found in how well the Bill of Rights can protect our society's least sympathetic members from inhumane treatment.

If conservatism is about anything, I thought it was about opposing abuses of state power. If the Angola jail guards, agents of the state, are not abusing state power, who is?

I shall spare you the obligatory citation of Oliver Wendell Holmes' immortal observation, "The life of the law has not been in logic, it has been in experience," and of how much your dissent reflects Antonin Scalia's logic but lacks Clarence Thomas' experience.

I shall refrain from recalling for you how just before the Civil War, Chief Justice Roger Taney also stood on precedent (many of the Framers were slaveholders, after all) to declare in the historic *Dred Scott* case that blacks had "no rights the white man is bound to respect."

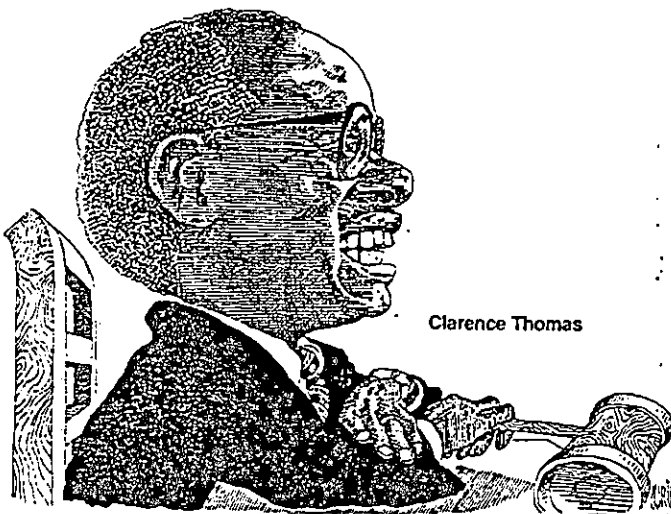
Yes, I shall refrain from condescension, history lectures or racial flag-waving. You're beyond that.

Instead, I shall simply recall the decency and compassion you expressed when you told the Senate Judiciary Committee you thought you could "bring something different to the court."

In simple language, you spoke poignantly about how almost every day you looked out the window at the federal appeals court where you then were sitting as a judge and watched the busloads of prisoners load up.

"I say to myself almost every day, 'But for the grace of God, there go I,'" you said.

Perhaps now, as you sit on your new perch as a last-resort guardian of the rights all Americans are supposed to share, you might alter those sentiments slightly, perhaps to something like: "God help them. I certainly won't."



benefit to Mr. Bush, Mr. Barr and Assistant Attorney General James Rill — who has been reworking the policy for almost two years now — insist that politics had nothing to do with the timing.

And, given the nature of the announcement, it appears they're telling the truth.

After all, if it were really a Bush campaign tactic, the announcement would have been made by the president himself, probably using some Southern farm as a backdrop.

Besides, it's too good an idea to have come out of the Bush campaign operation.

More proof it's not just a campaign gimmick: There actually appears to be opposition to the idea, coming from — of all places — the office of the vice president.

Whether the idea works or not, at least it's evidence that the brains of some elements of the Bushoists have not calcified after three years of inactivity.

That brings us to the other great new idea, from the mind of Texas Sen. Phil Gramm.

Speaking in prepared remarks at the annual Conservative Political Action Conference, Mr. Gramm gave the standard free trade arguments against Democratic (and Buchananite) calls for trade protection. But in response to a question from the floor, he delivered a lollapalooza of an answer — which, because of the setting, and the manner in which it was delivered, almost escaped notice.

Here it is:

Instead of erecting trade barriers to retaliate, he suggested, let's try a policy of "trade substitution." Say, for example, that we learned that Japanese cartels were colluding to deny our exporters contracts worth \$1 billion, for some mythical product X. If, after trying the appropriate current remedies, we still could not reach a resolution of the situation, then we would try "trade substitution."

The U.S. government would go talk to, say, the Korean government. "The Japanese are keeping our products out. So we'll cut a deal with you," we'd say. "We'll lower our tariff barriers to you on your product X, in exchange for your promise to lower your barriers against our product Y. The amount that we'll lower our barriers will be equal and offsetting to the amount that you'll lower your barriers. And that amount will be equal to the \$1 billion in lost contracts in the Japanese market."

The result: We've sold our export product Y abroad (despite collusion against it in another country), and we've lowered the costs to American consumers of whatever import product X might be.

The problem here, of course, is that any domestic American manufacturers of product X are going to be mighty upset.

Not to worry. Surely, there are enough products X out there that are no longer manufactured in the United States that we could begin to engage in such practices.

And the real result of such a policy, Mr. Gramm suggests, would be that the Japanese would immediately drop their unfair trade practices against our exporters. Understanding that the "trade substitution" policy has made their product X uncompetitive with the Korean product X, they will stop their unfair practices, and plead with us not to continue.

Wouldn't that be a nice switch?

BILL PASCOE

Feb. 21 was a big day for free traders, and for Republicans.

In two separate events, across the city from one another, but taking place at roughly the same time, two new ideas were proposed for dealing with the seemingly intractable problems posed by foreign nations that use unfair trade practices to keep American products out of their markets.

Bill Pascoe is a political consultant and a columnist for The Washington Times.

Two new trade ideas on the horizon

Both new ideas offered suggestions for how to retaliate against these unscrupulous trade partners without having to resort to erecting trade barriers of our own.

Until now, there were only two positions on trade: One was either a pure free trader (and was willing to countenance lost American jobs and lost markets abroad in exchange for the doctrinal purity of market forces at work, and the lowest prices possi-

ble for American consumers), or one was a protectionist (and was willing to raise prices to American consumers through higher tariff barriers, in ultimately vain attempts to keep foreign imports from putting our own workers out of work).

But now there are at least two new ways to look at the trade issue. Both offer solid means of retaliation against trade partners who engage in unfair trade practices, and nei-

ther cuts off our nose to spite our face by raising prices to American consumers.

The first proposal, which came from Attorney General William Barr, is deceptively simple: Mr. Barr suggested that henceforth the U.S. government — represented by (not coincidentally) his Justice Department — would begin applying U.S. anti-trust laws to foreign cartels engaged in monopolistic trade prac-

tices.

The policy shift was announced in a taping of an interview on John McLaughlin's "One on One." Realizing their boss had let some news out of the bag in response to a question from Mr. McLaughlin, the Justice press office quickly released the information, to get their own spin on it.

And for the first time since President Bush's Democratic and Republican rivals for the presidency began

bashing him about his seeming unwillingness to take on the Japanese on the matter of unfair trade practices, it seemed the administration was actually doing something.

Clearly, a presidential campaign moving into Southern primary states — where decisions by foreign trade cartels to keep out American agricultural exports have impacted heavily — can use a boost like this. It's evidence that the president cares, and that he is doing something about the problem.

Yet despite the clear political see PASCOE, page E4



William Barr

PAUL GREENBERG

Visible tilt toward Hillary

Why is it that when Hillary Clinton stands by her man, she's well on her way to becoming America's Sweetheart, another Eleanor Roosevelt, and a gallant defender of hearth and home — but when Marilyn Quayle, the vice president's wife, promotes and defends her spouse with similar determination, she's pictured as a combination of Dragon Lady and Lucrezia Borgia?

What accounts for the separate-but-opposite coverage of Arkansas' First Woman and the country's Second Lady in places like The Washington Post and Time magazine?

Maybe it's the gliberal biases of the Beltway press at work again in America's ongoing kulturkampf, which is German for a heckuva fight over taste. When a forceful, aggres-

sive liberal — or even moderate — gets her dander up, she's a Portia come to judgment. When a forceful, aggressive conservative starts firing back, she's a scheming Lady Macbeth. At least in the more fashionable media.

There's another possible explanation — one that might occur to women more readily than men. In terms of mental agility (let's leave character out of this) Bill Clinton would seem to offer a wife much more promising material to work with in developing a presidential husband.

Any disparity between the Clintons in terms of intelligence, ambition and sheer mental rigor would seem slight; most folks in Arkansas would surely agree that Mr. Clinton doesn't lag far behind his wife in any of those categories, and may even equal her in ambition.

But the gap between the bright, tough and determined, not to say zealous, Mrs. Quayle and her vague

vice presidential husband amounts to a chasm. It's much easier to imagine Marilyn Quayle in the role of feminine Svengali manipulating a male, blond, innocent, golfing version of Tribby. Besides, Mrs. Clinton's public style is much too open for a Svengali.

There's nothing remarkable in our conventional culture about a bright, eager, upward-bound man marrying a slightly vacant but nice-looking woman. But when it's the woman who's the thinker and the man who's essentially ornamental, society begins to invent sinister scenarios. Who says the double standard doesn't still exist? The trophy husband is still a novel concept in this country.

Hillary Clinton doesn't make nearly as satisfying a lady mastermind as Marilyn Quayle. First, because Mrs. Quayle tends to stay behind the scenes. And second, Lady Macbeth has to be all of a piece — consistent, unchanging. It's a character role. And Marilyn Quayle has been the bright lawyer, overly supportive wife, and not-so-hidden tigress since she first came onto the public scene. She doesn't change from act to act.

Mrs. Clinton, on the other hand, has undergone a considerable transformation since she came into public view, and not just in looks. She doesn't even have the same name as when she first moved into the Governor's Mansion at Little Rock. Then she was Hillary Rodham — in keeping with the days when everybody knew who Gloria Steinem was. In the '70s, a wife's keeping her own name was the equivalent of a feminist declaration of independence — an ideological test that the certifiably With It had to pass.

But after her husband lost an election for governor of Arkansas in 1980, Ms. Rodham became Mrs. Clinton. Not just the name changed. The Yale Law grad with the independent manner became a Stepford Wife, at least on public occasions. She mastered the customary adoring gaze expected when the male of the family is in full rhetorical flight. Greater love, or at least political ambition, hath no modern woman.

The Hillary Rodham of the '70s has since been replaced by the newer, more successful model that shows Bill Clinton's smooth influence. Of course Hillary Clinton is no Lady Macbeth; who ever heard of a Lady Macbeth whom her Macbeth could direct?

Hillary Rodham had to go; she was a political liability. But there are some of us who miss her still.

/JOHN O'SULLIVAN

Branches to bend or break?

Imagine the headquarters of a Latin American Communist Party.

Around the table are veteran revolutionaries — grizzled and plump now, but still cherishing the memory of their fighting youth — when the news arrives that the North has fallen to a new band of rebels. They claim allegiance to the party and are led by an old party hand, but they also show worrying signs of deviationism and the cult of personality.

"I have seen them, comrades," reports one apparatchik nervously. "They are like we were in the pampas, young, tough, and so certain of everything. They say they support the party, but when they speak of us they smile. A smile of pity, comrades. As if we were women."

Patrick J. Buchanan's success in New Hampshire provokes similar unease in the think tanks, foundations, magazines, and congressional offices of the counterestablishment that Ronald Reagan led to political dominance in the 1980s. On the morning after New Hampshire, many a conservative baron must have looked into the shaving mirror and detected a trace of mascara. Mr. Buchanan had dared and won; they had either watched from the sidelines or served as voluntary hostages in the Bush camp.

But there is more to this conservative alarm than gender nervousness. If the straw poll at the CPAC conference is correct, Mr. Buchanan has the allegiance of more than half the rank and file. He probably has an even higher proportion of younger conservatives on his side. Reports coming into Washington's conservative centers suggest his campaign is almost entirely staffed by their recent interns.

Movement notables thus face a tricky problem. How can they prevent Mr. Buchanan becoming the unchallenged caudillo of the movement without a civil war that would hand most conservative supporters over to him and leave them looking like country club quislings? There are four courses of action to choose from:

(1) *Supporting President Bush (the Wm. F. Buckley Jr. Option).* No conservative in his heart wants to endorse a president who has raised taxes and extended racial and sexual quotas. All conservatives, including Mr. Buchanan, accept that they will end up doing so in order to keep a liberal Democrat out of the White House. (There is, incidentally, no other sort of Democrat these days.)

But timing is all. Declare for Mr. Bush too soon — and you fracture the unity of the conservative movement. Declare too late — and you risk being blamed for losing the gen-

John O'Sullivan is editor of *National Review*, from which this article is reprinted.

O'SULLIVAN

From page E1

ceding some of it, and publicly disavowing any "attack dog" campaigns against him. And all three groups must anyway seek to entice Mr. Buchanan into overcoming his pride and offering an apology for the remarks that, whether unfairly or not, have caused him to be labeled anti-Semitic.

Which option should conservatives embrace? My own preference would be to support Mr. Buchanan

until a millisecond before he himself decides to support Mr. Bush, probably some time in early April. With luck, we might then maintain the unity and integrity of the conservative movement, avoid responsibility if Mr. Bush loses the general election, and transform Mr. Buchanan from this year's George Wallace into one of several respectable conservative leaders for 1996, *primus inter pares* perhaps, but no more than that. All in all, the best available outcome in a lean year.

Unless, of course, the president begins to look seriously unelectable.

My own preference would be to support Mr. Buchanan until a millisecond before he himself decides to support Mr. Bush, probably sometime in early April.

eral election. WFB argues that, the Buchanan demonstration having been made, to do it again would be both redundant and risky. This calculation will change only if the president himself begins to look unelectable — and Mr. Bush's resourcefulness in this respect should not be underestimated.

(2) *Supporting a Third Candidate (the Harold Stassen Option).* Ter-

rific idea. Who is he? This vacuum will be filled only if the president begins to look unelectable. (But see above).

(3) *Concentrating on the Issues (the Norman Podhoretz Option).* If you can support neither Mr. Bush nor Mr. Buchanan, you can still advance conservative ideas and criticize liberal ones. Such activity, of course, is not politics but social criticism. We may define a social critic as someone who surrenders any influence on the next election in order to influence the two or three elections after that. The drawbacks to this option, however, are that to exercise it effectively you need (a) a magazine, (b) something to say, and (c) patience. It is thus a vocation to which few are called and even fewer chosen.

(4) *Supporting Mr. Buchanan (the Richard M. Nixon Option).* Why Richard M. Nixon? In 1964, Mr. Nixon, almost alone of the Republican establishment and almost cer-

tainly against his private inclinations, strongly supported the election campaign of Barry Goldwater. It was, however, Mr. Nixon and not Mr. Goldwater who became the next Republican president, helped into office by a united and much more conservative Republican Party. It is often more blessed to give support than to receive it.

But support in this context means many things. Mr. Buchanan's current supporters will presumably endorse his entire program without a qualm. Other conservative leaders and institutions, who are as yet uncommitted, might give him qualified backing, with explicit reservations about such matters as trade policy. A third group, notably Jack Kemp and William Bennett, linked by ties of loyalty to Mr. Bush, might hint that they regard Mr. Buchanan as a legitimate conservative candidate by debating his case seriously, con-

see O'SULLIVAN, page E4

Calif. GOP abandons early push for Bush

By Valerie Richardson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BURLINGAME, Calif. — Under fire from party regulars, the White House and California Republican leaders abandoned a plan to seek an unusual pre-primary endorsement of President Bush.

Instead, they settled for an open-ballot straw poll of delegates at this weekend's convention, which Mr. Bush won handily. Of 837 votes cast, the president won 745, trouncing rival Pat Buchanan by 89 percent to 11 percent.

While the vote represents only a small number of California Republicans, Bush partisans said the poll showed the president enjoys overwhelming support in the nation's most populous state, while Mr. Buchanan is little more than a footnote.

"I can definitely characterize this as a big, clean, clear-cut victory for George Bush," said Rep. Robert Dornan, California Republican. "I think it's pretty much decided that California is going to be for Bush come June."

But Buchanan supporters said the vote was stacked against the conservative columnist because the balloting was not secret. During yesterday's general session, the votes were tallied by asking the delegates to stand up to show their preference.

When delegates favoring Mr. Buchanan were asked to stand, they were loudly booed and hissed by Bush backers. Buchaninites said their delegates were cowed by the crowd and also feared they would hurt their standing in the party by defying Chairman Jim Dignan, who had organized the failed attempt to endorse Mr. Bush.

"The intimidation placed upon people supporting Pat Buchanan was incredible," said Orange County delegate James Biebert, a Buchanan supporter. "People thought their future in the party would be threatened if they didn't support Bush."

Los Angeles delegate Joe Fleishman added that many delegates work for state legislators, but only one state lawmaker has come out in support of Mr. Buchanan.

"You tell me what you're going to do if your boss is in the room and you're asked to stand up," said Mr. Fleishman. "If they truly wanted a representative vote, they would have had a secret ballot."



Rep. Robert Dornan denied that Buchanan supporters were intimidated in the poll.

Mr. Dornan dismissed the criticism as sour grapes, saying, "Buchanan people are not people who are easily intimidated. They wear their buttons right out front."

The Bush campaign originally had hoped to win the party's official endorsement, an extraordinary move because the state party does not formally endorse candidates before the primary. An endorsement would have required Mr. Bush to persuade two-thirds of the delegation to suspend the rules.

Bush organizers said they abandoned the idea after complaints that the move might set a precedent for future races. Longtime Republicans noted that the party didn't even endorse Ronald Reagan, a California Republican hero, until after he won the 1980 primary.

Buchanan backers said the Bush organizers also feared they wouldn't be able to muster the two-thirds vote, which could be interpreted as a Buchanan victory.

"If they truly had the votes, they would have gone for the party endorsement," said Mr. Biebert.

Mr. Dornan said California party officials, not Mr. Bush, were behind the early-endorsement move. "I called the Bush campaign and said, 'I'm not for this,' and they said, 'Neither are we. We haven't worked the state yet,'" he said. "We didn't want to steamroll this through."

SUZANNE FIELDS

OK, so he doesn't look so hot in a Speedo bathing suit. He's the Milquetoast Man, the tortoise, the nerd, the boy you were afraid might be your only ticket to the senior prom. The truthsayer among doomsayers.

But he grows on you. Maybe it's the pout of the lip. Maybe it's the abiding moral passion. Maybe it's the underlying conviction that he has nothing to lose that makes us believe him. He looked death in the face like a man, father and husband, leaving a safe seat in the Senate to battle cancer and to be with those who meant the most to him. He's a "stand-up" kind of man, not a bad model for our sons.

Or maybe it's that 86-page treatise, "A Call to Economic Arms," flawed though it may be, that persuades us that he's got something to say. He cares about economic growth, and he's written out his proposals in black and white. It's Greek to most of Congress, but not to the rest of us. Here is a Democrat who actually understands that "government efficiency" is an oxymoron.

Paul Tsongas probably won't get the nomination, but the pundits are writing and saying that with less conviction than they did a month ago. He's an unexpected and refreshing low-keyed personality in a stew of slickly packaged candidates who are careful not to say much of anything. He didn't fight in a war, but he didn't dodge one. No hype, no hypocrisy.

His wife Niki seems real, too. She isn't showy about being the candidate's wife. When she dressed to accompany her husband for a speech at the South Dakota Legislature and the event was switched to a stockyard in Sioux Falls, she cheerfully took her place in a pigpen, high heels and all. Now that's standing by your man.

Feminists complain that there are no women running for president, and you'll hear them say the wrong Clinton is running. But what women (and men) should be concerned about is the nature of the man running for president.

Paul Tsongas talks openly about the need to defer gratification, that he's no "Santa Claus." It wouldn't hurt if the image of a reliable nerd

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

Suddenly all the tsage

replaced the flamboyant portraits of men of charm without character, flash without fidelity, smoothness without substance.

We all know that the American man needs a new model to imitate. The lonesome cowboy as a silent, stable protector of women and society is long gone. So is the stoic, steadfast breadwinner. The man of our own times, running to the woods to beat tom-toms in hopes of finding himself, is fast wearing out his welcome.

George Bush has lost his shine as a leader. He won a victory in the desert, sort of, though the man still in charge in Baghdad looks a lot like Saddam Hussein. But at home he just can't cope. Unable to get out of the wimp mode. He not only broke his no-new-taxes promise, but says he can't remember making it. What? Me worry?

Pat Buchanan shoots from hip and lip, hitting as many of the innocent as the guilty. Tom Harkin is Mike Dukakis with a pretty face, Bob Kerrey is Mike Dukakis with a health plan and a prettier face, and Jerry Brown is simply Jerry Brown, trying to find his lost luggage. This leaves Bill Clinton, a man trying desperately to find a way to pay for his excess baggage. His Southern manner is so smooth it becomes slickness, and makes the stories of his manipulation of women and draft boards believable.

"They're saying down in South Georgia that they're not sure about Elvis," says a pollster in Atlanta. "But they're sure Bill Clinton is dead."

This gives Paul Tsongas time to find his defining moment. "He may not speak with a Southern accent, but when it comes to his plans to rebuild our economy, he speaks our language," says Sen. David Boren of Oklahoma, posing before a sign proclaiming "Tsonghers for Tsongas."

Tsay it ain't tso?

Pinstripers' delight

There's been all kinds of stories circulating about the coup that took place recently on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff. The departure of some of the right-wing renegades who had, with the blessing of Sen. Jesse Helms, pursued unpopular issues like the truth about POW/MIAs, was seen as a long-sought victory for liberals in general and for the State Department and various national security agencies in particular.

One expected benefit of the shuffle is that Mr. Helms won't be tossing those monkey wrenches into State's nomination processes anymore. He'd been known to hold nominations hostage interminably because of some policy disagreement or other.

But if the shake-up was engineered by State, you wouldn't know it from an internal memo to the director of the Foreign Service, Ambassador Edward J. Perkins.

Mr. Perkins has been nominated by President Bush as the next U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He takes a particular interest in the Helms situation because back in 1989 Mr. Helms kept him cooling his heels for his present post.

Mr. Perkins was nominated for his present post after serving as ambassador to South Africa. There was all kinds of talk about why Mr. Helms was holding up the nomination. Some said it was a protest against administration policies toward South Africa, and some even thought it was bigotry because Mr. Perkins is black. But the truth was more typical of Mr. Helms' maneuvering. He was after some information about how a particular Foreign Service officer had spent money, and State was not being forthcoming.

Anyway, the recent internal memo to Mr. Perkins discusses an effort to get some names cleared by the Senate for service on State's new Personnel Commission. "The consultative process may have been

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

smoothed by the shakeup in Senator Helms' Senate Foreign Relations staff, the memo notes. But "we won't know for sure until we present the names to the relevant committees."

GAY TO STRAIGHT
Can It Be Done?
Sexually derived from personality. Just as you make personal changes in your life, so heterosexuality can become a natural, self-fulfilling, joyous experience.

How?
You don't need to be converted or insulted. Instead, you can use a proven, well-thought-out, positive and understanding approach. Any gay or bisexual man or woman can do it even if they've never experienced a heterosexual desire.

Many already have.

IT CAN BE DONE
Call (312) 293-0470
for more information. All calls kept confidential.

LEFT TO RIGHT
Can It Be Done?
Politics derive from world view. Just as your world view shifts with changes in current events, so your politics can become more relevant and reflective of national reality.

How?
You need to expose yourself to truth and be honest about the oppressive nature of monopolies inherent in socialism, intrusive government policies, bureaucratic elitism and the PC movement. Any liberal or leftist can do it even if they've never experienced a real desire for freedom before.

Many already have.

IT CAN BE DONE
Call 202-541-3522 to learn more about The American Sentinel today!

Speaking of spin

Lee Bellinger publishes several newsletters of a conservative bent, and you wouldn't really expect to see an ad for them showing up in the leftist Nation magazine. But he noticed an ad in the magazine advertising how people could be converted from homosexual to straight and wondered if the same might be true of left-wingers. Could they make the crossover to the right?

Mr. Bellinger used the original ad as a model and designed one of his own for his American Sentinel newsletter. It gives a conservative slant on national security issues. Any responses? "When we get requests for samples sent in plain brown wrappers, we'll know we had some impact," Mr. Bellinger says.

Ethnic update

If you're an Eastern European "ethnic," how can you tell it's an election year? You know because you receive the first edition of a new White House newsletter aimed at "the ethnic community."

So eager are the White House troops to get this year behind them that they repeatedly refer to last year as "1992."

An accompanying letter from Sihan A. Siv, deputy assistant for public liaison, addresses the ethnic community as "Dear Friends." That ain't cutting it with the Beltway Irregular who provided us with a copy of the newsletter. "For three years the administration has scorned the feelings of Americans of East European descent, particularly Balts and Ukrainians, now it has suddenly discovered 'ethnics,'" writes our correspondent, signing off as one ethnic who "will not vote for Bush again."

The 'fascist' thing

So, is Pat Buchanan articulating the views of Joe Sixpack or not? If he is, then it may come as something of a shock to ol' Joe to know that in the opinion of the Atlanta Constitution, former Education Secretary Bill Bennett and columnist Charles Krauthammer, he's a

fascist.

While some Georgia newspapers have endorsed Mr. Buchanan, the Constitution on Friday denounced him as encouraging "a new fascism."

Mr. Krauthammer, agreeing with an assessment offered some time back by Jacob Weisberg, wrote in The Washington Post on Sunday that Mr. Buchanan is a "neo-fascist."

And Bill Bennett delivered a hit on ABC's "This Week" yesterday, assenting to George Will's question about whether Mr. Buchanan espouses fascism. "I think Pat certainly flirts with it," Mr. Bennett said.

What next? "They're going to find they're not dealing with Michael Dukakis," Mr. Buchanan says.

Another VOA view

Several notes have come our way as a result of the recent item on rumors of news doctoring in the offing at the Voice of America. Bud Hensgen of the American Foreign Service Association writes that he believes the only monitoring will be in the area of editorial comment, and he doesn't think that's so bad. VOA editorial comment is designed to explain U.S. policy and "is identified as an official statement of government policy before and after it is read on the air," Mr. Hensgen says.

Editorials aside, he says, the view at the United States Information Agency's Foreign Service is that "VOA news has to be wholly independent to be credible. We firmly oppose attempts to monitor VOA's newscasts." And, says Mr. Hensgen, "Foreign Service officers abroad... are promoting use of the VOA to reach... new audiences in the former Soviet bloc, Latin America and other areas of the world."

There you have it from Mr. Hensgen. Let's see if there's any action left at the other end of the court.

— John Elvin

WAYNE GILCHREST

No jeweler would sell a diamond before assessing its value. Similarly, the U.S. government should not relax protection of a precious ecosystem without first knowing its worth.

Yet that is the very situation we might find ourselves in, if we pass wetlands laws without determining the best methods for identifying and delineating them. Fortunately, President Bush is in a position to make sure we don't sell the jewel as a gemstone.

Last summer, the administration unveiled a revised wetlands manual that, if implemented, could result in the loss of federal protection for up to half of our nation's remaining wetlands. Field testing results indicate that major portions of nationally recognized wetlands, such as the Great Dismal Swamp of Virginia, Florida's Everglades, New Jersey's Pine Barrens and prairie potholes of the Midwest, would not be identified as wetlands.

The proposed revisions to the manual have become one of the most vigorously contested environmental policies of the presidency. More than 80,000 written comments have swamped EPA regarding the proposed changes. Normally cautious wetland scientists have been outraged by the intrusion of politics into what was supposed to be a scientific manual on how to delineate a wetland.

The manual is not final, and there is an easy way to reinsert science into the policy-making process. Mr. Bush can ask the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) to conduct an independent study to determine a scientifically based way to identify and delineate wetlands. Regardless of its merits, any study by a political entity is open to the criticism that it is influenced by partisan interests. An NAS study, on the other hand, would lend the objective eye of science to an often bitter political battle. It is for that reason that highly respected scientific institutions like the Ecological Society of America, the National Wetlands Technical Council, and the Association of State Wetland Managers have asked the president to call for an NAS study.

Too often in the past, we have

Wayne T. Gilchrest is a Republican member of the House of Representatives from Maryland.

Policy in search of sensible science

made mistakes in environmental policy because decisions precede science. In some instances, we have put unnecessary burdens on the backs of business people and landowners, and in others we have been remiss in our protection of the environment.

With wetlands protection, too much is at stake to repeat the policy mistakes of the past. Wetlands serve an ecologically unique function as a natural filtration system for rainwater. Wetlands allow water to pass

Too often in the past, we have made mistakes in environmental policy because decisions precede science. In some instances, we have put unnecessary burdens on the backs of business people and landowners, and in others we have been remiss in our protection of the environment.

through them to recharge aquifers while removing pollutants that could otherwise contaminate our water supply. Controlling these pollutants with artificial means would cost billions. Replacing just the nitrogen-filtration capability of wetlands with improved sewage treatment would cost an estimated \$70 billion.

Wetlands perform an important economic function as well, by furnishing natural flood and erosion

control, outdoor recreation, and fish and wildlife habitats. The National Marine Fisheries Service estimates that wetlands serve as hatcheries and feeding areas for fish that provide the basis of our \$10 billion annual marine fisheries harvest. In addition, each year more than 50 million people spend another \$10 billion on wetlands-related recreation.

The administration has long recognized the importance of wetlands protection, and has advocated a "no net loss" wetlands protection policy. Requesting an NAS study would confirm that the definition and protection of wetlands will be based on scientific fact, not swayed by special interests.

An NAS study would provide both Congress and the Executive Branch with an objective, scientific foundation for developing a balanced wetlands policy. In the meantime, pending completion of the NAS study, the Army Corps of Engineers should continue to use the 1987 Wetlands Delineation Manual.

A great deal of support already exists for an NAS study on the wetlands delineation issue. Rep. George E. Brown Jr., California Democrat, introduced a bill to authorize such a study. It has more than 50 cosponsors.

During the last session of Congress, I introduced an amendment to authorize funding for an NAS wetlands study. It received 181 votes. Fifteen Republican members then joined me in a letter urging the president to support the NAS study.

Science is not a partisan issue. The purpose of an NAS study would be to ensure that our policy decisions do not outstrip our knowledge base. Recent congressional action shows that Democrats and Republicans alike agree on the need to better understand wetlands identification. By taking this painless initiative and requesting swift completion of an NAS study, Mr. Bush could reassure the American people that our wetlands policy will be based on a sound scientific basis.

Buchanan attacks Bush with last-minute TV ads

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ATLANTA — The clock is running down to tomorrow's crucial Georgia primary with Pat Buchanan escalating his airwaves war with President Bush and a key Bush supporter predicting a New Hampshire style finish for the conservative challenger.

Mr. Buchanan rushed to a hastily rented studio here to record two new surprise campaign ads explaining his positions on racial quotas, as criticism of his ads denouncing government funding of "blasphemous and obscene art" surfaced in fundamentalist quarters.

According to Buchanan press aide Jack Gordon, the ads "did not play well in the Bible Belt here, not because of the message but because of the graphics."

The Buchanan commercial depicts homosexual men dancing together in various stages of undress, part of a movie funded by the National Endowment for the Arts.

"I predict high 30s, 40s for Pat Buchanan," former Education Secretary William Bennett said yesterday on ABC's "This Week."

"People are very unhappy... with what they see as a lack of direction in the White House. They're unhappy about the tax increase. They're unhappy about the civil rights bill," he said.

"They're unhappy about a lot of things, and Pat is tapping into all that unhappiness," he said.

Mr. Buchanan chalked up a surprising 37 percent of the vote in the Feb. 18 New Hampshire primary to Mr. Bush's 53 percent.

Mr. Bennett, who told The Washington Times last week he has "always respected" Mr. Buchanan, said yesterday the challenger's appeal "flirts" with fascism.

"Pat doesn't like — or says very critical things of immigrants of color, of Israel, of Jews, even of Democratic ideology," he said. "His appeal is way too negative."

Mr. Bennett, a prominent neo-conservative with presidential ambitions and views on Israel, isolationism, immigration and trade that are at polar opposites to Mr. Buchanan's, added: "After Ronald Reagan, I think [conservatism] became a



William Bennett sees Pat Buchanan repeating New Hampshire vote.

much more acceptable thing and positive thing, and we cannot let it slip back into the old beast-of-burden kind of conservatism that Buchanan wants to take us back to."

Campaign chairman Angela Bay Buchanan, the candidate's sister, countered: "Five weeks ago, he [Mr. Bennett] referred to Pat as a good friend of his. He's been a friend of our family's for a long time. What has happened in the last five weeks is New Hampshire. We did well there, and the other side is panicking."

"The boys are down to the two-minute drill," Mr. Buchanan said, with a dismissive laugh when told of Mr. Bennett's remarks.

After attending Mass yesterday at Christ the King Cathedral, the seat of the Roman Catholic archbishop of Atlanta, Mr. Buchanan, a Catholic and fierce defender of his church, visited an evangelical Sunday school class at the Mount Paran Church of God in Atlanta.

Mr. Buchanan steered away from politics in his stop at Mount Paran, whose members represent a needed constituency for Mr. Buchanan in Tuesday's vote. The candidate called the visit "a sign of respect and affec-

tion for our Christian brethren."

Then, Mr. Buchanan was off for Savannah, where Mr. Bush campaigned earlier in the day.

Mr. Buchanan, looking fit and rested despite virtually non-stop campaigning in Georgia's heartland Saturday, has scheduled a rally at a midtown Savannah hotel this morning and then is off by plane for stops in Valdosta, Brunswick, Macon and a "wrap-up rally" in Atlanta.

Then, Mr. Buchanan heads to Greenville, S.C., arriving there late tonight.

As Georgia voters go to the polls tomorrow, Mr. Buchanan will be working the stump all day in South Carolina, which holds its primary on Super Tuesday, March 10, testing the organizational strength of the state's pro-Bush governor, Carroll Campbell.

But he will fly back to Atlanta tomorrow evening for a victory party.

To the extent that newspaper editorial endorsements matter, Mr. Buchanan is holding his own in Georgia. Although the Atlanta Constitution, the largest newspaper in the state, endorsed Mr. Bush, the Savannah Morning News and the Athens Daily News have given Mr. Buchanan the nod, and the Augusta Chronicle is expected to endorse him today.

The Buchanan campaign is averaging \$75,000 to \$100,000 a day in contributions and has raised \$3 million to date, according to Ms. Buchanan. But it spent \$3 million in New Hampshire, and even with some \$2 million in federal matching funds received or applied for, Georgia and the string of Super Tuesday primaries on March 10 will cost far more in media advertising.

Two months ago, when funding was a question mark, Mr. Buchanan committed to attending a series of fund-raisers over a two-day period, right in the middle of the Super Tuesday campaign. "The California swing" was worth "in excess of six figures" in campaign contributions," Buchanan political director Paul Erickson said.

Yesterday, after much agonizing, Mr. Buchanan decided to put off the California trip in favor of campaigning in the Super Tuesday states.

DONALD LAMBRO

ATLANTA
As his twin-engine plane flew across Georgia to another campaign stop, Pat Buchanan was in the back of the aircraft talking with reporters about foreign imports and what he would do to reduce them.

It is the only issue where the feisty conservative commentator supports quotas — trade quotas, that is. And it is the one area of economic policy where many conservatives and party regulars, who like just about everything else he stands for, part company with him.

"I agree with Pat on a lot of issues but not on protectionism," said one Republican retiree in the crowd that greeted him in Naples, Fla., last week. "That's not the way to go. We tried that with Smoot-Hawley [trade laws] and we got the Great Depression."

Yet it is an issue that Mr. Buchanan has made into one of the economic centerpieces of his insurgent campaign against George Bush and the Washington establishment he represents.

Although Mr. Buchanan denies being a protectionist, he said he is seriously considering supporting the textile bill — the arch-symbol of protectionism that has long been championed by Democrats in Congress and the AFL-CIO, but opposed by GOP free traders.

"I'd take a hard look at this," Mr. Buchanan said of the textile bill. "Who does this hurt?" he asked the reporters as he explained that he saw nothing wrong in pursuing protectionist policies that prevent imports from "coming in here and destroying American jobs."

When I suggested that across-the-board barriers to imports would hurt millions of American workers and businesses who make their living retailing, warehousing, shipping and advertising such goods — not to mention consumers who choose them — he was unimpressed.

But when he was asked what he would do after signing the textile bill when dozens of other industries line up to demand similar protection from foreign competition, he said he wasn't sure.

He bemoans the fact that the United States no longer makes televisions, radios, VCRs, compact discs and has lost its dominance in steel. "Do we want to be a nation that continues to make things?" he asks voters. In tough economic times when manufacturers like General Motors and other companies are closing their plants or making layoffs, it is a strong issue.

Yet there are weaknesses in the three lone examples he raises to support his contention that America's economy is being destroyed by imports: imports from China where wages are low and, in some cases, prison labor is used; European competition to our aircraft industry; and fear of a Japanese takeover in the

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Political trade divide

supercomputer industry.

There are deep moral questions over whether we should trade with China in light of its human rights violations, and I would vote to deny most-favored-nation trading status to them. But \$19 billion in imports out of a nearly \$5 trillion economy is hardly a threat to our way of life.

The European-subsidized consortium that produces the Airbus does compete with Boeing, but this U.S. aircraft corporation is still the leader in world aviation and has been running ads touting the importance of expanding trade in the global economy.

And, finally, there is only one real leader in the supercomputer business, and it is American. It is the Cray Corp., and Japan is buying from us, not the other way around. When told this, Mr. Buchanan doesn't disagree but says he wants to "make sure that we don't lose our edge in this industry."

Ironically, Mr. Buchanan is making protectionism a major plank in his campaign at a time when America's trade deficit has been falling sharply — to \$66 billion last year, the lowest since 1983.

While he suggests, as do most Democrats, that America is losing its competitive edge abroad, the United States actually scored a \$17 billion trade surplus with the 12 European Community nations last year.

Contrary to the deindustrialization myth that America doesn't make anything anymore, the top U.S. exports were, after agriculture, data-processing and office equipment, aircraft, electronics, industrial machinery such as turbine engines and bulldozers, vehicle parts and scientific instruments — to name only a few.

And the answer to those who question what America gets out of trading with Mexico is "more jobs." Mexico, with whom we have a \$60 billion a year trade relationship, actually bought \$2.1 billion more from us last year than we bought from them.

The point is that trade is not the villain in this recession. American exports rose by a strong 7.2 percent last year, the one bright spot in our economy, while imports fell. The real culprit, as Mr. Buchanan correctly points out, is excessive government taxation, spending, borrowing and regulation.

In light of all this, Mr. Buchanan's flirtation with protectionism remains a mystery. If Missouri Rep. Dick Gephardt couldn't sell it to his party's labor-dominated, liberal Democratic faithful in 1988 when the trade deficit was at an all-time high, why does Mr. Buchanan think it will sell in the GOP when the trade deficit is falling?



PRUDEN ON
POLITICS
By
Wesley Pruden

Jefferson's legacy to Campaign '92

"Negative campaigning" is to politics what sex is to sporting houses, as everybody knows, but our Serious Journalists are playing virgins again.

George Bush ruined politics for these Serious Journalists when he called Willie Horton a rapist, and they're on a crusade this year to eliminate red blood from our campaign discourse. (Unless it's the red blood spilled by the candidates they don't like.)

Negative campaigning, now in such bad odor with Serious Journalists, is actually the American way of politics, and our earliest soundbite genius was Thos. Jefferson. King George never recovered from the job Mr. Jefferson did on him. George shows up in the Declaration of Independence as tyrant, thief, corrupter of judges, perjurer, pirate and arsonist, a man who "plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people."

"He has... endeavored to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of War is an undistinguished Destruction of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions."

George III, in Mr. Jefferson's early attack commercial, was the bad dude Willie Horton only thought he was.

Jeffersonlike invective frightens Serious Journalists. They swoon only when the subject turns to parsing the differences between the Harkin health care plan and Bob Kerrey's "managed competition," and grow ecstatic at every mention of "homeless," "infrastructure" and "ozone layer."

Mr. Jefferson's legacy delights nearly everyone else, and this year the primary campaigns in both parties are degenerating into something actually interesting, and vastly illuminating. But anything the wrong candidate does, however interesting and illuminating, is "negative."

Only yesterday, poor George Bush, who can't get anything right, went to church in Atlanta (suspicious enough in our secular age), and he picked the wrong congregation, surrounding himself with a lot of white, male Bubbas.

Reuters, the British-based news service often rendered breathless by American customs, followed George and Barbara into the First Baptist Church to watch the president pray and sing ("Amazing Grace") under the gaze of five — five! — television cameras.

"Although he never spoke," the Reuters man declaims, "Bush was able to get a positive political message across by his visit — just two days before the Georgia primary to pick a Republican presidential nominee." The reporter was so awestruck



Victim of soundbite

by these strange native rites that he thinks he saw the preacher desecrate the altar:

"The service was captured by five television cameras, which periodically showed Bush and the first lady in prayer. As [the preacher] prowled back and forth on the stage — er, altar — a tiny, television microphone clipped to his tie allowed him to be easily heard as he repeatedly made the

kind of hand gestures media consultants say convey emphasis on a television screen."

All good Christians — and even sympathetic Jews and Muslims — must pray that Reuters is mistaken, that the preacher kept his feet on the platform and his dance on the altar was only an illusion of blasphemy.

Exposure to negative politics is driving other journalists giddy, too. Some of them are turning to professors to find meaning in the wasteland, and to lend a patina of intellectual respectability to the search. Kathleen Hall Jamieson of the University of Pennsylvania tells the New York Times that her "research" shows that prospective voters are "12 times" more likely to remember something bad about a candidate than something good. Bruce Buchanan of the University of Texas says the more savage attacks will always get the most coverage because they're "just plain engaging." (You have to go to college to learn stuff like this?)

The Texas professor likens voter interest in the real stuff to the universal fascination with a train wreck, or worse. Everyone likes a little character assassination because it raises everybody's blood pressure: "And that's what reporters, and every-

Bush hits Congress for 'foot dragging'

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SAVANNAH, Ga. — President Bush seemed satisfied he had found his campaign voice yesterday, telling a large riverfront rally, "We believe that we're on the right side of these big issues... jobs, family and world peace."

Hours after hearing a friendly sermon in Atlanta about Daniel in the lions' den, he promised some 8,000 Georgians "a great new beginning" if he gets four more years.

Mr. Bush appeared to be running as much against Congress' "two-bit tax cut" as the challenge from conservative commentator Pat Bu-

chanan in tomorrow's primary.

The challenger also attended church in Atlanta yesterday — Mass in the city's Roman Catholic cathedral and a visit to a Sunday school class at a Protestant church. He closes his energetic Georgia campaign today with a morning rally here before flying off to Atlanta by way of Valdosta, Brunswick and Macon.

Mr. Bush spent his second day in the first Southern primary state, blaming Congress for economic failures and appealing for a vote of confidence.

After dramatically "buzzing" the rally in Air Force One before landing at a nearby airport, the president



gave the crowd a fighting speech that earned him 24 rounds of applause.

"I'm not done yet," he said. "We are blessed that we have brought peace to this world. And because we've stood strong, we've beaten back aggression."

Not everyone at the rally was impressed, though.

"Call this a Sunday stroll down River Street in Savannah," said an angry Horace Fleming, a public-

see GOP, page A8

GOP

From page A1

school teacher carrying a handmade sign saying, "Bush-Reagan policies have wrecked the economy." "These are the suburbanites who came in to sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' I don't see working people."

Many in the crowd were teachers like him, off-duty military people and even a few without jobs.

Mr. Bush's prospects are so unclear that pollsters for the Atlanta Constitution & Journal state survey abandoned it because more than 15 percent wouldn't answer, complicated by the crossover system that allows everyone to vote in either party primary.

"It's obvious we're going to be

fighting Buchanan for the next several weeks. He'll be in all the races. We'll win them all," said White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner, who predicted on Feb. 24 that Mr. Buchanan would be forced out after the March 10 Super Tuesday contests.

"The point is, if [Mr. Buchanan] goes beyond, then he's a loser big time," South Carolina Gov. Carroll Campbell said on Air Force One en route to Savannah.

The crowd here, where racial attitudes have become an issue, included several blacks and some Bush opponents. Most were in a party mood on the bright warm day and cheered when the president's giant Air Force One 747 swooped low over the riverfront rally before landing at a nearby airport.

Felix Shepherd, a black man wearing an American Legion cap, said he is undecided but open to Mr. Bush.

"Whoever can put people back to work. I'm one of those individuals from Missouri. You've got to show me," said the unemployed pipe fitter from North Augusta, who lost his job last March 19 and makes do with staff sergeant's pay from Army Reserve duty.

But the president may have won over Democrat Andrew Hebert, a black social worker in programs with retarded adults and youthful first offenders.

"I like what I'm hearing," he said. "I'm not a Bush supporter generally, but I feel strong about what he's saying, especially Desert Storm. My son was in the war."

Gary Slaughenaupt, a Fort Stewart Army cook wearing camouflage fatigues, said: "I'll vote for Bush. He's kept the world at peace." The last straw, he said, was Mr. Buchanan's opposition to the decision for war with Iraq.

Frank Harris, a former savings-and-loan official now working in insurance, blames Democrats for uncontrolled interest rates. "And I don't like the other guy on the Republican ballot," he said.

Aside from a roar of appreciation for Desert Storm veterans, many of whom were in the crowd from Fort Stewart, the largest cheer in this conservative county went to Mr. Bush's commitment to voluntary prayer in the schools.

His remarks were shaping up early in the campaign as a standard

stump speech, word for word the message he gave Saturday to party donors in Atlanta.

Congress was the issue that is winning over Jesse Williams, who farms 900 acres of cotton and peanuts near Plains in Sumter County, Ga. Calling himself more or less a Republican, he said, "I still think he's the best man. It's not something one man can fix. You've got to have the cooperation of Congress to do it."

Mr. Bush kept linking congressional "foot dragging" to the nation's economic ills.

"That's what's keeping people up late at night, worrying about how they're going to pay the bills and put food on the table and care for their kids," he said.

But other issues, including development of coastal wetlands, foreign

aid and anti-drug programs, bothered some people.

Denise Giorgio, who works in a state hospital drug program for adolescents, disputed Mr. Bush's assertion that drug abuse by adolescents has decreased.

"If the numbers are dropping, I'd hate to see a peak. I know lots of kids who'd never admit drug use on a government questionnaire," she said.

"I may vote for Buchanan, but if he doesn't get it, I'll vote for Bush," said Army Capt. Jeff Kendrick, of Chatsworth, Ga., an artillery officer who fought in Iraq and believes Mr. Buchanan excels in "looking out for America."

"I don't agree with everything Bush has done, but he's better than the Democrats," he said.

Gephardt, Bentsen won't run

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The two politicians most often mentioned as possible late entrants into the race for the Democratic presidential nomination said yesterday the party's standard bearer will be one of the five leading candidates already in the field.

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas both said on NBC's "Meet the Press" they will not run for the presidency in 1992.

"The disarray is really on the Republican side," said Mr. Gephardt, referring to Pat Buchanan's primary challenge to President Bush. "I think the Democrats are going to win in '92, and I think one of the people out there running for president as a Democrat is going to be our candidate and is going to be our winner."



Bentsen

Gephardt

Speculation about a Democratic white knight hit its zenith shortly before the Feb. 18 New Hampshire primary when prominent Democrats questioned whether Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton was too wounded and whether former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas was charismatic enough to beat Mr. Bush.

Asked about a report in The Washington Post yesterday that Mr. Gephardt nearly had a presidential campaign in the works less than two weeks ago, he said the story was "absolutely ridiculous."

"Every time we go through this, people talk about new entrants, and we're not getting to a conclusion. ... One of these people [already running] will be nominated," Mr. Gephardt said.

Mr. Bentsen, who was the Democrats' 1988 vice presidential nominee, agreed.

"You know, I hear about all these drafts and, of course, they have drafts in the National Football League, but it's a rare thing, indeed, in political life today," he said. "I think the last time they really had a draft in a locked convention was back in 1920."

Asked if he would stay out of the race in 1992, Mr. Bentsen said: "That's right."

Dukakis' health insurance plan barely alive in Massachusetts

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Nearly four years after former Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis signed legislation that would guarantee health insurance for all state residents, the plan remains largely unimplemented, unknown to the poor and uninsured and the subject of recurring repeal threats.

So says a report about the Massachusetts Health Security Act of 1988, published in the current issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association.

"I don't feel Dukakis should be blamed for the problems, but I think I'm the only person in Massachusetts who would say that," Robert J. Blendon, the study's author, said in an interview Saturday. Mr. Blendon is a professor of health policy at the Harvard School of Public Health.

The law was intended to provide health care coverage for the state's estimated 455,000 uninsured residents, through a combination of new public and private initiatives and a requirement that all businesses with more than six employees provide health insurance for workers.

The plan is what's commonly referred to as "pay or play." Employers who don't provide insurance are expected to pay a health insurance contribution, or penalty tax, of \$1,680 per uninsured employee per year.



Dukakis

Employees working at smaller companies would have most of their insurance costs paid by the state.

The legislation, Mr. Blendon said, was designed when business in the state was booming.

But the "economy crashed" soon after the legislation passed, Charles Baker, Massachusetts undersecretary of health, said in an interview Saturday. Because of that, he said, the state found itself having to renege on millions of dollars in commitments it had made to hospitals to make up shortfalls they faced for treating Medicare patients and providing uncompensated care.

Calls to repeal the law had become strong by early 1990, as Massachusetts tackled a \$1 billion deficit resulting from a severe recession.

Republican William Weld, who succeeded Mr. Dukakis as governor, made a campaign promise to repeal the law's "pay or play" provision, Mr. Blendon said.

The state Legislature narrowly defeated the governor's repeal efforts but agreed to delay implementation of the "pay or play" mandate until January 1995.

According to the study, at the end of 1990 about 77,000 people who "never before had health insurance" — including college students, disabled adults and children, unemployed people and those who'd recently left the welfare rolls — had access to basic health care under the health-security act.

But Mr. Baker said yesterday that at least some of those people, including the disabled and former welfare mothers, had been covered under

legislation previously in effect. "The students were the big part" of the newly covered, he said.

But little progress has been made in other areas of the legislation. For instance, it called for people receiving state relief to "be enrolled in prepaid health insurance plans subject to state appropriations," but no such appropriations were made, the report said.

And Mr. Blendon said "little" has been spent from a fund the law created to "provide health insurance for the short-term unemployed." Financing of that fund is through required contributions of all employers with six or more workers, he said.

Mr. Baker said few people have sought aid from the fund because few people know its there. His department is trying to correct that, he added.

All the controversy over the universal health care legislation has left many Massachusetts residents uncertain as to its status and even its existence, Mr. Blendon said.

"In a survey conducted in September 1991, 25 percent of residents thought the bill had been repealed, and 55 percent were unsure what happened to it," he wrote.

About one in four residents did not even know the law existed, he said. "Among the uninsured and those living below the poverty level, 41 percent and 56 percent, respectively, were not familiar with it."

Although most Massachusetts residents "still support the legislation as written," Mr. Blendon said, the level of support dipped from 64 percent in 1990 to 56 percent last year.

Bentsen tax bill straddles aisle to elude veto

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen said yesterday he is crafting an election-year tax bill Democrats and Republicans will be able to compromise on, regardless of President Bush's threatened veto.

"I am trying to put some things in there anticipating what we could do to have a bipartisan solution to it and to move this economy forward and restore some fairness to the tax system," Mr. Bentsen, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, said on

NBC-TV's "Meet the Press." But basic differences between the president's and Congress' tax plans will more likely lead to confrontation than compromise, House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt said on the NBC program.

"I'm afraid ... the thing that will keep George Bush from signing this bill is the fact that we are willing to ask the wealthiest people in the country to pay their fair share of the tax burden, and we want to give tax relief to the middle class," the Missouri Democrat said.

Last week, the House rejected Mr. Bush's tax proposal, which called for a reduction in the capital gains tax rate and a \$5,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers. Instead, it passed the Democratic plan promising a two-year, \$200 tax cut for most wage earners and a permanent, 4 percent age-point increase in the tax rate for top-bracket taxpayers.

However, the bill received only 221 votes, well below the 290 needed to override a veto.

If the Senate passes its version of the Democratic plan, "I will not sign it. It won't become law," Mr. Bush said last week.

Mr. Bentsen, whose committee begins debate on the measure tomorrow, said he has borrowed several of the president's suggestions in the Senate bill. In addition, the Senate plan contains proposals to encourage savings and improve health care access, which Mr. Bush has said he favors, Mr. Bentsen said.

But, Mr. Bentsen added, the tax increase for the nation's wealthiest taxpayers figures prominently in the Senate bill. Acknowledging Mr. Bush's opposition to any tax increases, the Texas Democrat said, "I am hopeful that he'll change his

mind. He's done that before." For example, Congress passed the jobless benefits extension bill three times and the president vetoed it twice before signing it last year, Mr. Gephardt said in a separate interview yesterday.

"By the time he signed it, he sounded like it was his idea," he said. Mr. Gephardt dismissed suggestions that Democrats passed a tax bill the president does not favor to maneuver him into an election-year slowdown. "Our responsibility is to pass a tax bill that will help get us out of this recession and help our

economy long-term, and we think we did that."

Both Mr. Gephardt and Mr. Bentsen said the thrust of the proposed tax increase is fairness for the "middle class," whose incomes have fallen while their tax burden has risen over the past 10 years.

"On the other side of it, you've seen the top 1 percent of our people have their tax cuts substantially increased while their income has gone up. Now that kind of a situation has to be addressed," Mr. Bentsen said. "So, we will have a tax cut for the average-income family."

Debates stress stands, issues

By J. Jennings Moss
and Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Democratic presidential candidates in two debates yesterday largely avoided the personal attacks that marked their forum Saturday and contrasted their economic, health care and environmental views as they attacked President Bush.

The five candidates still managed to take some hits at each other. Former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas was criticized for his economic views and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton was questioned about the Vietnam draft.

Yesterday's debates in Atlanta and College Park were walk-ups to tomorrow's primaries and caucuses in Georgia, Maryland, Colorado, Washington, Minnesota, Utah, Idaho and American Samoa. Without a clear front-runner in the race, each candidate is trying either to break away from the pack or just survive.

All five candidates participated in the Denver debate Saturday, but only four competed in each of yesterday's forums. Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey took part in the Atlanta debate and Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin was in Maryland. Besides Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas, former California Gov. Jerry Brown was in both of them.

During the Maryland debate, Mr. Tsongas — winner of the New Hampshire primary and the Maine caucuses — was attacked for supporting capital gains tax cuts over a middle-income tax rebate.

"Mr. Tsongas has just laid out what we Democrats have to decide. Are we going to be Democrats? Are we going to keep the heart and soul of our party or are we going to try to be more like Republicans?" Mr. Harkinsaid.

Mr. Brown, who advocates a flat tax for individuals and corporations, said the biggest danger to the nation's economy is proposals to tinker with the tax code.

"Don't change it every two or three years with new little lollipops, first for the middle class and then for business," Mr. Brown said.

"I have always taken a strong anti-lollipop stand," Mr. Tsongas said to laughter from the heavily Democratic audience at Tawes Theatre at the University of Maryland. "I oppose Twinkie economics, which is

see DEBATE, page A8

child, she said, "it seems that Mr. Clinton has had a longer relationship with people of color, particularly blacks."

During the Atlanta debate, which had a healthy dose of talk about the economy and health care, questions of character arose. Mr. Kerrey asked Mr. Clinton how he could promote a program to allow college students to repay their loans through public service when the governor did not fight during the Vietnam War. Mr. Clinton's draft status and his attempts to avoid Vietnam became an issue in the New Hampshire primary.

"I opposed that war. I thought it was a terrible mistake," Mr. Clinton said, adding that he put himself in the draft pool but was never called.

Mr. Tsongas said after the debate that it was "actually pretty civil, all things considered," and added, "We seem to be recognizing who the enemy is."

Duke making pitch for crossover votes

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

David Duke is pushing for blue-collar Democratic crossover votes in South Carolina's Republican primary Saturday, where the ex-Klansman is on the ballot for the first time.

South Carolina is one of four GOP primary states Mr. Duke hopes to win so he will have enough delegates to make a nationally televised address to the Republican National Convention in August, according to Marc Ellis, the campaign's national coordinator.

"In a close three-way race, David Duke can win that primary," Mr. Ellis said.

By targeting the state's recession-wracked textile communities, however, Mr. Duke could be preparing the way for a third-party campaign against President Bush in November.

"What I'm thinking is that the work we're doing now may be the organizational work for an independent campaign," said William Carter, a Saluda, S.C., chiropractor who is heading Mr. Duke's primary campaign.

The Bush campaign's success so far in keeping the former Louisiana state representative off GOP primary ballots in Georgia on Tuesday, Florida on March 10 and other states has angered his backers and thwarted Mr. Duke's drive for the Republican nomination, Dr. Carter said.

In addition to South Carolina, Mr. Duke hopes to win the Mississippi and Louisiana Super Tuesday primaries on March 10 and Alabama on June 2, Mr. Ellis said.

Mr. Duke has mounted only a token campaign in Texas, Mr. Bush's home turf and another of the Super Tuesday primary states. In a three-day swing last week to Lubbock, Dallas and Houston, the ex-Klansman railed against affirmative action programs, race-based educational scholarships and welfare programs at rallies of 700 to 1,000 people.

This week, Mr. Duke will spend three days campaigning in South Carolina and has purchased television time for a 30-minute campaign program to play three times on cable and local TV stations throughout the state.

In a three-way race with Mr. Bush and con-

servative columnist Pat Buchanan, most recent polls show Mr. Duke with around 4 percent to 6 percent support among Republican voters nationally. But some political observers say Mr. Duke could get as much as 15 percent of the vote in South Carolina.

"There's a lot of incipient racism here, particularly in the rural blue-collar areas," said one veteran Republican organizer who worked for Pat Robertson's 1988 presidential campaign in the state. "[Mr. Duke] will get that vote, and a lot of young voters whose parents are Democrats will vote for Duke over Bush, Buchanan or any of the Democratic candidates."

In the past five days, the cash-short Duke campaign has distributed 49,000 eight-page tabloid newspapers appealing to South Carolina textile workers who have lost their jobs because of competition from cheap foreign imports, Dr. Carter said.

As for the similarity between Mr. Duke's message and that of Mr. Buchanan, Dr. Carter said, "Buchanan is very intellectual; he appeals to the intellectually-minded type people. But the intellectuals don't win elections. It's the hard-core, blue-collar people that get these votes out that win elections."

The campaign is relying almost totally on grass-roots volunteers, according to Federal Election Commission reports that show Mr. Duke has only 15 paid campaign workers making between \$510 and \$2,500 a month.

The former Louisiana representative had received less than \$20,000 in contributions nationally by Jan. 31, according to his FEC filings. He also transferred \$50,100 of leftover funds from his unsuccessful governor's race last year in Louisiana.

However, in the next several weeks Mr. Duke expects to receive enough contributions to get federal matching funds for the remainder of the campaign, Mr. Ellis said.

He has just sent out a direct-mail fundraising appeal and is listing a "900" telephone number for contributions on his 30-minute paid TV show that will also appear nationally in non-primary states, the campaign coordinator said. Mr. Duke also is holding a fundraiser in Boston on Saturday, said Mr. Ellis.

DEBATE

From page A1

what we've been talking about — tastes great, no nutritional value."

Later, Mr. Tsongas tried to shift the criticisms from Democrats' shoulders to the incumbent Republican president's.

"Let's keep this in perspective. On health care, on civil rights, on [the environment], there may be differences between us ... but you've got to remember that whatever differences exist are marginal compared to George Bush, and that's what we are talking about," he said.

Mr. Clinton agreed that the focus of their election needed to be on Mr. Bush. "I will tell you something," he said. "I don't mind arguing with these folks — and I'll do it till tomorrow at dawn, if you want — but when the cows come home, I'm going to be trying to replace George Bush, whether I finish first or last in this primary."

On other issues, all the candidates at the Maryland debate said that the government's endangered-species act should not be relaxed and that the federal law prohibiting assassinations of foreign leaders should stay in place. They also agreed that local governments should be allowed to decide whether to distribute condoms and clean needles to help stop AIDS.

"I'm not saying we should shove this down the throats of local people, but the president, I haven't heard him stand up and address the issue. ... Let's not punish those local groups who are willing to step forward and make these devices available that will save lives," Mr. Brown said.

The candidates' response to a question about the philosophical foundations of their support for civil rights underscored a little-noticed difference among them, said Rep. Maxine Water, a California Democrat and Clinton supporter.

As the only one of the group to mention his relations to blacks as a

Mr. Brown, the only other candidate to seek out reporters after the debate, agreed that in today's debates the candidates seemed to be refocusing on conveying their messages to voters, instead of attacking each other.

The growing testiness of the debates underscores the fact that only one candidate can survive the nomination fight. Mr. Harkin appears in the most tenuous position, and unless he wins the Minnesota caucuses, could drop out of the race this week.

One who vowed to continue fighting even though he has yet to win a contest and is in danger of losing his federal campaign dollars is Mr. Brown, who is running a campaign on \$100 contributions that fights the political establishment.

"This race will come down to either Clinton or Tsongas on the top and then the rest of the Democratic

coalition, which I'm going to be fighting for and defending," Mr. Brown said on ABC's "This Week." Mr. Brown is banking on a strong showing in Colorado, where he is third in recent polls.

Mr. Kerrey, who won the South Dakota primary, said on the ABC program that issues of character and electability are fair. The Medal of Honor winner who lost half a leg in Vietnam was responding to questions about his attacks on Mr. Clinton.

"Look, the question isn't, did you serve? The question is, could you have served? And Bill Clinton is trying to have it both ways," he said. "He's the one that drove that issue out there, and now he's trying to play like he's a victim. I must tell you that one of the worst characteristics of human beings is when they say, 'I didn't do it. Somebody else did it to me.'"

Adams' run cut by sex stories

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sen. Brock Adams, Washington Democrat, called off his re-election campaign yesterday after eight women told the Seattle Times he had sexually harassed and molested them. One said he raped her two decades ago.

But the liberal, 65-year-old freshman senator said he will serve out his term, which expires at the end of this year.

"I am not going to step down," he said at a news conference at his campaign headquarters in Seattle, flanked by his wife, Betty, and his daughter Cokie.

The unnamed women's accounts in the Seattle Sunday Times painted a picture of a sexually aggressive man with a penchant for slipping drugs into women's drinks in order to take advantage of them.

"I think it's politically inspired," the senator said. "I've never harmed anyone in my whole life. I don't know why or what these people are doing."

"In this negative political climate, you can expect anything," Mrs. Adams said. "We've been married 40 years and the picture you have in this article is not my husband."

"I was horrified," Mr. Adams said of the articles. "That's not me. That was created out of whole cloth by people who hate me."

But Dr. James Tupper, an orthopedic surgeon in Seattle, thinks the real Brock Adams finally emerged. His daughter Kari, a former congressional aide, charged in 1988 that she had been drugged and molested by Mr. Adams in his District residence in 1987.

She is the only one of the nine claimed victims who has been identified.

"We feel that the truth is out. Our daughter's been vindicated," Dr. Tupper said in a telephone interview from his home in Seattle. "We've had to swallow a lot. My job was to support my daughter, to have him out of there and have the truth ultimately come out. We feel it has, but it's been a long haul."

"I think the revelations go an awfully long way toward substantiating what Kari said," added Seattle lawyer Douglas McBroom, who represented Miss Tupper.

When she charged that Mr. Adams, a longtime family friend, had drugged and molested her, Metropolitan Police, who investigated, sought a warrant for the senator's arrest. But no criminal charges were filed, and then-U.S. Attorney Joseph DiGenova dismissed her charges as incredible.

"What's never said is that DiGenova never talked to Kari," her attorney said.

Dr. Tupper said Mr. Adams used to stay at the Tupper home when in Washington state. Yesterday he said the senator also was guilty of inappropriate sexual behavior toward his wife.

About a year ago, Dr. Tupper launched a campaign to defeat Mr. Adams in his re-election bid, sending a letter dated April 3 to 140 political action committees urging them to cut off contributions to Mr. Adams.

Mr. Adams has repeatedly denied the accusations and was never charged with a crime. He has threatened to sue the Tupperes for defamation.

Mr. Adams voted against the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, who had been accused of sexual harassment by Oklahoma law professor Anita Hill.

see ADAMS, page A8

ADAMS

From page A1

Even before the latest allegations, he was widely perceived as the Democrat least likely to be returned to the Senate.

Cathy Allen, a Democratic political consultant in Seattle, said Mr. Adams' announcement raised the possibility that Gov. William Booth Gardner, who leaves office in 1993, would seek the seat. Mr. Gardner earlier had said he would not seek any political office and gave tepid backing to Mr. Adams.

Mr. Adams refused to comment to the Seattle Times on the allegations.

The Times articles described situations over 20 years in which the women said they were inappropriately fondled and kissed. One woman, described as a Democratic Party activist, said that in the early

1970s Mr. Adams gave her pills that drugged her, then raped her at her home and left \$200 as he departed.

A lobbyist who worked as a secretary for Mr. Adams during his tenure as secretary of transportation during the Carter administration said:

"I feel the only difference between Kari Tupper and me is that I didn't drink my drink," she said, describing a 1978 incident in which Mr. Adams offered her a glass of wine that looked as if it had a ground-up pill in it.

A secretary who worked for Mr. Adams for more than a decade — in government, in his private law practice and in his 1986 Senate campaign — said he routinely kissed her against her will, grabbed her breasts and rubbed against her buttocks.

Seven of the eight women signed statements attesting to the truth of their stories, and the eighth has said she would, the newspaper said.

Bush chief of staff trips on his words

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner yesterday said he didn't say what he said about the dilemma of conservative voters who have nowhere to go.

On "CNN Newsmaker Sunday," host Charles Bierbauer said to Mr. Skinner: "You've had some rough things to say about conservatives in the past few days, suggesting that they'd never be satisfied with any presidential..."

"I never said that," Mr. Skinner said, interrupting.

"...What I said was — and it was straightened out — the record, I said was when conservatives look

at the record of George Bush, they will see a very conservative record and that we're not taking anybody for granted. But when they look at that record, they look at the president's record, it might not be quite as conservative as they would like in some areas. But it is a very conservative record.

"And when they compare this conservative president with an option in the Democratic Party, they will see that the most conservative

see SKINNER, page A8

SKINNER

From page A1

candidate to be president of the United States is George Bush."

However, the transcript of the tape-recorded, on-the-record interview with editors and reporters of The Washington Times last week includes these remarks by Mr. Skinner:

"Even Ronald Reagan, even in his best conservative days, didn't have the full and complete support of the conservatives. I mean, you know there, you have to remember that there's a group of people that no candidate ever nominated is conservative enough for.

"There's a group of people on the other side that no candidate has ever been nominated who is liberal enough for them, and yet on the other hand in the fall elections, those two groups tend to gravitate towards, in the case of the conservatives, the Republican candidate and in the case of the liberals, the Democratic candidate.

"And while they may during the primary process exercise their First Amendment right of both free speech and association, I don't believe when it comes to the fall and after they look at the alternatives... if any of the Democratic candidates are elected, that there will be no reasonable choice for the conservatives.

"And what's happened is unfortunately they forgot the four years that the Democrats controlled the White House, the double-digit inflation, the double-digit interest rates."

At the request of Mr. Skinner's office, a copy of the transcript was made available to the White House.

Letters

Why conservatives should back Bush

Benjamin Franklin is said to have told his colleagues who signed the Declaration of Independence that they must hang together or else they would hang separately. We conservatives would do well to remember that advice in this crucial election year.

After reading two brief quotes from my two-hour interview with the editorial board of The Washington Times, some of my fellow conservatives have suggested that this administration is taking them for granted. Allow me to set the record straight. I never meant to suggest, as your story said, that "conservatives have no place else to turn" but George Bush. Rather, I argued that conservatives have plenty of good reasons to support the president's re-election: his appointments to

the federal courts, his steadfast commitment to the protection of the unborn, his leadership in the Persian Gulf, his stewardship of the transition from communism to capitalism in Eastern Europe and his perfect 25-0 record on vetoes, to name just a few.

Of course, if the accusation is that I believe that conservatives should prefer a second Bush administration to a Brown, Clinton, Harkin, Kerry or Tsongas presidency, I plead guilty. As the vice president said last week, those who, consciously or not, are undermining the president's chances for re-election are playing a very dangerous game. The Reagan and Bush administrations have achieved many solid conservative gains in the past 11 years. If Democrats were to take control of

both the executive and legislative branches in January 1993, those gains would quickly be reversed. And history teaches that the odds of recapturing the White House from an incumbent Democrat in 1996 are not reassuring; only once in this century has a party lost the presidency and won it back just four years later. The conservative movement will accomplish little if it is shut out of both political branches for four or more years.

The fact is that George Bush is a conservative president. He deserves the support of all conservatives. This is a time to hang together.

SAMUEL K. SKINNER
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington

Candidates' war of words stays heated

By Adam Nagourney
and Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

ATLANTA — The Democratic presidential contenders slashed their way across the country, warring over words and last-minute ads to prepare for Tuesday's multi-state contests.

"The more we attack each other, the more we play into the hands of George Bush," warned former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas.

Highlights from three week-end debates in Atlanta, Denver and College Park, Md.:

► Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton hit Tsongas' pro-business economics, saying, "We don't need the best president Wall Street has ever had."

► Tsongas called on Clinton to "take a pledge" to drop negative TV ads. But Tsongas said he won't drop a new radio ad attacking Clinton: "As long as they continue attacking, I'm going to fight back. Unilateral disarmament is not my thing."

► Jerry Brown, showing strength in Colorado, called Clinton's environmental record "a disaster." He also mocked Tsongas' "no Santa Claus" theme. "I'd say your Santa Claus sack is pretty empty."

In the Republican race, where Pat Buchanan faces a key test in Georgia:

► Ex-Education Secretary William Bennett, on ABC's *This Week With David Brinkley*, said Pat Buchanan "certainly flirts with... fascism" in his restrictive immigration views.

► Buchanan stood by controversial columns he's written, saying a writer has to "write the truth as he sees it."

► In Savannah, President Bush attacked Buchanan's brand of trade protectionism: "That's not the American flag they're waving, it is the white flag of surrender."

► Bush attended church services in Atlanta with prominent fundamentalist televangelist Charles Stanley, a conservative favorite, after dropping plans to worship at a Presbyterian church.

PRIMARIES

A LOOK AT UPCOMING VOTES ACROSS THE USA

Tuesday tip-off: 7 states to watch

Seven states cast votes Tuesday in the biggest day of the primary season so far. Results in Colorado, Georgia and Maryland will be the most closely watched by analysts.

COLORADO



The state's first presidential primary ever replaces a caucus system that in past years drew little national attention. This time, the vote should measure candidates' appeal to Westerners.

Landscape: Unemployment is running at 5.5% (national average is near 7%); economic conditions are relatively healthy compared with rest of nation; top issues include nuclear power, land use. Delegates at stake: Democrats, 41; GOP, 37.

Outlook: Poll taken before Saturday's Denver debate showed Paul Tsongas ahead of Bill Clinton, 26% to 24%, followed by Jerry Brown, gaining strength at 19%. Bob Kerrey and Tom Harkin were far behind. Kerrey has pushed hard to boost his candidacy here after South Dakota win. President Bush has two-thirds of the vote in polls; Pat Buchanan scrapped campaign trips here.

GEORGIA



This Southern test is crucial to Clinton and Buchanan. Turnout and results are expected to be an early indicator of how blacks view the presidential race. Results may also measure Southern reaction to Clinton draft issue and social questions. Buchanan calls state "New Hampshire of the South."

Landscape: Economy outpacing rest of nation with unemployment only 3.9%; issues include defense spending; Atlanta generally more liberal than rest of state. Jesse Jackson won here in 1988. Residents can vote in either party's primary. Bush "protest" vote could go to Democrats; at same time, conservative Democrats could opt to back Buchanan. Delegates at stake: Democrats, 66; GOP, 52.

Outlook: Clinton, backed by most of state leadership and black leaders, leads Tsongas 2-to-1; but support is soft and could shift in final days. As campaign moves South, Kerrey questioning Clinton's draft status during Vietnam. Bush, ahead in polls, needs a knockout win to blunt the Buchanan campaign. Buchanan ads target conservatives by blasting taxpayer funding of "obscene" art under Bush and racial-hiring quotas.

IDAHO



Little candidate or media attention and an expected low turnout for caucuses (fewer than 5,000 showed in 1988) make results unpredictable.

Landscape: Unemployment at 6.7%; issues include environment, land use. Idaho last enjoyed the spotlight in 1976, when home-state Sen. Frank Church won. Delegates at stake: Democrats, 16 (22 GOP delegates chosen May 26).

Outlook: Harkin says showing here is "crucial," and hopes liberal activist supporters show up at caucuses. Brown has same idea and made unexpected appearance Thursday. Harkin and Paul Tsongas' wife, Niki, spoke at Saturday fund-raiser. Kerrey due here today.

MARYLAND



Viewed as a Democratic litmus test, includes 25% black vote, and generally moderate on social issues. A key state for Tsongas, who has put a lot of effort here.

Landscape: Voters from Washington, D.C., suburbs (generally more moderate) now outnumber Baltimore voters. Unemployment at 6.8%. Delegates at stake: Democrats, 58; GOP, 42.

Outlook: Polls show Tsongas ahead of Clinton in close race; Tsongas backed by Gov. William Donald Schaefer; Clinton endorsed by Mayor Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore, where black support is crucial. Brown won 1976 primary here, but is trailing badly this time around. Bush far ahead in polls.

MINNESOTA



Democratic-only caucuses here don't draw much of a crowd: in 1988, only about 5% showed up.

Landscape: Activists tend to dominate — labor unions and environmentalists. Unemployment is 5.3%; farm issues predominate. Delegates at stake: Democrats, 68 (GOP vote is April 7).

Outlook: Harkin, running as a traditional Democrat, has best organization in the state and labor support; he could get his strongest numbers of the day here. But new poll showed voters favoring Tsongas. Bush may face trouble in Republican vote next month: a poll Sunday showed only 31% thought Bush deserved re-election.

UTAH



Democratic-only caucus features secret voting (most caucuses require voters to say publicly whom they support). Caucuses are open to all. Delegates at stake: Democrats, 20 (GOP vote is April 27).

Landscape: Low unemployment (4.5%) focuses voters on land, environmental issues. Republicans dominate state. Not much activity until final week, when Brown, Kerrey and Hillary Clinton showed up and Tsongas began running TV ads.

Outlook: Candidate visits could boost turnout. Recent poll showed Tsongas the leader; Harkin backing from 6,000-member steelworkers union could be factor.

WASHINGTON



Democratic caucuses offer another look at how field is playing in West; state viewed as open to activist, reform or anti-government messages. Delegates at stake: Democrats, 62 (GOP vote is May 19).

Landscape: Unemployment running at 6.9%; trade issues loom large here, where foreign exports drive local economy.

Outlook: Brown, running as an anti-politician, hopes to draw well, but latest polls showed Tsongas leading Clinton; Brown, others far back in pack. Lightning can strike in a state where low turnout expected: TV evangelist Pat Robertson won 1988 Republican caucuses. Buchanan cannot match Robertson's organization four years ago, is hoping for "protest" vote in May.

► Other politics, 1A, 9A
Compiled by Brian O'Connell and Shelley Phipps

THE NUCLEAR EXCHANGE



By David Zakubowski, AP

"That is a lie, that is a lie. . . . What I've said is that we have to keep the nuclear research going so it remains an option."

— Paul Tsongas

"We do not need to do what Sen. Tsongas wants to do and build hundreds of more nuclear plants."

— Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton during Denver debate



By Linda McConnell, Rocky Mountain News via AP

Democrats have weekend brawl

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

The idea was simple: A quick, clean Democratic contest, short on personal attacks and with a minimum of the debates that had produced drained, gaffe-prone candidates pandering to whomever beckoned them to perform.

That plan, worked out by Democratic leaders intent on finally electing a president, almost collapsed over the weekend. Instead, the Democratic presidential field went on a 25-hour, three-state, debate-athon: a battle over who would deliver the most TV-worthy attack.

In Denver, they threw out any pretense of discussing the issues as they bloodied each other. By the time they ended their 1,770-mile odyssey in Maryland Sunday, chastened by their earlier performance, they were tamer.

"When the cows come home, I'm going to be trying to replace George Bush this November," said Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton when asked how damaged the Democrats had been by the brutal weekend.

Still, for many voters tuning in for the first time this weekend, the image will not be Bob Kerrey's call for national

health insurance, Paul Tsongas' combination of social liberalism and pro-business economics, or Clinton's idea to exchange scholarships for public service jobs.

Instead, it was Clinton and Tsongas yelling in Denver over who was "perfect" or "honest." Or Tsongas holding his hand in the air like a Boy Scout in Atlanta, scolding Clinton to "put your hand up," and pledge to end negative TV ads.

Or Tom Harkin muttering in Maryland about Tsongas' "self-righteousness" as Jerry Brown nodded in agreement.

Or the sight of a Denver audience demonstrating to what extent questions about Clinton's personal life have sunk into people's consciousness. They laughed when Clinton answered a question about female appointees by saying: "I wouldn't restrain myself to just half the Cabinet being women: I might want more."

"What are you laughing at?" Clinton demanded testily.

Until now, the candidates had followed the game plan, aware that a bloody war produces a damaged nominee. Disagreements were over such things as middle-class tax cuts, which Tsongas and Harkin oppose, or whether Tsongas' eco-

The results so far

IOWA CAUCUS — Feb. 10

Democratic winner: Tom Harkin, 76% of delegates
Runners-up: Uncommitted, 12%; Paul Tsongas, 4%
GOP: No vote taken

NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY — Feb. 18

Democratic winner: Tsongas, 55,638 votes, or 33%
Runners-up: Bill Clinton, 25%; Bob Kerrey, 11%; Harkin, 10%
GOP winner: President Bush, 92,233 votes, or 53%
Runners-up: Pat Buchanan, 37%; Tsongas (write-in), 2%

MAINE CAUCUS — Feb. 23

Democratic winner: Tsongas, 29.6% of caucus delegates
Runners-up: Jerry Brown, 29.4%; uncommitted, 16%; Clinton, 15%
GOP winner: Bush, 68% of caucus delegates
Runner-up: Buchanan, 4%

SOUTH DAKOTA PRIMARY — Feb. 25

Democratic winner: Kerrey, 23,974 votes, or 40%
Runners-up: Harkin, 25%; Clinton, 19%
GOP winner: Bush, 30,948 votes, or 69%
Runner-up: Uncommitted, 31%; Buchanan not on ballot

nomic plan favors business.

But that devotion to the issues got overshadowed by the realization that the battery of contests Tuesday could effectively slice the field in half.

The stakes also made it tougher for candidates to resist local debate invitations. That

forced candidates to cater to local audiences, creating the potential for the kind of pandering that has caused Democrats headaches in the past.

Sometimes it was amusing, such as their rush to honor Jimmy Carter in Atlanta. Other times, it was more serious.

Tsongas, worried that his nuclear power stand could hurt in environmentally conscious Colorado, flip-flopped in Denver.

Until now, nuclear power was an "unhappy reality" of his energy program. But that reality became history Saturday when he told his Denver audience he would not support building plants "now" — and would only support expansion if proved safe.

Clinton charged that Tsongas wanted to build "hundreds" of nuclear plants. Asked to back up that statement, Clinton aides said they were relying not on anything Tsongas said but on a calculation by Time.

The animosity extended to the airwaves. Tsongas aired a radio ad on a black radio station, attacking Clinton for calling Jesse Jackson a "double-crosser" when told, incorrectly, that Jackson was endorsing Harkin.

Clinton called it a "purely personal negative attack." But Tsongas said he'd keep the ad on the air until Clinton withdrew his ads calling Tsongas a friend of Wall Street.

Tsongas' reply left little question about what the coming days will be like: "I'm not going to crawl into a fetal position," he said.

The South: Politics and quotas

INTERVIEW

Economist Walter Williams says that 'quotas are a real issue, and they need to be debated' in this presidential election year.

Q: Heading into the first Southern primary in Georgia Tuesday, President Bush and challenger Patrick Buchanan are talking about racial quotas in ads. What's at stake?

A: Pat Buchanan is trying to win political points in a neighborhood of our country that's perhaps strongly against racial quotas. The South has had a long history of racial problems, and maybe it sells very well there. Putting the quota tag on Bush seems to be his strategy.

Q: What is the difference between affirmative action and quotas?

A: Most Americans would support what was called affirmative action back in the '60s, programs where efforts were made by companies and colleges to go outside the mainstream in their recruiting, for example. They did this to recognize that in our history, blacks had been kept out of a lot of things. Most Americans can support this. But that's an entirely different thing from having hard and fast racial quotas — hiring people according to their numbers in society.

Q: Some people say the debate over quotas is simply the use of racial code words to stir up deeply held sensitivities on this issue.

A: People can exploit it, but

quotas are a real issue and they need to be debated.

Q: Is that going to occur in this presidential campaign?

A: It is a substantive issue, but I doubt it is going to get a lot of attention.

Q: How do you feel about quotas?

A: They're despicable. They are immoral, whether they are for blacks or against blacks. There have been quotas against blacks, and I find those quotas just as despicable as the ones that are for blacks.

Q: Some say that Buchanan and David Duke come from the same cloth on this issue.

A: Well, you would probably find that being against quotas is consistent with most Americans. One does not have to be a racist to be against quota programs. For example, in New York City, for a white police officer to be promoted to police sergeant, he has to score a 70 on the exam, a Hispanic 67 and a black 65. But the standard politicians are not speaking for them. The only people speaking for them are people like David Duke. Buchanan is a far better person to bring up the issue of quotas.

Q: Don't quotas help fight discrimination?

A: Discrimination is not the issue at all. For example, a black kid who graduated with 1,100 on an SAT is not going to have a problem getting into any college. It's the black student who gets 500. The question is, "How did he manage to get through high school with such a poor achievement record?" You can't say it's discrimination because some of the worst schools for black kids are in the cities where the mayor is black, the school superintendent is black, most of the principals are black.

Q: Where does the president stand on this issue?

A: Bush stands where the wind is blowing.

Q: Is there more interest in this because of the recession?

A: Whenever the pie is shrinking or remaining constant, people feel threatened by the gains of other. Quotas fit very, very well into that. Many people can ignore quotas if the economic pie is increasing and their jobs are not threatened.

Q: Buchanan has promised that if he's elected, he will root out what he calls "the whole rotten infrastructure of reverse discrimination."

A: Unless we have a monarchy in the United States, that's not realistic.



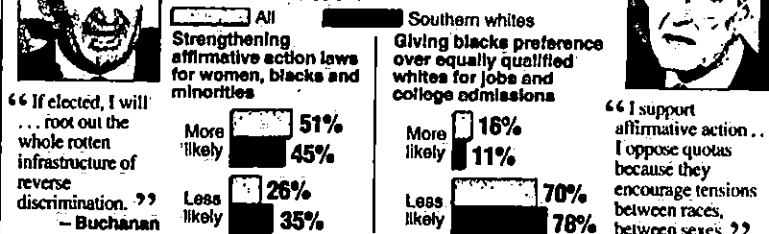
Williams

Walter Williams is an economist at George Mason University in Virginia. Williams was interviewed by USA TODAY's Judy Keen about racial preferences and how that issue might play in the South.

What voters say on affirmative action, preference



A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup poll shows voters react differently to the terms "affirmative action" and "racial preferences," even though they mean basically the same thing. The poll asked whether they would be more likely or less likely to vote for a presidential candidate favoring actions described below:



By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

Quota debate can be used as "wedge"

In politics, debate over quotas can lapse into code words designed to create a "wedge" between candidates and woo voters, says Christopher Edley Jr., an aide in 1988 to Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis.

"Race is the issue that's primarily responsible for the GOP's success at breaking the once-solid Democratic South," says Edley, a Harvard law professor. "With the economy limping and people worried, resentment is smoldering. It's a time-honored tradition in politics."

Challenger Patrick Buchanan accuses President Bush of allowing "the sons of middle America" to pay the price of reverse discrimination so Bush's camp can "salve their social consciences."

Bush says he opposes quotas. And until he signed a compromise civil rights bill last fall, he threatened to use the quota issue against Democrats.

Democrats face their own quandary: Three of four voters oppose preferences based on race, gender or ethnicity.

Democrats can't appear to be leaning too far in favor of minorities, or they risk alienating those same blue-collar whites who often decide elections.

"Without Jesse Jackson in the race," Edley says, "the Democrats are likely to escape serious political pressure to define their civil rights policies and articulate any vision for how we can heal the divisions of the past dozen years."

— Judy Keen



Edley



MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1992

Iraq risks a renewal of hostilities

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

Iraq faces a deadline as early as next Monday to comply with U.N. orders to destroy its weapons or face renewed hostilities.

Iraq, calling the U.N. Security Council a "tool" of U.S. interests, plans to send delegates to the international body to explain its plan to convert military equipment to civilian uses.

But tough talk increased as the deadline neared:

► The commander of a 25-ship U.S. fleet in the Persian Gulf said orders to restart military action against Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq could come "at any time. ... We're not bluffing — we're flying planes up and down the gulf every day to maintain our readiness," Rear Adm. Raynor Taylor told The Associated Press.

The ships are part of a multinational fleet patrolling in the gulf and the Red Sea. The U.N. Security Council warned Iraq over the weekend it faces "serious consequences" for continuing refusal to allow the destruction of missile factories.

► "We do not rule out going back to military action," British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd said Sunday.

► Kuwait called on the United Nations to up the ante against Iraq.

"The Iraqi regime's continued challenge to international legitimacy impels us to appeal for more pressure on this regime to force it to comply," said Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sheikh Salem Sabah.

The emirate added that Iraq is holding hundreds of Kuwaitis prisoner a year after its defeat in the gulf war.

Iraq denies the charge, saying it has released all Kuwaitis captured during the war.

Baghdad on Friday ignored a deadline to let a U.N. team destroy Iraq's Scud missile equipment. Later, the U.N. Security Council voted to give Iraq two weeks to change its mind or face retaliation.

Rolf Ekeus, who leads the U.N. commission charged with destroying Iraqi arms, said the council had declared Iraq in "material breach" of the existing gulf war cease-fire. "It's a very serious statement, and it opens up certain possibilities for the council," he said.

National security adviser Brent Scowcroft said the United States seeks no more U.N. resolutions, saying more than enough are on the books.

Christopher Holland, a British missile expert for the U.N. team, predicted Iraq will bow to international pressure.

The reason: "The United Nations is so determined" to see its orders carried out, he said.

CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

Key House official shot near Capitol

Jack Russ, sergeant at arms for the House of Representatives — its top policeman — was in stable condition early today in a Washington, D.C., hospital, after being shot in the face late Sunday while walking his dog five blocks from the U.S. Capitol, police said. Russ was shot in the right cheek after two men and one woman robbed him at a park near his Capitol Hill home, Capitol Police Officer Dan Nichols said. Russ stumbled three blocks to the House day care center and called for help. Russ, who's held his \$93,000-a-year post since 1983, also is chairman of the U.S. Capitol Board which oversees the Capitol Police which patrol Capitol Hill. He also introduces the president when he goes before Congress. In separate incidents on Capitol Hill in December, robbers shot and killed Tom Barnes, aide to Sen. Richard Shelby, D-Ala., and mugged Lucy Calautti, wife of Sen. Kent Conrad, D-N.D.

— Gary Fields and Sandra Sanchez

ENVOY SPEAKS: Lebanon's Ambassador Suhell Chammas, who heads his country's delegation to the Mideast peace talks, said Sunday he sees little reason to resume the talks when they adjourn Wednesday, at least until after the Israeli elections June 23.

"I fail to see the usefulness of it," said Chammas, who kept his silence during the first three rounds of talks. Among his disclosures: that a dramatic scene last week nearly ended the talks. During last Monday's session, the Israelis, apparently frustrated by Secretary of State James Baker's just-announced link between a settlements freeze and \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees, questioned Lebanon's sovereignty, long an irritant to the Lebanese because of Syria's domination. Chammas threatened to walk out unless Israel publicly proclaimed Lebanon's sovereignty, which it did, to little public notice, the next day.

— Johanna Neuman



Agence France-Presse
BENTSEN: Wants 25% tax cut

TAX PROPOSAL: Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, unveils his tax plan today after predicting Sunday it would be a bonanza for middle-class families. On NBC's *Meet the Press*, Bentsen predicted his plan would mean a 25% cut in federal income tax for a family of four earning \$35,000 a year. But he offered no further details. To pay for that cut, his plan would increase taxes on the wealthiest taxpayers.

Bentsen said he has picked up six of President Bush's seven proposals to boost the economy, plus added an individual retirement account tax break "to encourage savings." In addition, Bentsen said, "I've put in better access to health care." Bentsen expects Bush would veto his plan. But, "I'm hopeful that he'll change his mind. He's done that before."

KREMLIN FUNDING: Among formerly top-secret Soviet documents released last week to *The Washington Post* and the Russian magazine *Ogonyok*: a slip of paper saying, "Received \$2,000,000 (two million) dollars USA" and signed "Gus Hall." The 1987 receipt from Hall, head of the Communist Party USA, was found in Mikhail Gorbachev's personal files along with a "Dear Comrade" letter in which Hall asks Kremlin leaders for funds to help him continue the fight against U.S. imperialism, the *Post* said. It added that Hall had no comment on the issue.

COVER STORY

Snub may fuel a defection in November



BUSH BACKER: Percy Williams, 76, sees 'no reason to change.'

By Bill Nichols and Mark Mayfield
USA TODAY

ATLANTA — On Auburn Avenue, where the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. grew up, preached and planned marches that changed a nation, the 1992 presidential campaign is hardly inspiring. "Most of the people around here are Democrats, but quite a few of them might not vote," says Bobby Pitts, 63, owner of the Sportsman Inn restaurant in this once-thriving business district two blocks from King's crypt. "The candidates are not

talking about what people want to hear." Outside this neighborhood — once a vibrant black business community — and throughout the delegate-rich South, this same lack of enthusiasm seems contagious.

Many black voters, facing their first presidential race since 1980 without either Jesse Jackson or a white candidate who earned his civil rights credentials in the 1960s, feel they are a constituency without a candidate.

Some fear black turnout could plummet, helping Republicans in November. Tuesday's primaries in Georgia and Maryland should offer an incisive preview.

"There's very little excitement among black voters," says the Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "None of the candidates have made an effort to address issues near and dear to the hearts of black and poor people."

In Georgia, which could foreshadow the Super Tuesday contests on March 10, black turnout could shape the destiny

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

COVER STORY

'Disgusted with politics as usual'

Continued from 1A

of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, who has received the bulk of endorsements from black leaders and needs a decisive win.

Clinton may see his campaign put back on track by blacks, who made up more than a third of Georgia's Democratic primary total in 1988.

"I am a Southerner. A lot of you are," Clinton told a mostly black prayer service in Memphis last week. "How long was (the South) kept dumb and poor because we insisted on being divided by race?"

"How much poorer and dumber is America because we have been divided for the last decade?"

But many say Clinton's support is dangerously soft and that black voters were wary of him even before he denounced Jackson last week when erroneously told Jackson was endorsing Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin.

Clinton's support for capital punishment and his emphasis on relief for the middle-class — which some, including Jackson, call a coded term for whites — have brought particular criticism.

Analysts say many blacks seem resigned to Clinton, preferring a flawed Southerner who might win over rivals who can seem unaware of black concerns.

But some black liberals see

backing Clinton as a deal with the devil. "Black politicians are running on this electability thing as hard as anyone else," says Howard University political science chairman Ron Walters, a former Jackson adviser. "They're ready to forsake everything, including the issues, for a chance at winning."

Clinton supporters, like Louisiana state Rep. Sherman Copell, say Clinton represents the best hope.

"I can't tell you there's the same enthusiasm as when Jesse ran in '84 and '88... but Clinton makes a good presentation of fairness," says Copell.

"And I think that there's a strong feeling that we want Bush out of the White House, and he appears to be the best candidate to defeat him."

In state after state, Clinton has racked up impressive black endorsements while also trying to hold onto his other strength — white, conservative Democrats being wooed by Republican Pat Buchanan.

► In Georgia, Clinton's campaign is backed by Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, former mayor Andrew Young and Rep. John Lewis.

► Rep. Mike Espy of Mississippi and Rep. William Jefferson of Louisiana, their states' first black congressmen since Reconstruction, have endorsed Clinton.

► In Maryland — with the

largest (25%) black voting bloc outside the deep South — African Methodist Episcopal Church Bishop H. Hartford Brooks and Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke are on board.

But throughout the region, many speak of missed opportunities by the other candidates.

Harkin was widely seen as closest to Jackson's political philosophy — calling for massive reinvestment in infrastructure, redistribution of wealth and liberal social policies.

But only in South Carolina, where there's a primary Saturday and where Jackson campaigns with Harkin today, has Harkin really gone after Rainbow Coalition votes, an effort many say is too little, too late.

"Harkin has done the most for the type of politics that I normally would go along with, but it looks like he might not make it," says Charleston, S.C., city councilman Robert Ford.

Ford first backed Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder, who dropped out of the race in January. He then tried to promote a black favorite son candidacy, briefly considered Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey and then settled, reluctantly, on Clinton.

Clinton, he admits, has strong ties to the state's mostly white Democratic power structure, people Ford says. "I have never seen eye-to-eye with on issues. And every time I run for something, they oppose me."

Likewise, many black politicians say former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas, Kerrey and even former California governor Jerry Brown — who tapped Jackson's 1988 organization in finishing second in Maine's caucuses — have squandered opportunities to win significant black votes.

Each has shown inexperience — and sometimes indifference — when it comes to attracting black voters.

Tsongas, convinced his liberal/Greek/Massachusetts tag doomed him in the South, admits now that he underestimated his potential appeal, having been endorsed last week by influential Georgia state Rep. Michael Thurmond, chairman of the legislative Black Caucus.

Painted as a Republican sound-alike whose plan to raise the gas tax would soak the rural poor, Tsongas has tried, not always successfully, to convince Southern audiences that his manufacturing-based economics would help them, too.

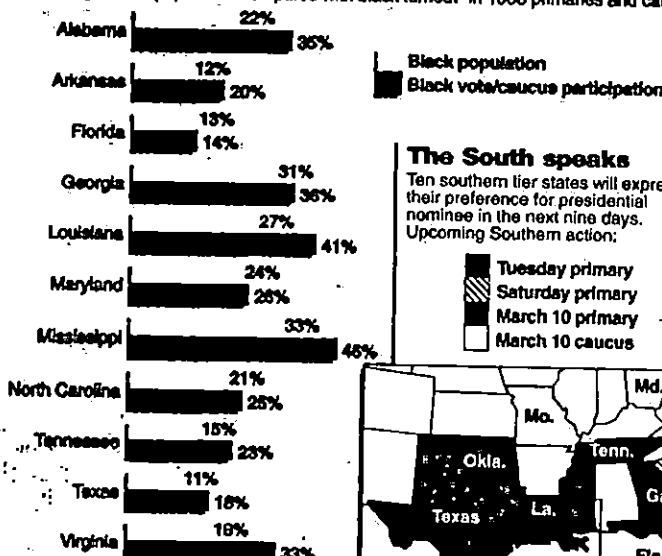
Sunday, Tsongas began airing a radio ad knocking Clinton's "attack" on Jackson.

Kerrey — who like Harkin comes from a state that's less than 5% black — has also received endorsements from black Georgia legislators.

In a speech last week at predominantly black Spelman College, Kerrey bashed Clinton but did little to earn the vote of

The crucial black vote

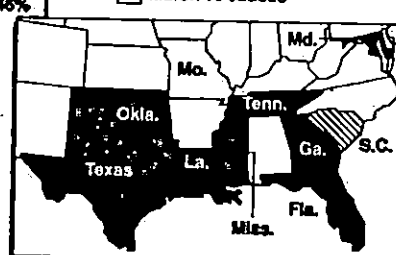
In 1988, when Jesse Jackson was seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, black voters made up at least one-third of Democratic voters in five Southern states. How the black percentage of the population compares with black turnout¹ in 1988 primaries and caucuses:



The South speaks

Ten southern tier states will express their preference for presidential nominee in the next nine days. Upcoming Southern action:

■ Tuesday primary
■ Saturday primary
■ March 10 primary
■ March 10 caucus



USA TODAY

India Calhoun, 18, a freshman.

"He talked a lot about veterans," she says. "But we're not veterans. I wanted to hear more about education and things that matter to us."

On Auburn Avenue, drug treatment, education and health care are the issues that concern voters who are poor but politically savvy after decades of civil rights activism.

People are having a difficult time seeing how the platforms of the Democratic field — heavy with talk of middle-class tax cuts, capital gains tax relief, welfare reform and Japan-bashing — can help them.

"People are struggling to find someone who will help them," says Jerome Scott, 37,

an Auburn resident.

Says Dorothy Clements, owner of the Auburn Avenue Rib Shack: "As far as having the freedom to go where we want to go, we're better off than we were (when King was alive). But economically we're worse off. ... People are just more or less disgusted with politics as usual."

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1992

USA TODAY

Today's debate is on **CUTTING TAXES**
and changing the way savings and investments are taxed.

Capital idea: Stop taxing 'profits' from inflation

OUR VIEW Most of this year's tax-cut ideas raise problems, but one deserves rescue: capital-gains tax indexing.

One idea should be salvaged from the wreckage of Republican and Democratic tax bills rumbling through Congress — indexing capital gains for inflation.

Among the big winners: small investors whose only assets may be a house or a few shares of stock.

The idea may not have the ring that "tax cut" has, but sometimes the least sexy notions are the best.

Today, people pay tax on every dollar an investment gains, even if inflation wipes away the benefit. The longer they own a house or shares of stock, the more tax they pay on money lost to inflation.

If capital gains were indexed, people would pay tax only on the actual increase in the investment's value. A stock held for three years that appreciated 5% a year would be tax-free if inflation were 5% a year or more. Advantages:

► **Fairness:** You shouldn't be taxed on money you haven't made. Indexing would correct that inequity. And unlike other capital-gains cut proposals, this

one isn't a giveaway to the rich. Inflation hurts middle-class, small investors more than wealthy, sophisticated investors with resources to score big gains.

► **Economic recovery:** You shouldn't be penalized for behaving responsibly. Investing for the long term makes better economic sense — individually and for the country — than turning investments over quickly. Eliminating the discouragement of an inflation tax would encourage long-term investment.

► **Revenue neutrality:** No tax proposal should add to the \$400 billion deficit. Indexing capital gains on assets purchased after Feb. 1, 1992, would, by an estimated \$3.5 billion over six years. That's a pittance compared to the cost of a tax cut. And this gap is easily filled.

Legislators should plan for the gloomiest, costliest tab and pay it with a higher income-tax rate on the wealthiest. They benefit most from any capital-gains tax reduction because they have more money to invest. They can pay more.

Indexing capital gains is a step toward tax fairness. In an election year rife with proposals that would do more harm than good, that's one small step in the right direction.

Inflation cut not enough

OPPOSING VIEW Adjusting capital-gains taxes for inflation is a Band-Aid. Needed: open-heart surgery.

Indexing capital gains is a good idea, but to have a truly strong impact on private investment and, consequently, employment, the 28% capital-gains tax rate must also come down.

Few topics are subject to more misinformation than capital-gains taxation. The latest data show the Congressional Budget Office misestimated 1990 capital gains income by \$134 billion, or over 100%, because it ignored the dampening effect of the high tax rate. The more you tax something, the less you get of it, and the more we tax the increased value of investment — capital gains — the less people will risk on investment. That means fewer jobs.



By Rep. Dick Armey, R-Texas, an economist and the senior Republican member of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

Americans are criticized for being too "consumer oriented," for buying now rather than saving and investing for the future. But this is a rational response to the incentive structure of our present tax code. Apart from the insidious tax on the illusory "gains" of inflation cited above, patient investment is far more risky and less immediately gratifying than conspicuous consumption, yet our tax policy makes no distinction between the income earned and spent today and that used to help create new companies and purchase the plants and equipment that employ workers.

The optimum capital-gains rate is zero, but its enactment is not likely in today's political atmosphere. The least we can do is bring our rate down to make our economy more competitive with nations like Japan and Germany, somewhere between 5% and 15%. Given today's low inflationary expectations, the immediate drop in the capital-gains tax rate proposed by President Bush would have more "oomph" than the indexing proposed by the Democrats. Pairing the two would be the best medicine possible for our ailing economy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Barbara and I are greatly saddened by the death of Albert Bel Fay. Albert was a close, personal friend, and we will miss him greatly.

He was a Texan through and through. He was a leader in building the Republican party in Houston, starting in the early 1960's. Albert was a mentor who helped guide me in my early years in Texas politics, when getting Republicans elected was next to impossible. His service to the Republican party has been invaluable.

Barbara and I send our deepest condolences and offer our prayers to his three children.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with the requirements of section 109(e) of the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act (Public Law 96-633; 49 U.S.C. 1808(e)), I transmit herewith the Annual Report on Hazardous Materials Transportation for calendar year 1990.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 2, 1992.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 2, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of the Pilot Parent Program of Omaha, Nebraska as the 708th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. This unique organization offers hope, support, and a sense of well being to parents of children with all types of disabilities.

Now in its twenty-first year, the Pilot Parent Program was created to help parents overcome the initial period of grief -- often including phases of anger, denial, and shock -- that may occur upon learning that a child has a disability. The program offers direction to these parents who may feel overwhelmed and unsure of where to turn, and matches them with experienced parents of another child with the same disability. The veteran parents act as "mentors," offering advice in crises and in day-to-day matters. Last year, more than 80 couples were matched with these more experienced parents.

Twice a month, the Pilot Parent Program holds informational or social meetings for all parents. For social gatherings, child care is provided to give mothers and fathers an evening of relaxation. Workshops and support programs are also offered to siblings and grandparents of children with special needs. By working closely with appropriate State and Federal agencies, the Pilot Parent Program is able to provide referrals and a wealth of information to parents. Volunteer professionals from the medical and special education fields train client parents who wish to become mentors.

All participants in the Pilot Parent Program are volunteers, from the family mentors to the professionals within the community who lend their expertise. The program's success has led to its replication in over 300 cities nationwide, as well as in other countries, including Australia, Sweden, and Great Britain.

The President salutes the volunteers of Pilot Parent Program for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL MARCH 3, 1992

March 2, 1992

The President today recognized volunteers of the ServiceMASTER Company Limited Partnership of Downers Grove, Illinois, as the 709th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. ServiceMASTER, a management support services company, encourages parents and customers to play a greater role in education and mobilizes its employees to help create excellent schools and a culture that fosters lifelong learning.

Since late 1989, over 200 ServiceMASTER employees have served as mentors, tutors, and friends to students at the Francis Scott Key School on Chicago's west side. This corporate commitment has been reinforced by the active participation of ServiceMASTER CEO William Pollard and the company's Executive Board Members --all of whom have volunteered in the schools as mentors. Five days a week groups of 12-18 employees spend their lunch hour teaching reading comprehension and vocabulary to children from primarily low-income and single parent families by using computer programming. Volunteers work one-on-one with the students, testing each of them regularly to monitor academic progress and tailoring the curriculum to their individual needs.

Francis Scott Key principal Louise Perez credits ServiceMASTER volunteers with bringing enthusiasm to the school and motivating the students to learn. Test scores of children enrolled in the program have improved at twice the rate of those of other students. Ms. Perez attributes this success to the presence of volunteers as role models for the students.

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

#

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Pursuant to section 233(e)(1) of the Social Security Act, as amended by the Social Security Amendments of 1977 (Public Law 95-216; 42 U.S.C. 433(e)(1)), I transmit herewith the Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Finland on Social Security, which consists of two separate instruments -- a principal agreement and an administrative arrangement. The agreement was signed at Helsinki on June 3, 1991.

The United States-Finland agreement is similar in objective to the social security agreements already in force with Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Such bilateral agreements provide for limited coordination between the United States and foreign social security systems to eliminate dual social security coverage and taxation, and to help prevent the loss of benefit protection that can occur when workers divide their careers between two countries.

I also transmit for the information of the Congress a report prepared by the Department of Health and Human Services, providing explanation of the key points of the agreement, along with a paragraph-by-paragraph explanation of the provisions of the principal agreement and the related administrative arrangement. In addition, as required by section 433(e)(1) of the Social Security Act, a report on the effect of the agreement on income and expenditures of the U.S. Social Security program and the number of individuals affected by the agreement is also enclosed. I note that the Department of State and the Department of Health and Human Services have recommended the agreement and related documents to me.

I commend the Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Finland on Social Security and related documents.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 2, 1992.

#

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1992

YEAR OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, 1992

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Half a millennium ago, when European explorers amazed their compatriots with stories of a New World, what they actually described was a land that had long been home to America's native peoples. In the Northeast part of this country and along the Northwest coast, generations of tribes fished and hunted; others farmed the rich soils of the Southeast and Great Plains, while nomadic tribes roamed and foraged across the Great Basin. In the arid Southwest, native peoples irrigated the desert, cultivating what land they could. Each tribe formed a thriving community with its own customs, traditions, and system of social order.

The contributions that Native Americans have made to our Nation's history and culture are as numerous and varied as the tribes themselves. Over the years, they have added to their ancient wealth of art and folklore a rich legacy of service and achievement. Today we gratefully recall Native Americans who helped the early European settlers to survive in a strange new land; we salute the Navajo Code Talkers of World War II and all those Native Americans who have distinguished themselves in service to our country; and we remember those men and women of Indian descent -- such as the great athlete, Jim Thorpe and our 31st Vice President, Charles Curtis -- who have instilled pride in others by reaching the heights of their respective fields. We also celebrate, with special admiration and gratitude, another enduring legacy of Native Americans: their close attachment to the land and their exemplary stewardship of its natural resources. In virtually every realm of our national life, the contributions of America's original inhabitants and their descendants continue.

During 1992, we will honor this country's native peoples as vital participants in the history of the United States. This year gives us the opportunity to recognize the special place that Native Americans hold in our society, to affirm the right of Indian tribes to exist as sovereign entities, and to seek greater mutual understanding and trust. Therefore, we gratefully salute all American Indians, expressing our support for tribal self-determination and assisting with efforts to celebrate and preserve each tribe's unique cultural heritage.

The Congress, by Public Law 102-188, has designated 1992 as the "Year of the American Indian" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this year.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim 1992 as the Year of the American Indian. I encourage Federal, State, and local government officials, interested groups and organizations, and the people of the United States to observe this year with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this second day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and sixteenth.

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1992

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 2212, the "United States-China Act of 1991," which places additional conditions on renewal of China's most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status.

The sponsors of H.R. 2212 believe they can promote broad economic and foreign policy objectives in China by placing conditions on the renewal of China's MFN status. They expect that the Chinese will improve respect for human rights, cooperate in arms control, and drop barriers to trade, given a choice between losing MFN and addressing these concerns.

Let me state at the outset that my Administration shares the goals and objectives of H.R. 2212. Upholding the sanctity of human rights, controlling the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and free and fair trade are issues of vital concern. My objection lies strictly with the methods proposed to achieve these aims.

There is no doubt in my mind that if we present China's leaders with an ultimatum on MFN, the result will be weakened ties to the West and further repression. The end result will not be progress on human rights, arms control, or trade. Anyone familiar with recent Chinese history can attest that the most brutal and protracted periods of repression took place precisely when China turned inward, against the world.

Recent agreements by the Chinese to protect U.S. intellectual property rights, to abide by the Missile Technology Control Regime Guidelines, to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty by April, and to discuss our human rights concerns -- after years of stonewalling -- are the clear achievements of my Administration's policy of comprehensive engagement.

We have the policy tools at hand to deal with our concerns effectively and with realistic chances for success. The Administration's comprehensive policy of engagement on several separate fronts invites China's leadership to act responsibly without leaving any doubts about the consequences of Chinese misdeeds. Our approach is one of targeting specific areas of concern with the appropriate policy instruments to produce the required results. H.R. 2212 would severely handicap U.S. business in China, penalizing American workers and eliminating jobs in this country. Conditional MFN status would severely damage the Western-oriented, modernizing elements in China, weaken Hong Kong, and strengthen opposition to democracy and economic reform.

We are making a difference in China by remaining engaged. Because the Congress has attached conditions to China's MFN renewal that will jeopardize this policy, I am returning H.R. 2212 to the House of Representatives without my approval. Such action is needed to protect the economic and foreign policy interests of the United States.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 2, 1992.

#

3:45 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

CAMPAIGN (Ann McFeatters, Scripps Howard) -- President Bush is making an all-out effort to appeal to evangelicals and the Republican right wing in his determination to tamp down Pat Buchanan's support in upcoming primaries. Bush saw board members of the National Right to Life Committee at the White House for a group photo and a chat. On Tuesday he flies to Chicago just to speak for 25 minutes to the 50th annual convention of the National Association of Evangelicals. The trip is billed as non-political, financed by taxpayers. Bush will spend the rest of the week on the political stump in the Bible Belt, hoping to convince voters in Florida, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama to give him a resounding vote of confidence on Super Tuesday.

INTELLIGENCE BUDGET (AP) -- Despite the demise of the Soviet Union, the Bush Administration is proposing a secret intelligence budget near Cold War levels, according to sources inside and outside the government. The Administration's proposed budget for next year does take a bite from intelligence spending. But it is nowhere near as much as the 7% cut in the defense budget of which it is a part, according to indications from official and private sources.

HEALTH CARE (UPI) -- Corporate America would be largely relieved of its employee health benefit costs under a health care reform bill proposed by Sen. Daschle. Daschle's bill would put health care expenditures under the control of a Federal Health Board. The FHB would determine a minimum basic benefit package to be offered to all Americans and the cost per individual of such a package. Forty percent of the funding for the plan would come from general revenues, with the remaining 60% paid by individuals.

AIDS (Boston/AP) -- The federal government must step up its efforts to find housing for people with AIDS, activist Robert Greenwald told the National Commission on AIDS. He told the committee that AIDS activists are having a hard time persuading HUD that housing AIDS patients would be cheaper than leaving them in hospitals. "You name the program and HUD has denied us access," he said.

PAN AM BOMBING (Nicosia/Reuter) -- Muammar Gaddafi said his country would set its oil wells ablaze and flood its coast with sea water if the U.S. invaded in an attempt to seize two suspects in the Lockerbie bombing.

RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS (Moscow/AP) -- No former Soviet nuclear scientists or weapons experts have gone to work for Libya, Iraq or other countries, Russia's Foreign Ministry spokesman Churkin told a news conference. Churkin specifically denied a report in Morgenpost am Sonntag that Iraq has recruited approximately 50 Soviet nuclear experts.

U.N. (U.N./AP) -- Eight newly independent Soviet republics and San Marino joined the U.N., bringing the world body's roster to 175.

Enjoying Fame

Braves' Lemke Taking It All in Stride

► Page 9



Awaiting a Verdict

Deliberations Continuing in Doctor's Fraud Trial

► Page 2

SAVANNAH EVENING PRESS

Savannah News-Press, Inc.

101st Year — No. 71



Savannah, Ga., Monday, March 2, 1992

24 Pages, Four Sections

Price 25 Cents

Thousands Get Glimpse of Bush

Throngs Crowd Riverfront To Hear President's Message

From Staff Reports

Children climbed up trees as adults stepped onto lamppost supports or craned their necks, all for a glimpse at President Bush.

Yesterday, he was in Savannah as a candidate, using the city as a backdrop to pass along his message.

Before more than 20,000 people along River Street, Bush scolded Congress and his opponents, promised to get the economy moving again and embraced the family.

"Jobs, family and world peace," Bush declared as he sought support in tomorrow's Georgia primary. He was accompanied by his wife, Barbara.

Bush blamed the "liberals that control the Congress" for destroying his economic plan and told the crowd to tell Congress: "Keep the change and keep your hands off the taxpayers' wallets."

He also urged voters to send him back to the White House for another four-year term "and send good Georgia Republicans to Congress."

It was one of several comments the president made in reference to either the state or the city. For example, he pointed out that the Port of Savannah provides 58,000 jobs statewide.

Taking a swipe during his 13½-minute speech at Republican contender Patrick J. Buchanan's

"America First" campaign slogan, Bush said his opponents are "peddling protectionism, they're peddling a retreat from economic reality. Look closely. That's not the American flag they're waving — it's the white flag of surrender."

"We don't cut and run in this country. We compete," Bush said. "Never in this nation's long history have we turned our back on challenge and we are not about to start now."

Georgia never wavered during the Persian Gulf War, he said. "This port handled over 200,000 tons of car-

See BUSH, Page 7



Staff Photo By JEFFREY M. McSWEENEY

20,000-plus Crammed River Street To Hear President Deliver His Message Sunday

SAN ANTONIO SUMMIT



PHOTO BY JOE BARRERA JR.

First lady Barbara Bush reacts with pleasure after sinking a ball while playing pool with Tyrone Darden, 12, during her visit to the Eastside Branch of the Boys and Girls Club of San Antonio on

Wednesday. She stopped playing after several more tries and told Tyrone that he won. But the Martin Luther King Middle School student later said, 'I let her win. I'm a better pool player.'

NEWSTAB Sun 1-Mar-92 14:22 EST
BUSH TURNS TO GOD AND A PREACHER FOR VOTES

By Laurence McQuillan

ATLANTA, Reuter - President Bush turned to God and a high-powered television evangelist Sunday as he sought votes in Georgia, where fundamentalists preachings hold sway.

The president, along with first lady Barbara Bush, switched initial plans to worship elsewhere and went to the First Baptist Church of Atlanta -- where services are broadcast live on television and radio.

The services are also syndicated to 100 television stations, four cable networks and are carried worldwide via shortwave and radio to more than 100 nations.

Bush received a thunderous welcome from the 2,800 persons in the congregation, and another 1,200 who watched it on television monitors in the basement of the church that dates back to before the Civil War.

Although he never spoke, Bush was able to get a positive political message across by his visit -- just two days before the Georgia primary to pick a Republican presidential nominee.

Dr. Charles Stanley got down on his knees at the start of the service after asking the congregation and the television audience to pray that God give Bush "strength, wisdom and increased faith."

After a lengthy moment of prayer for Bush, the 350-member choir and orchestra erupted in rousing renditions of "Amazing Grace" and other hymns for the faithful.

The service was captured by five television cameras, which periodically showed Bush and the first lady in prayer.

Another televangelist, Pat Robertson, a previous Republican presidential contender, urged his Georgia followers to vote for Bush because he had given conservatives control of the Supreme Court.

"For the good of America and the ultimate triumph of our issues, I have prayerfully decided to support George Bush now and in the general election in November," Robertson told supporters in a letter that did not name Bush's Republican opponent, Pat Buchanan.

Bush and his wife sat in the second row of pews, so the television lights that brightly bathed the altar easily included them -- making it easier for the production crews.

As Stanley prowled back and forth on the stage -- er, altar -- a tiny, television microphone clipped to his tie allowed him to be easily heard as he repeatedly made the kind of hand gestures media consultants say convey emphasis on a television screen.

Clutching a Bible, Stanley made no direct references to Bush during his sermon on the courage to obey God.

The decision to attend the high-visibility Baptist church -- steeped in conservative philosophy -- came at the same time Republican rival Pat Buchanan began running television commercials accusing Bush of permitting the funding of obscene art through the National Endowment for the Arts.

Before that ad, campaign aides had been preparing for a visit to Peachtree Presbyterian, where a friend of Bush's from World War II combat days worships.

Although Bush was never the subject of the sermon, he was the point of service.

The pastor peppered his remarks with references to the president -- noting at one point that he had shown Bush a painting in his study just moments before the service.

Bush' participation in the religious service began with a warning about television production needs and concluded with a commercial.

As Bush arrived, the faithful on hand were advised to refrain from taking pictures because a bright flash could ruin the television picture and "damage" the expensive equipment.

When Bush and his wife left early, just before communion, Stanley bid them farewell and tossed in a plug for the broadcast services.

The church visit seemed to prove the basic theory preached by media gurus -- in this case, the medium was the message.

>

Mon Mar 2, 1992

Bush Stresses Family Values As His Theme

But New Rhetoric May Face A Formidable Obstacle In President's Policies

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
SAVANNAH, Ga.—Struggling to fend off GOP challenger Patrick Buchanan, President Bush has returned to one of the principal themes of his re-election campaign: family values.

Stressing issues ranging from school prayer to child care, the president told a riverfront rally here that "America is first as long as we put the family first."

The president's immediate aim, two days before the hotly contested Georgia primary, was to blunt Mr. Buchanan's charges that he has waffled on proposed federal tax breaks for families and subsidized pornography through the National Endowment for the Arts. Eyeing the general election, he hopes to reinforce the "traditional values" advantage that GOP candidates have enjoyed over Democrats for a generation.

But the incumbent's pro-family rhetoric faces a formidable obstacle: his record. Statistics indicate that the well-being of American families has declined on his watch. After growing for most of Ronald Reagan's presidency, median family income shrunk during the first two years of the Bush administration.

The proportion of families headed by a single parent, continuing a long-term rise, has reached one in four. Home ownership among two-parent and mother-child families is down, while the proportion of adult children living with their parents is up. And Americans are increasingly "stressed out and heavily taxed by the joint demands of work and family life," according to a new study by Harvard and Case Western researchers.

To be sure, families are buffeted by long-run trends that would adversely affect any president. Yet even some of Mr. Bush's allies say his efforts to ease family pressures have fallen short. Republican Sen. Dan Coats of Indiana says the administration has "a ways to go" in translating its concern into action.

Liberals such as Rep. Patricia Schroeder of Colorado complain that Mr. Bush vetoed family-leave legislation. Conservatives such as Gary Bauer, who heads the Family Research Council, say Mr. Bush hasn't taken bold enough stands in the "cultural civil war" against unwholesome TV programming and other threats to children. David Blankenhorn, who runs the New York-based Institute for American Values, asserts that Mr. Bush lacks "a coherent policy agenda to promote family well-being," saying he could start by promoting laws that make divorce tougher to obtain.

On one policy step that nearly all sides favor—increasing families' take-home pay—Mr. Bush's centerpiece proposal is a \$500 per-child increase in the personal income tax exemption that isn't even part of the economic "action plan" he has demanded Congress pass by March 20. "It's an insult to families," complains Robert Rector of the conservative Heritage Foundation, which has proposed a larger tax break. And Mr. Bush's proposed exemption increase would do nothing for families too poor to pay income taxes.

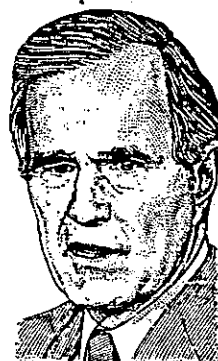
CAMPAIGN

★ 92

When Mr. Bush speaks of family troubles, he taps a deep vein of public discontent. "This election is about the stress that middle-class families are now experiencing," says William Galston, a University of Maryland political scientist. Bush campaign chairman Robert Teeter adds that Americans increasingly fear "the social fabric is coming apart." More than just financial strains, the pressures extend from lack of so-called quality time to worries about drugs, violent crime and moral decay.

Ever since social upheaval split the Democratic party in the 1960s, the GOP has cast itself as a defender of family values against Democrats who would undermine them by supporting such causes as gay rights and abortion rights. Mr. Bush's own handsome family and Barbara Bush's popularity lend credibility to his rhetoric, providing positive images that may offset negative social trends. On any issue, GOP pollster Richard Wirthlin has observed, "it's the emotion that drives [voter] behavior."

Not all the emotions are kinder and gentler. When Mr. Bush attacked the "dismal welfare system" as anti-family in his State of the Union address, critics saw an attempt to exploit racial divisions. At a



George Bush

time when the president espouses tax breaks for middle-class families with kids, his calls for "personal responsibility" among welfare clients "begins to smack of the Willie Horton overtones," says Isabel Sawhill of the Urban Institute.

Bush-Quayle campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke maintains that the president has done more to strengthen families "than we've seen in decades." In 1990, Mr. Bush signed a five-year, \$18 billion increase in the Earned Income Tax Credit for working families with children, and funding increases have boosted enrollment by 73% in Head Start for poor children. Department of Health and Human Services spokeswoman Alixe Glen dismissed as "absurd" the charge that Mr. Bush is playing racial politics with welfare.

Mr. Bush's saving grace could be the weakness of the opposition. The three leading Democratic candidates are all vulnerable to GOP broadsides on values: Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton has struggled with allegations of infidelity, Nebraska Sen. Robert Kerrey is divorced and single, and former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas has actively promoted gay rights.

The recession creates "a much tougher environment to make that [family-values] message sell," says Republican pollster Vince Breglio. "The question is, who is the opponent?"

Republicans

Bush Urges Georgia to Reject Buchanan Appeal

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, March 1 — Struggling to hold the line against Patrick J. Buchanan, President Bush swept through Georgia this weekend urging Republican primary voters to reject the politics of protest and "send this President back for four more years."

The President's anxious courtship signified the stakes in Tuesday's primary here and the clear concern among the President's allies over the outcome. Georgia marks the first head-to-head contest between Mr. Bush and the conservative commentator since New Hampshire. Mr. Buchanan's attack commercials have turned it into a bitter affair and helped produce the extraordinary spectacle of a President encamped for the weekend in a primary state.

There is considerable disagreement among Mr. Bush's advisers and allies over how much of a problem he faces here, with many, including Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, projecting that Mr. Buchanan could win a percentage in the mid-30's, but others are projecting both better and worse showings for the President. Still, a veteran Southern Republican close to the Bush campaign asserted that the outlook here was considerably better for the President than it seemed last week.

'Galvanized the Female Vote'

Since then, the Bush campaign has taken to the airwaves with commercials that highlight Mr. Buchanan's opposition to the use of force in the Persian Gulf and some of his controversial statements over the years, including the suggestion that women were psychologically unsuited for certain jobs. "We've completely galvanized the female vote with this ad," said the Southern Republican, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified.

The Bush allies were also arguing, again and again, that Mr. Buchanan's ultimate defeat was simply a matter of time. Paul Coverdell, the former Peace Corps director and a candidate for the United States Senate here, said Mr. Buchanan could attract 30 percent to 39 percent of the vote here but added, "The point is George Bush is going to win every delegate in the state of Georgia, and he's going to go to South Carolina and do the same thing."

Pointing to the stage where the President was about to speak, Mr. Coverdell added, "At some point, I expect to see the President to be stand-

ing up there, and Pat Buchanan to be standing up there with him, understanding what we have to do to preserve a conservative Government."

The battle between Mr. Bush and Mr. Buchanan here has a far different tone from the economically driven struggle in New Hampshire: in Georgia, Mr. Buchanan has emphasized issues like racial quotas and Federal financing for the arts, while Mr. Bush has countered with an appeal to the South's military tradition and also emphasized the "bedrock belief in family and in faith, in community and in country."

Today was emblematic. Both Mr. Bush and Mr. Buchanan began with church, a nod to the power of the conservative Christian vote in this primary. Mr. Bush attended the 9 A.M. service at Atlanta's First Baptist Church, presided over by Dr. Charles F. Stanley, who has an active television ministry. Mr. Stanley introduced the President and Mrs. Bush as "very special

A rival's threat forces Bush to encamp in a primary state.

guests" and said he had shared with Mr. Bush his favorite artwork: a rendering of Daniel, with his gaze fixed on a ray of light, impervious to the lions.

But Mr. Bush seemed unable to ignore the lions.

In Savannah today, he talked of opponents who would "run from the new realities, seek refuge in a world of protectionism, or high taxes, or even bigger government." In Atlanta on Saturday, he talked of "those talking heads out there, the folks who don't seem to feel good unless they find something bad to say about the country."

One of the biggest unknowns here is the impact of Mr. Buchanan's television campaign, which has accused Mr. Bush of financing "pornographic and blasphemous art" through the National Endowment for the Arts and of backing a "quota bill" that was "closing doors" on American children. The advertisement refers to the civil rights legislation passed by Congress last year and signed into law by Mr. Bush.

its supporters. Democratic and Republican vehemently denied that it would encourage racial quotas in the workplace.

Some Republicans asserted that Mr. Buchanan's appeals would backfire, particularly among Republican primary voters in Atlanta suburbs. Gov. Carroll Campbell of South Carolina, a top Bush ally, asserted today that it was demeaning that Mr. Buchanan would come to the South and talk about issues as if "this was some tobacco road and we were all a bunch of boobs."

But other politicians aligned with Mr. Bush worried that the commercials, including the one about the endowment for the arts, could take toll on Mr. Bush, especially in rural Georgia.

Another big unknown is who will vote in the Republican primary, since this is a state where Democrats and Republicans can cross party lines on Election Day. Some Democrats suggested Mr. Buchanan's campaign was gaining among the Democrats who were backers of Ronald Reagan in rural Georgia. John Henry Anderson, a former state Democratic chairman, said, "People are so upset with President Bush that they're looking for an opportunity to vote against him twice."

Mr. Buchanan had spent much of last week in South Georgia, hitting small towns and cities striking a range of themes, from arts financing to foreign aid, which he assails as an unfair allocation of taxpayer dollars. His campaign was rich with symbolism, including a visit to Confederate memorial at Stone Mountain on Saturday. Mr. Buchanan also, repeatedly, hit racially oriented themes.

Mr. Buchanan asserted that the Voting Rights Act was "an act of regional discrimination against the South" and said all states should "be under the same laws." The law intended to counter decades of systematic denial of the franchise to blacks, requires that certain states, most of them in the South, undergo special Federal scrutiny of their election laws.

Mr. Bush's trip this weekend seemed aimed at both shoring up party regulars and the party's conservative wing. He seemed almost wistful in Savannah today. "Since the day I took the oath of office, I've made it my duty to work for what is right for America," he said. "I go back to what my mother says, 'Try your hardest, do your best.' Well, let me tell you something — I'm not done yet."

Bush tells voters to stick with him

By S.A. Paolantonio
INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

SAVANNAH, Ga. — President Bush, battling for a good showing in Georgia's presidential primary, ended a two-day campaign swing through the state yesterday, warning voters not to be lured by the rhetoric of conservative challenger Patrick J. Buchanan.

All weekend, Bush sought an issue or a tactic to curb Buchanan's challenge in tomorrow's election, which some White House strategists say privately could be more of an embarrassment to Bush than was the New Hampshire primary last month.

Meanwhile, Buchanan continued to hammer Bush in public appearances and television commercials, using the same repertoire of hot-button conservative themes that has given the GOP a lock on the South in presidential elections since 1980.

Yesterday, Buchanan debuted TV ads attacking Bush for signing the 1991 Civil Rights Act, a strategy designed to attract white Democrats, especially conservatives. In the Georgia primary, voters can vote in either party's election contest. The 1991 act is aimed at curbing employment dis-

Campaign '92

crimination against minorities and women.

With the echoing sound of a slamming door in the background, the ads show young white men lounging with their children, as the announcer attacks Bush for signing a bill that "closes the door on their future."

As the ads began airing, Bush and a phalanx of surrogates were appealing to Republicans and so-called Reagan Democrats to stick with the President.

About 15,000 people lined the riverfront in this vibrant port city to hear Bush become a cheerleader for Georgia's successful export economy and ask voters to reject the "isolationists" waving the "white flag of surrender" in world trade.

"Let my opponents sound the retreat — run from the new realities, seek refuge in a world of protectionism," said Bush, without referring to Buchanan by name. "People know that we're in a battle for the future,"

Bush said, standing under a perfect blue sky in front of the Savannah River Queen steamer.

The Savannah free-trade theme was markedly different from the conservative-values message the President delivered to loyal Republicans in Atlanta on Saturday. And it was a shift from the pointed attacks Vice President Quayle launched at Buchanan earlier in the week.

Knowing he needs the state's Baptists — over half of Georgia is affiliated with the Baptist church — Bush dropped plans to attend a Presbyterian church yesterday. Instead, he and Barbara Bush attended services at Atlanta's First Baptist Church, where his longtime friend, Dr. Charles F. Stanley, preached about "the courage it takes to obey God."

Meanwhile, conservative Pat Robertson, the evangelist who ran against Bush in 1988, endorsed the President.

Bush strategists hope that one of those re-election tenets — or a combination — will catch hold. Still, Buchanan appeared to be making inroads.

Bush's appearance here came just two days after the Savannah News-

Press joined a growing chorus of smaller newspapers in the state endorsing Buchanan. The conservative Savannah paper, the largest in this city of 170,000, said voters "should cast a wake-up ballot" for Buchanan as a way to get Bush to move further right on social and economic issues.

The papers reflect the view of many voters outside Georgia's urban centers — where Buchanan has spent most of his time campaigning — that the conservative commentator is a perfect vehicle for disaffected conservatives looking to send a message to the President and is also espousing the core values they want to hear.

Roger Tommins, a paper-mill worker from Bluffton, echoed other voters on that point.

While Tommins thinks Buchanan is a long way from the nomination, he will vote for him because Bush "abandoned me."

"I liked the President on Desert Storm. But he's not fighting Congress enough on taxes, and this quota bill is wrong," Tommins said, referring to the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

Bush Courts Religious Right as Democrats Assail Record

Baptist Site Chosen After Buchanan Attacks

By William Booth
and John E. Yang
Washington Post Staff Writers

ATLANTA, March 1—President Bush came to worship this morning with the largest Baptist congregation in town, and while he kept his prayers to himself, his televised presence here was clearly designed to bolster support among the religious right, many of whom are threatening to convert to Patrick J. Buchanan.

"Around election time, it always seems our church is inundated with politicians looking for the conservative vote," said Mike Adams, as he settled into a wooden pew with his wife, Natalie, and 12-year-old daughter Emily for

the morning service at the First Baptist Church of Atlanta.

"If he's looking for votes, where else is he going to go in the South but the Baptists?" asked James Shoffner, a pragmatist, as he stood on the steps of the church, an imposing red brick building with towering white columns.

Will it work?

"Sure," Shoffner said. "It'll work." Shoffner noted that Baptists make up the overwhelming majority of Christians in the South, and that the First Baptist Church, with about 15,000 members, is the largest congregation in Atlanta. Plus, the services are televised.

The Baptists weren't being cynical. See BUSH, A8, Col. 1



ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Bush waves to onlookers as he arrives for services in Atlanta.

WASHINGTON POST
March 2, 2001

In Georgia, Bush Seeks Support of Religious Right

BUSH. From A1

ical, just realistic. "I don't doubt that George Bush is a religious man," said Jim Rast, attending church with his wife, Dot, who wore her mink. "But we all know why he's here."

Earlier in the week, the Episcopalian Bush was planning to attend services with an old World War II buddy at Peachtree Presbyterian down the road.

But his campaign staff veered hard right and changed ecclesiastical venues after Republican challenger Buchanan unleashed attack ads accusing the Bush administration of investing tax dollars in pornographic and blasphemous art that denigrates the image of Jesus Christ. It wasn't subtle, and it wasn't exactly accurate, but it got the attention of the White House.

Bush did not address the congregation, but he and his wife, Barbara, were introduced by the pastor, the Rev. Charles F. Stanley, as "special guests." The couple stood briefly and bowed. Bush looked somber and serious. The event was televised on Stanley's television ministry.

During the morning services, five cameras panned the congregation, lingering often on the Bushes, alternating their images with shots of Stanley or one of the scores of blue-robed singers in the choir.

Stanley, a conservative pastor and a friend of Bush, kept his sermon free of profane politics. Instead, he asked the congregation to pray for the president's strength, wisdom and faith—not his victory in Tuesday's Georgia primary.

Stanley did, however, focus his remarks on the importance of courage. To illustrate, he chose the story of Joshua, another embattled political leader, who inherited the Nation of Israel from Moses and had to endure internal rebellions, warfare and the doubt of the masses.

Stanley also told the congregation, and hundreds of thousands of TV viewers, that he had shown Bush his favorite painting, an image of Daniel in the lion's den. "Daniel didn't have his eyes on the lions," Stanley said, even though their lair was filled with bones. No, Daniel



ASSOCIATED PRESS

With South Carolina Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. at his side, President Bush responds to welcome from thousands of supporters at a rally in Savannah, Ga.

kept his eyes on a ray of sunlight, on the Lord.

Advice for Bush? Maybe, some of the members agreed.

"We're not political," said Shoffner. "But it is the political season."

Indeed. Across the street, about 20 members of the AIDS activist and homosexual-rights groups Act-Up and Queer Nation were chanting, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Christian hatred has got to go."

From the steps of First Baptist, however, it was hard to hear the protesters. People were asking who the protesters were.

"I think they're pro-choice," said one.

"Homosexuals," said a member with a hearing aid in each ear.

Later in the day, Bush continued his emphasis on "family values" at a sun-drenched rally in Savannah, hailing "the values that are close to

home." He told a crowd of several thousand: "I'm talking about jobs, I am talking about family, I am talking about world peace for ourselves and for all our kids—jobs, family, world peace."

He cast the presidential race as a choice about the world in which today's children will live. "People know that we're in a battle for the future," he said. "And it's about . . . the kind of legacy we're going to leave our kids. And so let some opponents sign the retreat, run from the new realities, seek refuge in a world of protectionism or high taxes or even bigger government. That's not the future we want for our kids."

Looking back on his first term and forward as he asked for a second one, Bush recalled the words of his mother, Dorothy Walker Bush. "I go back—I guess we all do—to

what our families said, and I go back to what my mother said: Try your hardest, do your best. Well, let me tell you something: I'm not done yet."

Bush got a warm reception in Savannah, where the local newspaper endorsed Buchanan on Saturday, saying Bush needed to be sent a message.

As before, the president never mentioned his challenger by name. "I'm going to try to keep it above the fray," he said. "I've got to be, continue to be the president of this great country—honored to be that president. And I've been trying to keep this on a positive plane."

A former Bush administration official and leading conservative, William J. Bennett, took on the president's challenger, saying Buchanan would be "impossible" as president.

Bennett said on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" that Buchanan "flirts" with fascism, appeals to the worst side of human nature and "can't even repudiate David Duke," the former Ku Klux Klan leader who also is seeking the Republican presidential nomination.

Buchanan "doesn't like—or says many critical things of—immigrants of color, of Israel, of Jews, even of . . . democratic theory," Bennett said. While he said he and other conservatives "may be unhappy with a number of things that George Bush is doing . . . we cannot allow this view of the world to overtake conservatism."

Bennett, former secretary of education and Bush's first director of drug control policy, said Buchanan is not "the heir to Ronald Reagan, which is what he would like to tell us he is. The Reagan doctrines and the Buchanan doctrines are not the same. When Ronald Reagan talked about civil rights and affirmative action, he talked about it in a way that suggested a more inclusive party. . . .

"You can talk about color consciousness and color blindness, and I think we should talk about it, and criticize reverse discrimination. But then let's talk about what the positive program is that will help black Americans. That is missing from the Buchanan campaign."

NEWSTAB Sat 29-Feb-92 18:13 EST

BARBARA BUSH SAYS PRESIDENT IS IN TOUCH WITH VOTERS

GOLDEN, Colo., Reuter - Barbara Bush, campaigning for her husband Saturday, rebuffed criticism by Democratic presidential contenders that President Bush is out of touch with the voters.

"To say George is out of touch is absolutely the most ridiculous thing in the world," she said at a news conference when asked about comments by Democratic contenders campaigning for Colorado's presidential primary election Tuesday.

Neither Bush nor his Republican challenger, Pat Buchanan, planned to campaign in Colorado, where the president enjoys a popularity of better than 65 percent in opinion polls.

The president was campaigning Saturday in Georgia, where Buchanan has been concentrating his recent efforts.

"He (the president) wishes he were here today," Mrs. Bush told a rally of 250 Republican workers in this Denver suburb.

Mrs. Bush sought votes earlier in the day in Colorado Springs, the state's second largest city.

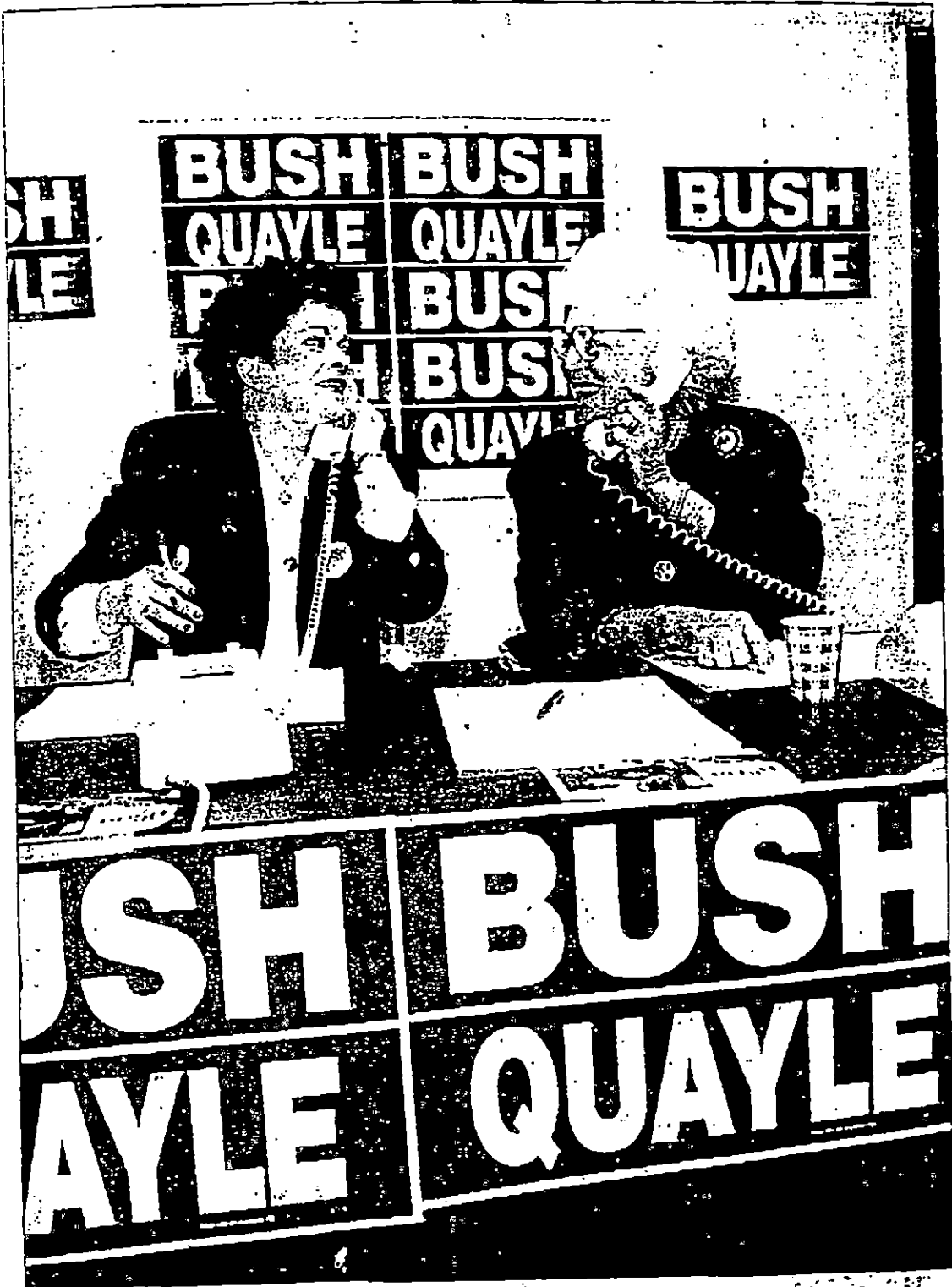
She repeated her criticism of Buchanan's advertising that showed gay men scantily clad in leather, which he is using against the President for supporting grants by the National Endowment for the Arts.

"I think it's (Buchanan's advertising) is disgraceful, and disgusting and outrageous. Divisive," Mrs. Bush said.

She left later for Atlanta, where she was to join the president.

ELSEWHERE IN THE NEWSPAPER

John Russell/Gazette Telegraph



Calling all voters

Barbara Bush, right, shares a laugh with Judy Cox after the first lady dialed a wrong number at the GOP campaign headquarters. Bush was in Colorado Springs on Saturday morning campaigning for her husband. Hil-

lary Clinton, wife of Democratic hopeful Bill Clinton, is expected to campaign for her husband at Hillside Community Center, Institute Street and Fountain Boulevard, at 11:30 a.m. today. Complete report/A6

1992 ELECTION

Barbara Bush makes fans during stop in Springs

Hundreds turn out for mall visit

By Anne Windshar
Gazette Telegraph

Barbara Bush spent a few hours Saturday in Colorado Springs cuddling babies, kissing Girl Scouts and criticizing congressional Democrats as she stumped for her husband in anticipation of Colorado's first presidential primary Tuesday.

Bush blamed the country's economic and social problems on the Democratic-controlled Congress.

"For three years the Democrats in Congress have done nothing but play politics," she said during a meeting with El Paso County Republicans. "We desperately need your help in getting more Republicans in Congress."

She dismissed recent polls showing a drop in her husband's popularity, saying the numbers will improve once the primaries end and he has only one opponent.

Bush ran off a list of the president's accomplishments, but acknowledged there was much work to be done to improve education and health care.

But for the most part, though, she seemed to be pushing George Bush for president on the love platform. She said he has made the world a safer place and "he's the finest and most decent man in America."

At The Citadel mall, where Bush spent a half-hour shaking hands with hundreds of spectators behind Secret Service barriers, some people shared her view. People waved Bush/Quayle signs, flashed campaign buttons and blushed when she caught their eyes and thanked them for their votes.

"She's everybody's grandmother," said one spectator.

Girl Scout Karin Henninger, 9,

shared a few words with Bush after giving the first lady a box of thin-mint cookies.

"She kissed me," Henninger said, pointing to her cheek where she offered a swipe of red lipstick as evidence. "I'm not going to wash my face ever again."

Despite his wife's popularity, President Bush himself has yet to convince some Colorado voters. John and Mary Malone said they voted for him in 1988, but weren't sure this time around. Robert Fenwick, who wore a Buchanan Brigade T-shirt, said President Bush's support of increased taxes during an economic downturn soured him on the president. Charles Blackwell said it's simply time for a change.

"I believe in the two-party system and I think it's time to give the Democrats a chance," he said. "I would encourage Mrs. Bush to tell George to listen to the people. They're trying to give him a message."

Barbara Bush greets Colorado loyalists

By Michelle Fulcher
and Renate Robey
Denver Post Staff Writers

The first lady and the first dog, Millie, are doing just fine, thank you, and both expect to spend another four years in White House, Barbara Bush said yesterday.

She campaigned yesterday in Colorado Springs and Golden, just three days before Colorado's first presidential primary.

President Bush, fighting a strong challenge from conservative Pat Buchanan in the South, was in Texas and Georgia. He doesn't plan to visit Colorado before Tuesday's primary.

A Bush supporter at the rally in Golden held a sign that read, "Keep Millie in the White House." Mrs. Bush responded, "Let me just tell you that Millie is fine. More people ask me how Millie is doing than ask me how I am doing."

She said she is confident that voters in Colorado and other states will elect her husband to a second term, despite the recent dips in his approval rating.

Mrs. Bush said the president scored a victory in New Hampshire despite Buchanan's strong showing. "They had eight weeks up there -- Democrats and Republicans -- pounding away at George. He had to work. He does work for a living."

She told about 75 supporters at a rally in Colorado Springs and about 200 loyalists in Golden that "every single day every one of us



The Denver Post / Glen Martin

ARTSY: Barbara Bush adds a personal touch to homemade campaign posters in Golden.

awaken in a freer, safer world because of George Bush."

The first lady vowed that her husband would reject Democratic pressure for more defense cuts, touted his work on the new Clean Air Act "that protects not only the environment but the economy" and promised he would continue to pursue educational reform, including a 127 percent increase in spending for Head Start programs.

"We've done a lot of good things, and we have a lot more to do," she said. "I think when we get down to one opponent, things will be very different."

After the gathering at party headquarters, Mrs. Bush made a brief hand-shaking stop at the Citadel Mall in east Colorado Springs, where she was greeted by a relatively quiet but friendly crowd of shoppers and supporters.

Patricia White was among them. A long-time Republican, White said she'll vote for Bush in November but hasn't yet decided on him or Buchanan Tuesday.

"I want to send a message to (Bush)," she said. "He needs to remember the promises he made and remember the people he used to say he was a part of -- conservatives. He has tried too hard to be conciliatory with the Democrats."



Special to The Denver Post / Jim Mallory
STAND BY YOUR MAN: Barbara Bush visits Colorado Springs on behalf of her husband yesterday.

FIRST LADY TOUTS HUSBAND IN VISIT

First lady Barbara Bush campaigns in Colorado Springs and Golden yesterday. The president, meanwhile, stumps in Georgia and Texas. /4A



CAMPAIGN '92

First lady aims to widen husband's lead

Coloradans at mall and rally welcome Barbara Bush, who denounces Buchanan TV ad

By Joseph B. Verrengla

Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

GOLDEN — First lady Barbara Bush blitzed through Republican strongholds along the Front Range Saturday, doing her best to massage her husband's commanding lead into an epic rout in Tuesday's presidential primary.

From a shopping mall in Colorado Springs to a rally at Jefferson County Republican headquarters, Bush purposefully avoided naming conservative challenger Pat Buchanan.

But she left little doubt about what she thinks of the commentator's successful attacks on the president in New Hampshire and South Dakota. And she clearly enjoyed campaigning among crowds of admirers in a state where the recession is less severe.

"We saw 1,800 people at a mall this morning, and I didn't see one button for another candidate," Bush said. "Not a single unfriendly gesture have we gotten."

According to the latest 9News/Rocky Mountain News poll, 82% of 203 Republican voters surveyed certainly or most likely

will vote for President Bush.

Among Republicans, 14% of those polled said they would support Buchanan.

In Golden, Barbara Bush's noon audience was largely campaign workers and their families. Wearing a cobalt blue suit and pearls, she posed for photos with teen-age volunteers and helped them stencil posters.

At one point, the first lady froze in mock horror when she realized she was coloring a blue elephant on a poster while the national anthem was playing.

In a brief campaign speech and in remarks to reporters, Bush offered a list of her husband's domestic accomplishments, including the new clean-air bill, civil rights legislation and a transportation bill.

But she couldn't resist repeating her criticisms of a Buchanan TV ad that says the president uses tax money to support art with sexually explicit and homosexual themes.

Public art projects have been a conservative political hot button for the past three years. Last month, the administration forced the resignation of the chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts when Buchanan raised the issue.

"Disgusting, disgraceful, outrageous" is how Barbara Bush described the TV ad. "And divisive. I can't hold back what I really feel."



Denise Schreeder/Rocky Mount.

First lady Barbara Bush pitches in to help Jessica Hubbard, left, and Cassie Skeen, right, make posters at Bush-Quayle headquarters in Golden Saturday.

Mrs. Bush has barbs for rivals during stop in Golder

By JULIE HUTCHINSON
Camera Staff Writer

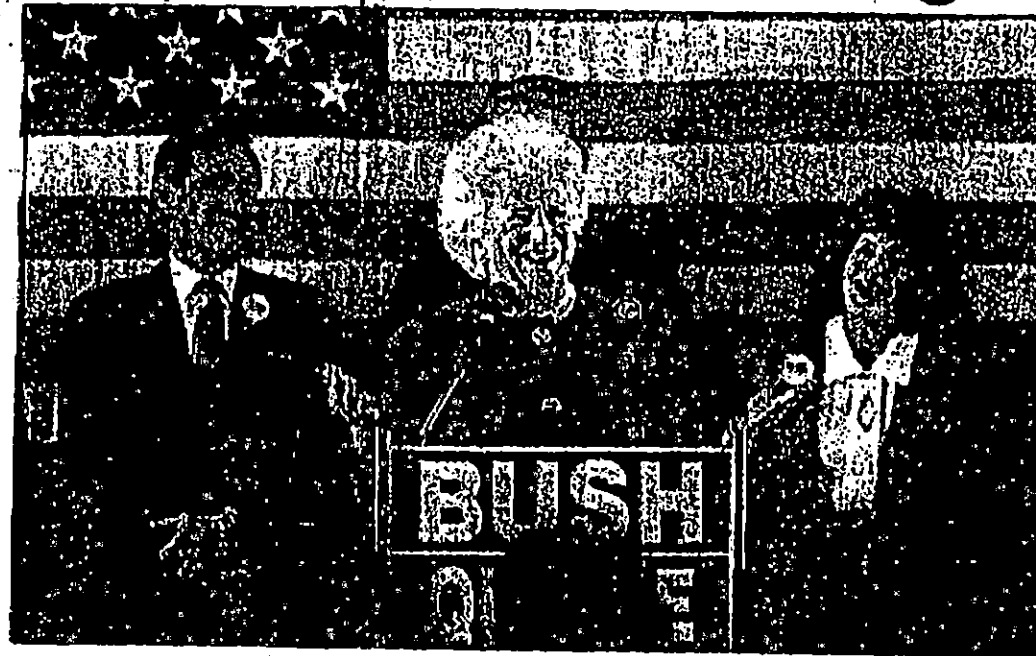
GOLDEN -- Wearing her trademark triple strand of pearls, Barbara Bush wooed votes from Colorado on Saturday as the countdown continued toward this state's first ever presidential primary.

With her characteristic charm and good humor, the First Lady addressed a boisterous, supportive crowd at state Republican headquarters here, lauding her husband's accomplishments but hitting hard at the challengers fighting for his job.

And Mrs. Bush's barbs didn't exclude fellow Republican Patrick Buchanan, whose 37 percent showing in the New Hampshire primary surprised the experts and sounded a wake-up call to the president about American voters' dissatisfaction with the economy.

"Disgraceful, disgusting and outrageous" were the words she chose to describe Buchanan's attacks on her husband. And as for his other critics and the five Democrats wrangling for the chance to run against him, she said they "scare me to death."

"To say George is out of touch is the most ridiculous thing in the world," she said. "That's the whole game — they're not responsible to anybody. They don't have to see that the budget doesn't get



JAY QUADRACCI / Daily Camera

CHARMS CROWDS: First Lady Barbara Bush admitted that campaigning makes her tired and "probably grumpy," but she charmed the crowds that turned out to see her on a Colorado campaign trip for her husband on Saturday.

into a bigger deficit. My gosh, that's all the Congress has done, is voted money every place they can promise anything."

A crowd of about 300 people greeted

Mrs. Bush in Golden, waving supportive signs and singing the national anthem. Joining her on the stage were U.S. Sen. Hank Brown, U.S. Rep. Dan Schaefer and other officials representing the Col-

orado Republican Party.

"We need another Republican senator," she told the cheering crowd, referring to the race to unseat incumbent U.S. Sen. Tim Wirth. She said that former U.S. Sen. Bill Armstrong assured the President on Friday that "this is a winnable seat."

Mrs. Bush reminded the crowd of her husband's work for the environment with the Clean Air Act and two bills signed into law protecting the rights of the disabled and of workers. She said new transportation bills her husband has signed will put "billions back into the economy, strengthen the infrastructure and add 200,000 American jobs."

She said there is more to be done and that her husband "can't do it alone. You have got to send him more congressmen and senators." She charged that Congress has stopped her husband from addressing problems of crime, health care and education reform.

Campaigning does make her tired, "and probably grumpy," but she said that during her morning in Colorado, people had been very friendly.

"People have waved along the street, and not an unfriendly hand gesture have we gotten," she said.

She said that the president wanted to be in Colorado but asked her to come in his place while he campaigned in Georgia, which also will vote in a Tuesday primary.

3-123PM
SOCIAL OFFICE: 112

PAUL GREENBERG

Visible tilt toward Hillary

Why is it that when Hillary Clinton stands by her man, she's well on her way to becoming America's Sweetheart, another Eleanor Roosevelt, and a gallant defender of hearth and home — but when Marilyn Quayle, the vice president's wife, promotes and defends her spouse with similar determination, she's pictured as a combination of Dragon Lady and Lucrezia Borgia?

What accounts for the separate-but-opposite coverage of Arkansas' First Woman and the country's Second Lady in places like *The Washington Post* and *Time* magazine?

Maybe it's the gliberal biases of the Beltway press at work again in America's ongoing kulturkampf, which is German for a heckuva fight over taste. When a forceful, aggres-

sive liberal — or even moderate — gets her dander up, she's a Portia come to judgment. When a forceful, aggressive conservative starts firing back, she's a scheming Lady Macbeth. At least in the more fashionable media.

There's another possible explanation — one that might occur to women more readily than men. In terms of mental agility (let's leave character out of this) Bill Clinton would seem to offer a wife much more promising material to work with in developing a presidential husband.

Any disparity between the Clintons in terms of intelligence, ambition and sheer mental rigor would seem slight; most folks in Arkansas would surely agree that Mr. Clinton doesn't lag far behind his wife in any of those categories, and may even equal her in ambition.

But the gap between the bright, tough and determined, not to say zealous, Mrs. Quayle and her vague

vice presidential husband amounts to a chasm. It's much easier to imagine Marilyn Quayle in the role of feminine Svengali manipulating a male, blond, innocent, golfing version of Trilby. Besides, Mrs. Clinton's public style is much too open for a Svengali.

There's nothing remarkable in our conventional culture about a bright, eager, upward-bound man marrying a slightly vacant but nice-looking woman. But when it's the woman who's the thinker and the man who's essentially ornamental, society begins to invent sinister scenarios. Who says the double standard doesn't still exist? The trophy husband is still a novel concept in this country.

Hillary Clinton doesn't make nearly as satisfying a lady mastermind as Marilyn Quayle. First, because Mrs. Quayle tends to stay behind the scenes. And second, Lady Macbeth has to be all of a piece — consistent, unchanging. It's a character role. And Marilyn Quayle has been the bright lawyer, overly supportive wife, and not-so-hidden tigress since she first came onto the public scene. She doesn't change from act to act.

Mrs. Clinton, on the other hand, has undergone a considerable transformation since she came into public view, and not just in looks. She doesn't even have the same name as when she first moved into the Governor's Mansion at Little Rock. Then she was Hillary Rodham — in keeping with the days when everybody knew who Gloria Steinem was. In the '70s, a wife's keeping her own name was the equivalent of a feminist declaration of independence — an ideological test that the certifiably *With It* had to pass.

But after her husband lost an election for governor of Arkansas in 1980, Ms. Rodham became Mrs. Clinton. Not just the name changed. The Yale Law grad with the independent manner became a Stepford Wife, at least on public occasions. She mastered the customary adoring gaze expected when the male of the family is in full rhetorical flight. Greater love, or at least political ambition, hath no modern woman.

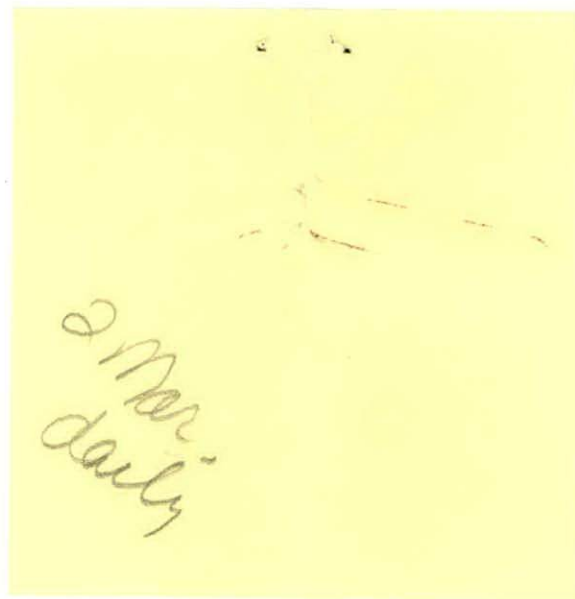
The Hillary Rodham of the '70s has since been replaced by the newer, more successful model that shows Bill Clinton's smooth influence. Of course Hillary Clinton is no Lady Macbeth; who ever heard of a Lady Macbeth whom her Macbeth could direct?

Hillary Rodham had to go; she was a political liability. But there are some of us who miss her still.

Paul Greenberg is editorial editor of the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Commercial and a nationally syndicated columnist.



The Clintons



2 Mar.
daily

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation

March 2, '92

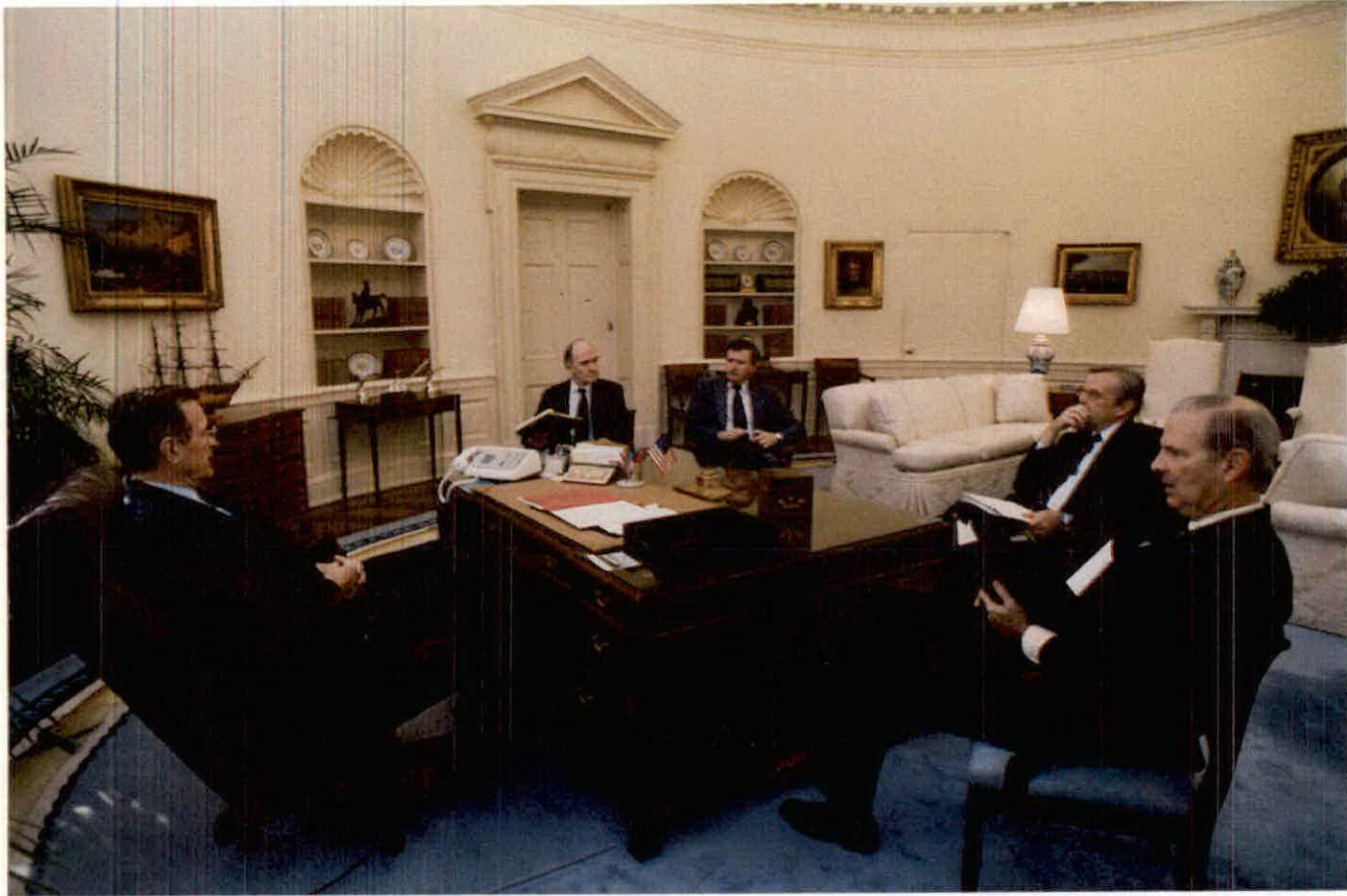
Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



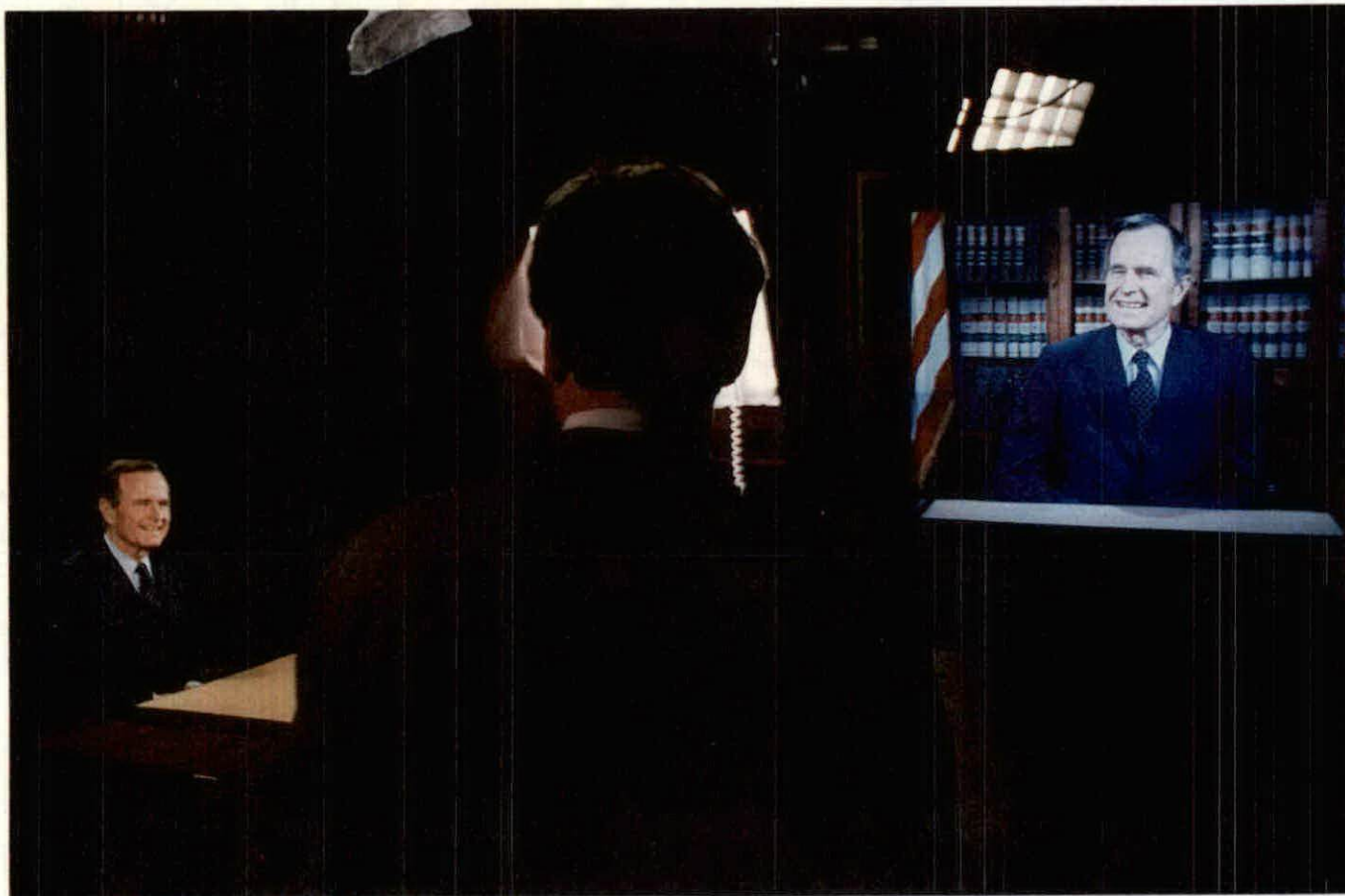
Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



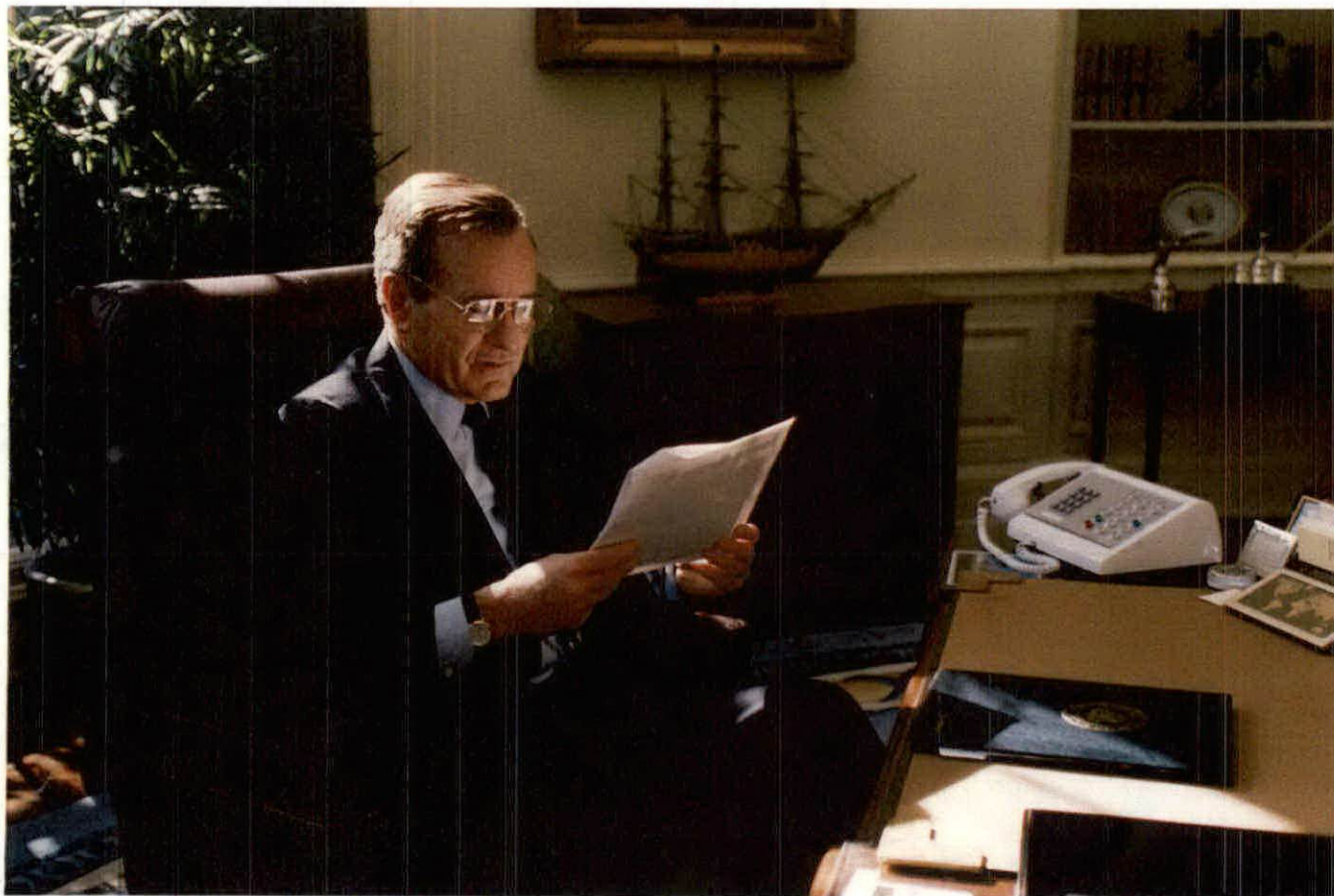
Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation

Abvance Smith
Taping Session

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation

Cal Thomas

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

Mrs. Frank C. Smith, Jr.
1126 Nantucket
Houston, Texas 77057



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear Katherine, Marion and Ab,

Barbara and I are so sorry to hear about your Dad. We send you and your families our most sincere condolences.

Al was a dear friend. His enduring support lifted me.

From the entire Bush family, deepest condolences and family love.

*we loved you
Dad - Barbara*

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush".

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

JAN 5

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Letter	President George Bush to Lewis and Betty Smoak (1 pp.)	3/2/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019

OA/ID Number: 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

P. relog

The Honorable John F. Turner
Director, Fish and Wildlife Service
Department of the Interior
1849 "C" Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20240



THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1992

Dear John,

Just returned from Georgia and discovered My Daily Bread on my desk. Thank you. One could not ask for a better companion, and my faith and trust in the Lord will guide me through the months ahead.

These are not easy times for the country, but I am confident of a turnaround. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George Bush".

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy in &
out)
Nikki Richnow
(Gift Unit --
POTUS kept book)

JAN'S

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Letter	President George Bush to Alexander Vreeland (1 pp.)	3/2/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, March 2, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 5/29/2019 **OA/ID Number:** 90658-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]